

THE
WORKS

OF

JOHN LOCKE Esq;

VOL. II.

CONTAINING,

Some Considerations of the Consequences of the lowering of Interest, and raising the Value of Money. In a Letter sent to a Member of Parliament. 1691.

Short Observations on a printed Paper, entitled, *For encouraging the coining Silver Money in England, and after for keeping it here.*

Further Observations concerning raising the Value of Money. Wherein Mr. Lowndes's Arguments for it, in his late Report concerning *An Essay for the Amendment of the Silver Coin*, are particularly examined.

Two Treatises of Government. In the Former, the false Principles and Foundation of Sir Ro-

bert Filmer, and his Followers, are detected and overthrown. The Latter is an Essay concerning the true Original, Extent, and End of Civil Government.

A Letter concerning Toleration.

A Second Letter concerning Toleration.

A Third Letter for Toleration: To the Author of the Third Letter concerning Toleration.

The Reasonableness of Christianity, as deliver'd in the Scriptures.

A Vindication of *The Reasonableness of Christianity*, from Mr. Edwards's Reflections.

A Second Vindication of *The Reasonableness of Christianity*.

L O N D O N,

Printed for JOHN CHURCHILL at the Black Swan in
Pater-noster-Row. M.DCC.XIV.

W O R K S O F JOHN LOCKE Esq;

V O L . II.

CONTAINING



Some Considerations of the Consequences of the lowering of Interest, and raising the Money. In a Letter sent to a Member of Parliament 1691.
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Printed for John Churchill at the Black Swan in Paternoster-Row. MDCCLXIV.

Some Considerations
OF THE
CONSEQUENCES
OF THE
Lowering of Interest,
AND
Raising the Value
OF
MONEY.

*In a Letter sent to a Member of Parliament,
1691.*

Some Considerations
OF THE
CONSEQUENCES

OF THE
FOLLOWING OF INTEREST



OF
MONEY.

In a Letter sent to a Member of Parliament,
1801.



SOME
CONSIDERATIONS
OF THE
Lowering of Interest,
AND
RAISING ^{the} VALUE
OF
MONEY.

S I R,



THESE Notions, concerning Coinage, having for the main, as you know, been put into Writing above Twelve Months since; as those other concerning Interest, a great deal above so many Years: I put them now again into your Hands, with a Liberty (since you will have it so) to communicate them farther, as you please. If, upon a Review, you continue your favourable Opinion of them, and nothing less than Publishing will satisfy you, I must desire you to remember, That you must be answerable to the World for the Scile; which is such as a Man writes carelessly to his Friend, when he seeks Truth, not Ornament; and studies only to be in the right, and to be understood. I have since you saw them last Year, met with some new Objections in Print, which I have endeavoured to remove; and particularly, I have taken into Consideration a Printed Sheet, entituled, Remarks upon a Paper given in to the Lords, &c. Because one may naturally suppose, That he that was so much a Patron of that Cause would omit nothing that could be said in favour of it. To this I must here add, That I am just now told from Holland, That the States finding themselves abused by Coining a vast quantity of their base [Schillings] Money, made of their own Ducatoons, and other finer Silver, melted down; have put a stop to the Minting of any but fine Silver Coin, till they should settle their Mint upon a new Foot.

I know the sincere Love and Concern you have for your Country, puts you constantly upon casting about on all hands for any means to serve it; and will not suffer you to overlook any thing you conceive may be of any the least Use, though offer'd you from the meanest Capacities: You could not else have put me upon looking out my old Papers concerning the reducing of Interest to 4 per Cent. which have so long lain by forgotten. Upon this new Survey of them, I find not my Thoughts now to differ from those I had near Twenty Years since: They have to me still the Appearance of Truth; nor should I otherwise venture them so much as to your sight. If my Notions are wrong, my Intention, I am sure, is right: And whatever I have fail'd in, I shall at least let you see with what Obedience I am,

Nov. 7.
1691.

S I R,

Your most humble Servant.

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S I R,

S I R,



Have so little Concern in Paying or Receiving of *Interest*, that were I in no more Danger to be misled by Inability and Ignorance, than I am to be biased by Interest and Inclination, I might hope to give you a very perfect and clear Account of the Consequences of a Law, to reduce *Interest* to *Four per Cent.* But since you are pleased to ask my Opinion, I shall endeavour fairly to state this Matter of *Use* with the best of my Skill.

The first thing to be consider'd, is, Whether the Price of the Hire of Money can be regulated by *Law*. And to that I think, generally speaking one may say, 'tis manifest it cannot. For since it's impossible, to make a Law that shall hinder a Man from giving away his Money or Estate to whom he pleases, it will be impossible, by any Contrivance of Law, to hinder Men, skill'd in the Power they have over their own Goods, and the Ways of Conveying them to others, to purchase Money to be lent them at what Rate soever their Occasions shall make it necessary for them to have it. For it is to be remembred, That no Man borrows Money, or pays *Use*, out of mere Pleasure: 'Tis the Want of Money drives Men to that Trouble and Charge of Borrowing: And proportionably to this Want, so will every one have it, whatever Price it cost him. Wherein the Skilful, I say, will always so manage it, as to avoid the Prohibition of your Law, and keep out of its Penalty, do what you can. What then will be the unavoidable Consequences of such a Law?

1. It will make the Difficulty of Borrowing and Lending much greater; whereby Trade (the Foundation of Riches) will be obstructed.

2. It will be a Prejudice to none but those who most need Assistance and Help; I mean Widows and Orphans, and others uninstructed in the Arts and Managements of more skilful Men; whose Estates lying in Money, they will be sure, especially Orphans, to have no more Profit of their Money, than what *Interest* the Law barely allows.

3. It will mightily encrease the Advantage of Bankers and Scriveners, and other such expert Brokers: Who skill'd in the Arts of putting out Money according to the true and natural Value, which the present State of Trade, Money and Debts, shall always raise *Interest* to, they will infallibly get, what the true Value of *Interest* shall be, above the Legal. For Men finding the Convenience of lodging their Money in Hands, where they can be sure of it at short Warning, the Ignorant and Lazy will be forwardest to put it into these Mens hands, who are known willingly to receive it, and where they can readily have the whole, or a part, upon any sudden Occasion, that may call for it.

4. I fear I may reckon it as one of the probable Consequences of such a Law, That it is likely to cause great Perjury in the Nation; a Crime, than which nothing is more carefully to be prevented by Law-makers, not only by Penalties, that shall attend apparent and proved Perjury; but by avoiding and lessening as much as may be, the Temptations to it. For where those are strong, (as they are where Men shall swear for their own Advantage) there the fear of Penalties to follow will have little Restraint; especially if the Crime be hard to be proved. All which I suppose will happen in this Case, where ways will be found out to receive Money upon other Pretences than for *Use*, to evade the Rule and Rigour of the Law: And there will be secret Trusts and Collusions amongst Men, that though they may be suspected, can never be proved without their own Confession. I have heard very sober and observing Persons complain of the Danger Mens Lives and Properties are in, by the frequency and fashionableness of Perjury amongst us. Faith and Truth, especially in all Occasions of attesting it upon the solemn Appeal to Heaven by an Oath, is the great Bond of Society: This it becomes the Wisdom of Magistrates carefully to support, and render as sacred and awful in the Minds of the People as they can. But if ever Frequency of Oaths shall make them be looked on as Formalities of Law, or the Custom of straining

straining of Truth (which Mens swearing in their own Cases is apt to lead them to) has once dipt Men in Perjury, and the Guilt with the Temptation has spread it self very wide, and made it almost fastionable in some Cases, it will be impossible for the Society (these Bonds being dissolved) to subsist: All must break in Pieces, and run to Confusion. That swearing in their own Cases is apt, by degrees to lead Men into as little Regard of such Oaths, as they have of their ordinary Talk, I think there is reason to suspect, from what has been observed in something of that kind. Masters of Ships are a sort of Men generally industrious and sober, and I suppose may be thought, for their Number and Rank, to be equally honest to any other sort of Men: And yet, by the Discourse I have had with Merchants in other Countries, I find, That they think in those Parts, they take a great Liberty in their Custom-house Oaths, to that degree, that I remember I was once told, in a trading Town beyond Sea, of a Master of a Vessel, there esteemed a sober and fair Man, who yet could not hold saying, *God forbid that a Custom-house Oath should be a Sin.* I say not this, to make any Reflection upon a sort of Men, that I think as uncorrupt as any other; and who, I am sure, ought in *England* to be cherished and esteemed as the most industrious and most beneficial of any of its Subjects. But I could not forbear to give this here as an Instance, how dangerous a Temptation it is, to bring Men customarily to swear, where they may have any Concernment of their own. And it will always be worthy the Care and Consideration of Law-makers, to keep up the Opinion of an Oath high and sacred, as it ought to be, in the Minds of the People; which can never be done, where frequency of Oaths, biassed by interest, has established a Neglect of them; and Fashion (which it seldom fails to do) has given Countenance to what Profit rewards.

But that Law cannot keep Men from taking more *Use* than you set (the want of Money being that alone which regulates its Price) will perhaps appear, if we consider how hard it is to set a Price upon Wine or Silks, or other unnecessary Commodities; but how impossible it is to set a Rate upon Victuals in a time of Famine. For Money being an universal Commodity, and as necessary to Trade, as Food is to Life, every body must have it, at what Rate they can get it; and unavoidably pay dear when it is scarce, and Debts, no less than Trade, have made Borrowing in Fashion. The Bankers are a clear Instance of this: For some Years since, the Scarcity of Money having made it in *England* worth really more than Six *per Cent.* most of those that had not the Skill to let it for more than Six *per Cent.* and secure themselves from the Penalty of the Law, put it in the Bankers Hands, where it was ready at their Call, when they had an Opportunity of greater Improvement. So that the Rate you set, profits not the Lenders, and very few of the Borrowers, who are fain to pay the Price for Money, that Commodity would bear, were it left free; and the Gain is only to the Banker. And should you lessen the *Use* to Four *per Cent.* the Merchant, or Tradesman, that borrows, would not have it one jot cheaper, than he has now; but probably these two ill effects would follow. *First*, That he would pay dearer; and *Secondly*, That there would be less Money left in the Country to drive the Trade. For the Bankers paying at most but Four *per Cent.* and receiving from Six to Ten *per Cent.* or more, at that low Rate could be content to have more Money lye dead by them, than now when it is higher: By which means there would be less Money stirring in Trade, and a greater Scarcity; which would raise it upon the Borrower by this *Monopoly*. And what a part of our Treasure their Skill and Management, join'd with others Laziness or Want of Skill, is apt to draw into their Hands, is to be known by those vast Sums of Money, they were found to owe at the shutting up of the *Exchequer*. And though it be very true, yet it is almost beyond Belief, That one private Goldsmith of *London* should have Credit upon his single Security, (being usually nothing but a Note under one of his Servants Hands) for above Eleven hundred thousand Pounds at once. The same Reasons, I suppose, will still keep on the same Trade: And when you have taken it down by Law to that Rate, no body will think of having more than Four *per Cent.* of the Banker, though those who have need of Money to employ it in Trade, will not then, any more than now, get it under Five or Six, or as some pay, Seven or Eight. And if they had then, when the Law permitted Men to make more Profit of their Money, so large a Proportion of the

Cash

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Cash of the Nation in their Hands, who can think, but that by this Law it should be more driven into *Lombard-street* now? there being many now who lend them at Four or Five *per Cent.* who will not lend to others at Six. It would therefore perhaps, bring down the Rate of Money to the Borrower, and certainly distribute it better to the Advantage of Trade in the Country, if the *legal Use*, were kept pretty near to the *natural*; (by *natural Use*, I mean that Rate of Money which the present Scarcity of it makes it naturally at, upon an equal Distribution of it) for then Men being licensed by the Law to take near the full *natural Use*, will not be forward to carry it to *London*, to put it into the Bankers Hands; but will lend it to their Neighbours in the Country, where it is convenient for Trade it should be. But if you lessen the Rate of *Use*, the Lender, whose Interest it is to keep up the Rate of Money, will rather lend it to the Banker, at the *legal Interest*, than to the Tradesman or Gentleman, who when the Law is broken, shall be sure to pay the full *natural Interest*, or more; because of the Ingrossing by the Banker, as well as the Risque in transgressing the Law: Whereas were the *natural Use* suppose Seven *per Cent.* and the *legal* Six; First, the Owner would not venture the Penalty of the Law for the gaining one in Seven, that being the utmost his Money would yield: Nor would the Banker venture to borrow, where his Gains would be but One *per Cent.* nor the Money'd Man lend him, what he could make better Profit of legally at Home. All the Danger lies in this, That your Trade should suffer if your being behind-hand has made the *natural Use* so high, that your Tradesman cannot live upon his Labour, but that your rich Neighbours will so under-sell you, that the Return you make will not amount to pay the *Use* and afford a Livelihood. There is no way to recover from this, but by a general Frugality and Industry; or by being Masters of the Trade of some Commodity, which the World must have from you at your Rate, because it cannot be elsewhere supplied.

Now I think the *natural Interest* of Money is raised two Ways: First, When the Money of a Country is but little in proportion to the Debts of the Inhabitants one amongst another. For suppose Ten thousand Pounds were sufficient to manage the Trade of *Bermudas*, and that the Ten first Planters carried over Twenty thousand Pounds, which they lent to the several Tradesmen and Inhabitants of the Country, who living above their Gains had spent Ten thousand Pounds of this Money, and it were gone out of the Island. 'Tis evident, that should all the Creditors at once call in their Money, there would be a great scarcity of Money, when that employed in Trade must be taken out of the Tradesmens Hands to pay Debts; or else the Debtors want Money, and be exposed to their Creditors, and so Interest will be high. But this seldom happening, that all or the greatest part of the Creditors do at once call for their Money, unless it be in some great and general Danger, is less and seldomer felt, than the following, unless where the Debts of the People are grown to a greater Proportion, for that constantly causing more Borrowers than there can be Lenders, will make Money scarce, and consequently *Interest* high. Secondly, That which constantly raises the *Natural Interest* of Money, is, when Money is little in Proportion to the Trade of a Country. For in Trade every Body calls for Money according as he wants it, and this Disproportion is always felt. For if Englishmen owed in all but One Million, and there were a Million of Money in *England*, the Money would be well enough proportioned to the Debts: But if Two Millions were necessary to carry on the Trade, there would be a Million wanting, and the price of Money would be raised, as it is of any other Commodity in a Market, where the Merchandize will not serve half the Customers, and there are two Buyers for one Seller.

'Tis in vain therefore to go about effectually to reduce the Price of Interest by a Law; and you may as rationally hope to set a fixt Rate upon the Hire of Houses, or Ships, as of Money. He that wants a Vessel, rather than lose his Market, will not stick to have it at the Market Rate, and find ways to do it, with security to the Owner, though the Rate were limited by a Law: And he that wants Money, rather than lose his Voyage, or his Trade, will pay the *Natural Interest* for it; and submit to such ways of Conveyance, as shall keep the Lender out of the reach of the Law. So that your Act at best, will serve only to increase the Arts of Lending, but not at all lessen the Charge of the Borrower: He 'tis likely shall with more Trouble, and going farther about, pay also the more for his Money;

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Money; unless you intend to break in only upon Mortgages and Contracts already made, and (which is not to be supposed) by a Law, *post factum*, void Bargains lawfully made, and give to *Richard* what is *Peter's* Due, for no other Reason, but because one was Borrower, and the other Lender.

But supposing the Law reach'd the intention of the Promoters of it; and that this Act be so contriv'd, that it forced the Natural price of Money, and hindred its being by any Body lent at a higher *Use*, than Four Pound *per Cent.* which is plain it cannot. Let us in the next place see what will be the Consequences of it.

1. It will be a loss to Widows, Orphans, and all those who have their Estates in Money, one third of their Estates: which will be a very hard Case upon a great number of People, and it is warily to be consider'd by the Wisdom of the Nation, whether they will thus at one blow, fine and impoverish a great and innocent part of the People, who having their Estates in Money, have as much Right to make as much of their Money as it is worth, (for more they cannot) as the Landlord has to let his Land for as much as it will yield. To fine Men one Third of their Estates, without any Crime or Offence committed, seems very hard.

2. As it will be a considerable Loss and Injury to the money'd Man, so it will be no Advantage at all to the Kingdom. For so Trade be not cramp'd, and the Exportation of our native Commodities and Manufactures not hindred, it will be no matter to the Kingdom, who amongst our selves gets or loses: Only common Charity teaches, that those should be most taken care of by the Law, who are least capable of taking care for themselves.

3. It will be a Gain to the borrowing Merchant. For if he borrow at Four *per Cent.* and his Returns be Twelve *per Cent.* he will have Eight *per Cent.* and the Lender Four: Whereas now they divide the Profit equally at Six *per Cent.* But this neither gets nor loses the Kingdom in your Trade, supposing the Merchant and Lender to be both Englishmen: only it will as I have said, transfer a third part of the money'd Man's Estate, who has nothing else to live on, into the Merchant's Pocket; and that without any Merit in the one, or Transgression in the other. Private Mens Interests ought not thus to be neglected, nor sacrificed to any thing but the manifest Advantage of the Publick. But in this Case it will be quite the contrary. This Loss to the money'd Men will be a Prejudice to Trade: Since it will discourage lending at such a disproportion of Profit, to Risque; as we shall see more by and by, when we come to consider of what Consequence it is to encourage lending, that so none of the Money of the Nation may lie dead, and thereby prejudice Trade.

4. It will hinder Trade. For there being a certain proportion of Money necessary for driving such a proportion of Trade, so much Money of this as lies still, lessens so much of the Trade. Now it cannot be rationally expected, but that where the Venture is great, and the Gains small, (as it is in lending in *England* upon low *Interest*) many will choose rather to hoard up their Money, than venture it abroad on such Terms. This will be a Loss to the Kingdom, and such a Loss, as here in *England* ought chiefly to be looked after: For we having no Mines, nor any other way of getting, or keeping of Riches amongst us but by Trade, so much of our Trade as is lost, so much of our Riches must necessarily go with it; and the over-ballancing of Trade between us and our Neighbours, must inevitably carry away our Money, and quickly leave us poor, and exposed: Gold and Silver though they serve for few, yet they command all the Conveniences of Life, and therefore in a plenty of them consists Riches.

Every one knows that Mines alone furnish these: But withal 'tis observable that most Countries stored with them by Nature are poor. The digging and refining of these Metals taking up the Labour, and wasting the Number of the People. For which reason the wise Policy of the *Chineses* will not suffer the Mines they have to be wrought. Nor indeed, things rightly considered, do Gold and Silver drawn out of the Mine equally enrich, with what is got by Trade. He that would make the lighter Scale preponderate to the opposite, will not so soon do it, by adding encrease of new Weight to the emptier, as if he took out of the heavier what he adds to the lighter, for then half so much will do it. Riches do not consist in having more Gold and Silver, but in having more in proportion, than the rest of the World, or than our Neighbours, whereby

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whereby we are enabled to procure to our selves a greater Plenty of the Conveniencies of Life than comes within the reach of Neighbouring Kingdoms and States, who, sharing the Gold and Silver of the World in a less proportion, want the means of Plenty and Power, and so are poorer. Nor would they be one jot the richer, if by the discovery of new Mines the quantity of Gold and Silver in the World becoming twice as much as it is, their shares of them should be doubled. By Gold and Silver in the World I must be understood to mean, not what lies hid in the Earth; but what is already out of the Mine in the Hands and Possessions of Men. This, if well considered, would be no small encouragement to Trade, which is a surer and shorter way to Riches than any other, where it is managed with Skill and Industry.

In a Country not furnished with Mines there are but two ways of growing rich, either Conquest or Commerce. By the first the Romans made themselves Masters of the Riches of the World; but I think that in our present Circumstances, no Body is vain enough to entertain a Thought of our reaping the Profits of the World with our Swords, and making the Spoil and Tribute of vanquished Nation, the Fund for the supply of the Charges of the Government, with an overplus for the Wants, and equally craving Luxury, and fashionable Vanity of the People.

Commerce therefore is the only way left to us, either for Riches or Subsistence. For this the Advantages of our Situation, as well as the Industry and Inclination of our People, bold and skilful at Sea, do naturally fit us. By this the Nation of *England* has been hitherto supported, and Trade left almost to itself, and assisted only by the natural Advantages above-mentioned, brought us in Plenty and Riches, and always set this Kingdom in a Rank equal, if not superior to any of its Neighbours; and would no doubt without any difficulty have continued it so, if the more enlarged, and better understood Interest of Trade, since the Improvement of Navigation, had not raised us many Rivals; and the amazing Politicks of some late Reigns, let in other Competitors with us for the Sea, who will be sure to seize to themselves whatever parts of Trade our Mismanagement, or want of Money, shall let slip out of our Hands. And when it is once lost, it will be too late to hope, by a mistim'd Care, easily to retrieve it again. For the Currents of Trade, like those of Waters, make themselves Channels out of which they are afterwards as hard to be diverted, as Rivers that have worn themselves deep within their Banks.

Trade then is necessary to the producing of Riches, and Money necessary to the carrying on of Trade. This is principally to be looked after and taken Care of. For if this be neglected, we shall in vain, by Contrivances amongst our selves, and shuffling the little Money we have from one anothers Hands, endeavour to prevent our Wants: Decay of Trade will quickly waste all the Remainder; and then the Landed-Man, who thinks perhaps by the fall of *Interest* to raise the Value of his Land, will find himself cruelly mistaken, when the Money being gone, (as it will be if our Trade be not kept up) he can get neither Farmer to rent, nor Purchaser to buy his Land. Whatsoever therefore hinders the lending of Money, injures Trade: And so the reducing of Money to Four *per Cent* which will discourage Men from lending, will be a Loss to the Kingdom, in stopping so much of the Current of Money, which turns the Wheels of Trade. But all this upon a Supposition, that the Lender and Borrower are both *English Men*.

If the Lender be a Foreigner, by lessening *Interest* from Six to Four, you get to the Kingdom one third part of the *Interest* we pay yearly to Foreigners: Which let any one if he please think considerable. But then upon lessening *Interest* to Four *per Cent*, it is likely one of these things will happen. That either you fall the Price of your Native Commodities, or lessen your Trade, or else prevent not the high Use as you intended. For at the time of lessening your *Interest*, you want Money for your Trade, or you do not. If you do not, there is no need to prevent borrowing at a high Rate of your Neighbours. For no Country borrows of its Neighbours, but where there is need of Money for Trade: No body will borrow more of a Foreigner to let it lye still. And if you do want Money, Necessity will still make you borrow where you can, and at the Rates your Necessity, not your Laws, shall set: or else, if there be scarcity of Money, it must hinder the Merchant's buying and exportation, and the Artisan's Manufacture. Now the Kingdom

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Kingdom gets or loses by this (for no question the Merchant by low *Interest* gets all the while) only proportionably (allowing the Consumption of Foreign Commodities to be still the same) as the paying of *Use* to Foreigners carries away more or less of our Money, than want of Money and stopping our Trade keeps us from bringing in, by hindring our Gains, which can be only estimated by those, who know how much Money we borrow of Foreigners, and at what Rate; and too, what Profit in Trade we make of that Money.

Borrowing of Foreigners upon *Interest* it's true carries away some of our Gain: But yet upon Examination it will be found, that our growing Rich or Poor depends not at all upon our borrowing upon *Interest* or not; but only which is greater or less, our Importation or Exportation of consumable Commodities. For supposing two Millions of Money will drive the Trade of *England*, and that we have Money enough of our own to do it; if we consume of our own Product and Manufacture, and what we Purchase by it of Foreign Commodities, one Million, but of the other Million consume nothing, but make a return of Ten *per Cent. per Ann.* we must then every Year be one hundred thousand pounds Richer, and our Stock be so much Encreast: But if we import more consumable Commodities than we export, our Money must go out to pay for them, and we grow poorer. Suppose therefore ill Husbandry hath brought us to One Million Stock, and we borrow the other Million (as we must, or lose half our Trade) at Six *per Cent.* If we consume one Moiety, and make still Ten *per Cent. per Ann.* return of the other Million, the Kingdom gets forty thousand pounds *per Ann.* though it pay sixty thousand pound *per Ann. Use.* So that if the Merchant's Return be more than his *Use*, (which 'tis certain it is, or else he will not Trade) and all that is so Traded for on borrowed Money be but the over-balance of our Exportation to our Importation, the Kingdom gets by this borrowing so much as the Merchant's Gain is above his *Use*. But if we borrow only for our own Expences, we grow doubly poor, by paying Money for the Commodity we consume, and *Use* for that Money; though the Merchant gets all this while, by making Returns greater than his *Use*. And therefore borrowing of Foreigners in it self makes not the Kingdom rich or poor; for it may do either: But spending more than our Fruits or Manufactures will pay for, brings in Poverty, and Poverty Borrowing.

For Money, as necessary to Trade, may be doubly considered. First, as in his Hands that pays the Labourer and Landholder, (for here its motion terminates, and through whose Hands soever it passes between these, he is but a Broker) and if this Man want Money, (as for Example, the Clothier) the Manufacture is not made; and so the Trade stops, and is lost. Or Secondly, Money may be considered as in the Hands of the Consumer, under which Name I here reckon the Merchant who buys the Commodity when made, to Export: And if he want Money, the value of the Commodity when made is lessened, and so the Kingdom loses in the Price. If therefore *Use* be lessened, and you cannot tye Foreigners to your Terms, then the ill effects fall only upon your Landholders and Artisans: If Foreigners can be forc'd by your Law to Lend you Money only at your own Rate, or not Lend at all, is it not more likely they will rather take it home, and think it safer in their own Country at Four *per Cent.* than abroad in a decaying Country? Nor can their overplus of Money bring them to Lend to you, on your Terms: For when your Merchants want of Money shall have sunk the price of your Market, a Dutchman will find it more Gains to buy your Commodity himself, than Lend his Money at Four *Per Cent.* to an English Merchant to Trade with. Nor will the Act of Navigation hinder their coming, by making them come empty, since even already there are those who think, that many, who go for English Merchants, are but Dutch Factors, and Trade for others in their own Names. The Kingdom therefore will lose by this lowering of *Interest*, if it makes Foreigners withdraw any of their Money, as well as if it hinders any of your People from Lending theirs, where Trade has need of it.

In a Treatise writ on purpose for the bringing down of *Interest*, I find this Argument of Foreigners calling away their Money to the prejudice of our Trade, thus Answer'd, That the Money of Foreigners, is not brought into the Land by ready Coin or Bullion, but by Goods or Bills of Exchange, and when it is paid must be returned by Goods or Bills of Exchange; and there will not be the less Money in the Land. I could

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not but wonder to see a Man, who undertook to write of Money and Interest, talk so directly besides the matter in the Business of Trade. *Foreigners Money, he says, is not brought into the Land by ready Coin or Bullion, but by Goods, or Bills of Exchange.* How then do we come by Bullion or Money? For Gold grows not, that I know, in our Country, and Silver so little, that one hundred thousandth part of the Silver we have now in *England*, was not drawn out of any Mines in this Island. If he means that the Monied Man in *Holland*, who puts out his Money at *Interest* here, did not send it over in Bullion or Specie hither: That may be true or false; but either way helps not that Author's purpose. For if he paid his Money to a Merchant his Neighbour, and took his Bills for it here in *England*, he did the same thing as if he had sent over that Money, since he does but make that Merchant leave in *England* the Money which he has due to him there, and otherwise would carry away. No, says our Author, *he cannot carry it away, for, says he, when it is paid it must be returned by Goods, or Bills of Exchange.* It must not be paid and exported in ready Money, so says our Law indeed, but that is a Law to hedge in the Cookoe, and serves to no purpose. For if we export not Goods, for which our Merchants have Money due to them in *Holland*, How can it be paid by Bills of Exchange? And for Goods, one hundred pounds worth of Goods can no where pay two hundred pounds in Money. This being that which I find many Men deceive themselves with in Trade, it may be worth while to make it a little plainer.

Let us suppose *England* peopled as it is now; and its Woollen Manufacture in the same State and Perfection, that it is at present; and that we, having no Money at all, Trade with this our Woollen Manufacture for the value of two hundred thousand pounds yearly to *Spain*, where there actually is a Million in Money: Farther let us suppose that we bring back from *Spain* yearly in Oyl, Wine and Fruit, to the value of one hundred thousand pounds, and continue to do this Ten Years together: 'Tis plain we have had for our two Millions value in Woollen Manufacture carried thither, one Million returned in Wine, Oyl, and Fruit: But what is become of t'other Million? Will the Merchants be content to lose it? That you may be sure they would not, nor have traded on, if they had not every Year Returns made answering their exportation. How then were the Returns made? In Money it is evident. For the *Spaniards* having in such a Trade, no Debts, nor the possibility of any Debts in *England*, cannot pay one Farthing of that other Million by Bills of Exchange: And having no Commodities that we will take off above the value of one hundred thousand pounds *per Annum*, they cannot pay us in Commodities. From whence it necessarily follows, that the hundred thousand pounds *per Ann.* wherein we over-balance them in Trade, must be paid us in Money; and so at the Ten Years end, their Million of Money, (though their Law make it Death to export it) will be all brought into *England*; as in Truth, by this over-balance of Trade, the greatest part of our Money hath been brought into *England* out of *Spain*.

Let us suppose our selves now possessed of this Million of Money; and exporting yearly out of *England*, to the several parts of the World, consumable Commodities to the value of a Million, but Importing yearly in Commodities, which we consume amongst us to the value of eleven hundred thousand pounds. If such a Trade as this be managed amongst us, and continue Ten Years, it is evident, that our Million of Money will at the end of the Ten Years be inevitably all gone from us to them, by the same way that it came to us; that is, by their over-balance of Trade, for we importing every Year one hundred thousand pounds worth of Commodities more than we export, and there being no Foreigners that will give us one hundred thousand pounds every year for nothing, it is unavoidable, that one hundred thousand pounds of our Money must go out every Year to pay for that over-plus, which our Commodities do not pay for. 'Tis ridiculous to say, that Bills of Exchange shall pay our Debts abroad: That cannot be, till Scrips of Paper can be made current Coin. The English Merchant, who has no Money owing him abroad, cannot expect to have his Bills paid there. Or if he has Credit enough with a Correspondent, to have his Bills answered; this pays none of the Debt of *England*, but only changes the Creditor. And if upon the general balance of Trade, English Merchants owe to Foreigners one hundred thousand pounds, or a Million, if Commodities do not, our Money must go out to pay it, or else our Credit be lost, and our Trade stop, and be lost too.

A Kingdom grows rich or poor, just as a Farmer doth, and no otherwise. Let us suppose the whole Isle of *Portland* one Farm; and that the Owner, besides what serves his Family, carries to Market to *Weymouth* and *Dorchester*, &c. Cattle, Corn, Butter, Cheese, Wool or Cloth, Lead and Tin, all Commodities produced and wrought within his Farm of *Portland*, to the value of a thousand pounds yearly; and for this, brings home in Salt, Wine, Oyl, Spice, Linnen and Silks, to the value of nine hundred pounds, and the remaining hundred pounds in Money. 'Tis evident he grows every Year a hundred pounds richer, and so at the end of ten Years will have clearly got a thousand pounds. If the Owner be a better Husband, and contenting himself with his native Commodities, buy less Wine, Spice, and Silk, at Market, and so bring home five hundred pounds in Money yearly, instead of a thousand pounds, at the end of ten Years he will have five thousand pounds by him, and be so much richer. He dies, and his Son succeeds, a fashionable young Gentleman, that cannot dine without *Champagne* and *Burgundy*, nor sleep but in a Damask-Bed; whose Wife must spread a long Train of Brocade, and his Children be always in the newest French Cut and Stuff. He being come to the Estate, keeps on a very busie Family; the Markets are weekly frequented, and the Commodities of his Farm carried out, and sold, as formerly, but the Returns are made something different; the fashionable way of Eating, Drinking, Furniture and Clothing for himself and Family, requires more Sugar and Spice, Wine and Fruit, Silk and Ribbons, than in his Father's time; so that instead of nine hundred pounds *per Annum*, he now brings home of consumable Commodities, to the value of eleven hundred pounds yearly. What comes of this? He lives in Splendor, 'tis true, but this unavoidably carries away the Money his Father got, and he is every Year an hundred pounds poorer. To his Expences, beyond his Income, add Debauchery, Idleness, and Quarrels amongst his Servants, whereby his Manufactures are disturbed, and his Business neglected, and a general Disorder and Confusion through his whole Family and Farm: This will tumble him down the Hill the faster, and the Stock, which the Industry, Frugality, and good Order of his Father had laid up, will be quickly brought to an end, and he fast in Prison. A Farm and a Kingdom in this respect differ no more than as greater and less. We may Trade, and be busie, and grow poor by it, unless we regulate our Expences; if to this we are idle, negligent, dishonest, malicious, and disturb the Sober and Industrious in their Business, let it be upon what pretence it will, we shall ruine the faster.

So that whatever this Author, or any one else may say, Money is brought into *England* by nothing but spending here less of foreign Commodities, than what we carry to Market can pay for; nor can Debts we owe to Foreigners be paid by Bills of Exchange, till our Commodities exported, and sold beyond Sea, have produced Money or Debts due there, to some of our Merchants. For nothing will pay Debts but Money or Money's worth, which three or four lines writ in Paper cannot be. If such Bills have an intrinsic value, and can serve instead of Money, why do we not send them to Market instead of our Cloth, Lead and Tin, and at an easier rate purchase the Commodities we want? All that a Bill of Exchange can do, is to direct to whom Money due, or taken up upon Credit in a Foreign Country, shall be paid: and if we trace it, we shall find, that what is owing already, became so for Commodities or Money carried from hence: and if it be taken up upon Credit, it must (let the Debt be shifted from one Creditor to another as often as you will) at last be paid by Money or Goods, carried from hence, or else the Merchant here must turn Bankrupt.

We have seen how Riches and Money are got, kept, or lost, in any Country; and that is by consuming less of Foreign Commodities than what by Commodities or Labour is paid for. This is in the ordinary course of things: but where great Armies and Alliances are to be maintained abroad by Supplies sent out of any Country, there often, by a shorter and more sensible way, the Treasure is diminished. But this since the holy War, or at least since the Improvement of Navigation and Trade, seldom happening to *England*, whose Princes have found the enlarging their Power by Sea, and the securing our Navigation and Trade, more the Interest of this Kingdom than Wars or Conquests on the Continent, expences in Arms beyond Sea have had little Influence on our Riches or Poverty. The next thing to be considered, is, how Money is necessary to Trade.

The Necessity of a certain Proportion of Money to Trade, (I conceive) lyes in this, that Money in its Circulation driving the several Wheels of Trade, whilst it keeps in that Channel (for some of it will unavoidably be drained into standing Pools) is all shared between the Landholder, whose Land affords the Materials; the Labourer, who works them; the Broker, (*i. e.*) Merchant and Shop-keeper, who distributes them to those that want them; and the Consumer, who spends them. Now Money is necessary to all these sorts of Men, as serving both for Counters and for Pledges, and so carrying with it even Reckoning, and Security, that he, that receives it, shall have the same value for it again, of other things that he wants, whenever he pleases. The one of these it does by its Stamp and Denomination; the other by its intrinsic Value, which is its *Quantity*.

For Mankind, having consented to put an imaginary Value upon Gold and Silver by reason of their Durableness, Scarcity, and not being very liable to be counterfeited, have made them by general consent the common Pledges, whereby Men are assured, in Exchange for them to receive equally valuable things to those they parted with for any *quantity* of these Metals. By which means it comes to pass, that the intrinsic value regarded in these Metals made the common Barter, is nothing but the *quantity* which Men give or receive of them. For they having as Money no other Value, but as Pledges to procure, what one wants or desires; and they procuring what we want or desire, only by their *quantity*, 'tis evident, that the intrinsic value of Silver and Gold used in Commerce is nothing but their *quantity*.

The Necessity therefore of a Proportion of Money to Trade, depends on Money not as Counters, for the Reckoning may be kept, or transferred by Writing; but on Money as a Pledge, which Writing cannot supply the place of: Since the Bill, Bond, or other note of Debt, I receive from one Man will not be accepted as Security by another, he not knowing that the Bill or Bond is true or legal, or that the Man bound to me is honest or responsible; and so is not valuable enough to become a current Pledge, nor can by publick Authority be well made so, as in the Case of assigning of Bills. Because a Law cannot give to Bills that intrinsic Value, which the universal consent of Mankind has annexed to Silver and Gold. And hence Foreigners can never be brought to take your Bills, or Writings for any part of Payment, though perhaps they might pass as valuable considerations among your own People, did not this very much hinder it, *viz.* That they are liable to unavoidable Doubt, Dispute, and Counterfeiting, and require other Proofs, to assure us that they are true and good Security, than our Eyes or a Touchstone. And at best this Course if practicable, will not hinder us from being Poor; but may be suspected to help to make us so, by keeping us from feeling our Poverty, which in distress will be sure to find us with greater disadvantage. Though it be certain it is better than letting any part of our Trade fall for want of current Pledges; and better too than borrowing Money of our Neighbours upon *Use*, if his way of assigning Bills can be made so easy, safe and universal at home, as to hinder it.

To return to the business in hand, and shew the Necessity of a *Proportion of Money to Trade*. Every Man must have at least so much Money, or so timely Recruits, as may in hand, or in a short distance of time, satisfy his Creditor who supplies him with the Necessaries of Life, or of his Trade. For no body has any longer these necessary Supplies, than he has Money, or *Credit*, which is nothing else but an assurance of Money in some short time. So that it is requisite to Trade that there should be so much Money, as to keep up the Landholders, Labourers and Brokers Credit: and therefore ready Money must be constantly exchange'd for Wares and Labour, or follow within a short time after.

This shews the Necessity of some *Proportion of Money to Trade*: But what Proportion that is, is hard to determine; because it depends not barely on the Quantity of Money, but the Quickness of its Circulation. The very same Shilling may at one time pay twenty Men in twenty Days, at another, rest in the same hands one hundred days together. This makes it impossible exactly to estimate the quantity of Money needful in Trade: But to make some probable guess, we are to consider, how much Money it is necessary to suppose must rest constantly in each Man's Hands, as requisite to the carrying on of Trade.

First therefore the Labourers, living generally but from Hand to Mouth, and indeed, considered as Labourers in order to Trade, may well enough carry on their

their part, if they have but Money enough to buy Victuals, Cloaths and Tools: All which may very well be provided, without any great sum of Money lying still in their Hands. The Labourers therefore, being usually paid once a Week; (if the times of Payment be seldomer, there must be more Money for the carrying on this part of Trade) we may suppose there is constantly amongst them, one with another, or those who are to pay them, always one Weeks Wages in ready Money. For it cannot be thought, that all, or most of the Labourers pay away all their Wages constantly, as soon as they receive it, and live upon Trust till next Pay-Day. This the Farmer and Tradesman could not well bear, were it every Labourer's Case, and every one to be trusted: And therefore they must of necessity keep some Money in their Hands, to go to Market for Victuals, and to other Tradesmen as poor as themselves, for Tools; and lay up Money too to buy Cloaths, or pay for those they bought upon Credit. Which Money thus necessarily resting in their Hands, we cannot imagine to be, one with another, much less than a Weeks Wages, that must be in their Pockets, or ready in the Farmer's Hands. For he who employs a Labourer at a Shilling *per* Day, and pays him on Saturday Nights, cannot be supposed constantly to receive that six Shillings just the same Saturday: It must ordinarily be in his Hands one time with another, if not a whole Week, yet several Days before.

This was the ordinary Course, whilst we had Money running in the several channels of Commerce: But that now very much failing, and the Farmer not having Money to pay the Labourer, supplies him with Corn, which in this great Plenty the Labourer will have at his own Rate, or else not take it off his Hands for Wages. And as for the Workmen, who are employed in our Manufactures, especially the Woollen one, these the Clothier, not having ready Money to pay, furnishes with the Necessaries of Life, and so trucks Commodities for Work, which, such as they are, good or bad, the Workman must take at his Master's Rate, or sit still and starve: Whilst by this means, this new sort of Ingrossers or Forestallers, having the feeding and supplying this numerous Body of Workmen out of their Warehouses, (for they have now Magazines of all sorts of Wares) set the Price upon the poor Landholder. So that the Markets now being destroyed, and the Farmer not finding vent there for his Butter, Cheese, Bacon, and Corn, &c. for which he was wont to bring home ready Money, must sell it to these Ingrossers, on their own Terms of Time and Rate; and allow it to their own Day-Labourers under the true Market-price. What kind of Influence this is like to have upon Land, and how this way Rents are like to be paid at Quarter-day, is easie to apprehend: And 'tis no wonder to hear every day of Farmers breaking and running away. For if they cannot receive Money for their Goods at Market, 'twill be impossible for them, to pay their Landlord's Rent. If any one doubt whether this be so, I desire him to enquire, how many Farmers in the *West* are broke and gone since *Michaelmas* last. Want of Money being to this degree, works both ways upon the Landholder. For first, the ingrossing Forestaller lets not the Money come to Market; but supplying the Workman, who is employed by him in Manufacture, with Necessaries, imposes his Price, and Forbearance on the Farmer, who cannot sell to the others. And the Labourer, who is employed by the Landholder in Husbandry, imposes also his Rate on him, for the Commodities he takes. For there being a want of Day-Labourers in the Country, they must be humoured, or else they will neither work for you, nor take your Commodities for their Labour.

Secondly, as for the Landholder, since his Tenants cannot Coin their Rent just at Quarter-day, but must gather it up by degrees, and lodge it with them till Pay-day; or borrow it of those, who have it lying by them, or do gather it up by Degrees, which is the same thing, and must be necessarily so much Money for some time lying still. For all that is paid in great Sums, must somewhere be gathered up by the Retail Incomes of a Trade, or else lie still too in great Sums, which is the same stop of Money, or a greater. Add to this, That to pay the Creditor, that lent him him his Rent, he must gather up Money by Degrees, as the Sale of his Commodities shall bring it in, and so makes a greater Stop, and greater want of Money: Since the borrowed Money that paid the Landholder the 25th of *March*, must be supposed to lye still some time in the Creditor's Hand

Hand, before he lent it the Tenant; and the Money, that pays the Creditor three Months after, must lye still some time in the Tenant's. Nor does the Landlord pay away his Rent usually as soon as he receives it, but by Degrees, as his occasions call for it. All this consider'd we cannot but suppose, that between the Landlord and Tenant there must necessarily be at least a quarter of the yearly Revenue of the Land constantly in their Hands. Indeed considering, that most part of the Rents of *England* are paid at our *Lady-day* and *Michaelmas*, and that the same Money, which pays me my Rent from my Tenant the 25th of *March*, or thereabouts, cannot pay my next Neighbour his Rent from his Tenant at the same Time, much less one more remote in another Country, it might seem requisite to suppose half the yearly Revenue of the Land to be necessarily employed in paying of Rent. For to say that some Tenants break and pay not their Rent at all, and others pay not till two, three, four, five, six, &c. Months after Quarter-day, and so the Rent is not all paid at one time, is no more than to say, that there is Money wanting to the Trade. For if the Tenant fail the Landlord, he must fail his Creditor, and he his, and so on, till somebody break, and so Trade decay for want of Money. But since a considerable part of the Land of *England* is in the Owner's Hands, who neither pay nor receive great Sums for it at a certain day; and because too, (which is the chief reason) we are not to consider here how much Money is in any one Man's, or any one sort of Mens Hands at one time; for that at other times may be distributed into other Hands, and serve other parts of Trade; but how much Money is necessary to be in each Man's Hands all the year round, taking one time with another, (*i. e.*) having three hundred pounds in his Hand one Month, is to be reckoned as one hundred pound in his Hand three Months, (and so proportionably) I think we may well suppose a quarter of the yearly Revenue to be constantly in the Landlords or Tenants Hands.

Here, by the by, we may observe, that it were better for Trade, and consequently for every body, (for more Money would be stirring, and less would do the business) if Rents were paid by shorter Intervals than six months. For supposing I let a Farm at fifty two pounds *per Ann.* if my Rent be paid half yearly, there is required twenty six pounds to be employed in the payment of it in one entire Sum, (if it be paid well, and if it be not paid well, for want of so much Money to be spared to that purpose, there is so much want of Money, and Trade is still endamag'd by it) a great part whereof must necessarily lie still before it come out of my Tenants Chest to my Hands: If it be paid once a Quarter, thirteen pounds alone will do it, and less Money is laid up for it, and stop'd a less while in its course: But should it be paid every Week, one single twenty shillings will pay the Rent of fifty two pounds *per Ann.* whence would follow this double benefit. *First*, That a great deal less Money would serve for the Trade of a Country. And *Secondly*, That less of the Money would lie still, the contrary whereof must needs happen, where growing debts are to be paid at larger distances, and in greater Sums.

Thirdly, As for the Brokers, since they too must lay up the Money coming in by Retail, either to go to Market, and buy Wares, or to pay at the day appointed, which is often six Months, for those Wares which they have already, we cannot suppose them to have less by them, one with another, than one twentieth part of their yearly Returns. Whether the Money be their own, or they be indebted so much or more, it matters not, if it be necessary they should have constantly by them, comparing one time with another, at least one twentieth part of their yearly Return.

Indeed in some great Towns, where the Bankers are ready at hand to buy Bills, or any other way to lend Money, for short time at great *Interest*, there perhaps the Merchant is not forced to keep so much Money by him, as in other places, where they have not such a Supply: But if you consider, what Money to do this must necessarily be constantly lodged in the Bankers Hands, the case will be much the same.

To these Sums, if you add, what part of the Money of a Country Scholars of all sorts, Women, Gamesters, and great Mens menial Servants, and all such that do not contribute at all to Trade, either as Landholders, Labourers, or Brokers, will unavoidably have constantly in their Hands, it cannot well be thought, that less than one fiftieth part of the Labourers Wages, one fourth
part

part of the Landholders yearly Revenue, and one twentieth part of the Brokers yearly Returns in ready Money, will be enough to drive the Trade of any Country. At least, to put it beyond exception low enough, it cannot be imagin'd that less than one moiety of this, *i. e.* less than one hundredth part of the Labourers yearly Wages, one eighth part of the Landholders yearly Revenue, and one fortieth part of the Brokers yearly Returns, in ready Money, can be enough to move the several wheels of Trade, and keep up Commerce in that Life and thriving Posture it should be; and how much the ready Cash of any Country is short of this Proportion, so much must the Trade be impair'd and hindred for want of Money.

But however these measures may be mistaken, this is evident, that the multiplying of Brokers hinders the Trade of any Country, by making the Circuit, which the Money goes, larger, and in that Circuit more stops, so that the Returns must necessarily be slower and scantier, to the prejudice of Trade: Besides that, they Eat up too great a share of the Gains of Trade, by that means starving the Labourer, and impoverishing the Landholder, whose Interest is chiefly to be taken care of, it being a settled unmoveable Concernment in the Commonwealth.

If this be so, it is past question, that all Encouragement should be given to Artificers; and things so order'd, as much as might be, that those who make, should also vend and retail out of their own Commodities, and they be hindred as much as possible from passing here at home, through divers Hands to the last Buyer. Lazy and Unworking Shopkeepers in this being worse than Gamesters, that they do not only keep so much of the Money of a Country constantly in their Hands, but also make the publick pay them for their keeping of it. Though Gaming too, upon the account of Trade (as well as other Reasons) may well deserve to be restrain'd: Since Gamesters, in order to their Play, keep great Sums of Money by them, which there lies dead. For though Gamesters, Money shift Masters oftener than any, and is tumbled up and down with every cast of a Die, yet as to the publick it lies perfectly still, and no more of it comes into Trade, than they spend in Eating or Wearing.

Here too we may observe, how much Manufacture deserves to be encourag'd: Since that part of Trade, though the most considerable, is driven with the least Money, especially if the Workmanship be more worth than the Materials. For to the Trade that is driven by Labour, and handicrafts Men, one two and fiftieth part of the yearly Money paid them will be sufficient: But to a Trade of Commodities of our bare native Growth, much greater proportion of Money is requir'd,

Perhaps it will be wondred, why having given some estimate (how wide I know not) of the Money necessary in the Hands of the Landholder, Labourer, and Broker, to carry on Trade, I have said nothing of the Consumer, whom I had mentioned before. To this I Answer. There are so few Consumers, who are not either Labourers, Brokers, or Landholders, that they make a very inconsiderable part in the account. For those who immediately depend on the Landholder, as his Children and Servants, come in under that title, being maintain'd by the Rent of his Lands; and so of the rest.

By what has been said, we may see what Injury the Lowering of *Interest* is like to do us by hindering Trade, when it shall either make the Foreigner call home his Money, or your own People backward to lend, the Reward not being judged proportionable to the Risque.

There is another seeming Consequence, of the reducing of Money to a low Price, which at first sight has such an appearance of truth in it, that I have known it impose upon very able Men, and I guess it has no small Influence, at this time, in the promoting this alteration, and that is, that the lowering of *Interest* will raise the value of all other Things in proportion. For Money being the Counter-balance to all other things purchasable by it, and lying, as it were, in the opposite scale of Commerce, it looks like a natural Consequence, that as much as you take off from the value of Money, so much you add to the price of other things, which are exchang'd for it; the raising of the price of any thing being no more but the addition to its value in respect of Money, or, which is all one, lessening the value of Money. For example: Should the value of Gold be brought down

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down to that of Silver, one hundred Guineas would purchase little more Corn, Wool, or Land, than one hundred Shillings, and so the *Value of Money* being brought lower, say they, the price of other Things will rise; and the falling of *Interest* from six pound to four pound *per Cent.* is taking away so much of the price of Money, and so consequently the lessening its Value.

The mistake of this plausible way of reasoning will be easily discovered, when we consider that the *measure* of the value of Money, in proportion to any thing purchasable by it, is the quantity of the ready Money we have, in comparison with the *quantity* of that thing and its *Vent*; or which amounts to the same things, the price of any Commodity rises or falls, by the proportion of the number of *Buyers* and *Sellers*; this rule holds universally in all things that are to be bought and sold, bating now and then an extravagant Phancy of some particular Person, which never amounts to so considerable a part of Trade as to make any thing in the Account worthy to be thought an Exception to this Rule.

The *Vent* of any thing depends upon its Necessity or Usefulness, as Convenience, or Opinion guided by Phancy or Fashion shall determine.

The *Vent* of any Commodity comes to be increased or decreased as a greater part of the running Cash of the Nation is designed to be laid out by several People at the same time rather in that, than another, as we see in the change of Fashions.

I shall begin first with the Necessaries or Conveniencies of Life, and the consumable Commodities subservient thereunto; and shew, that the *Value of Money* in respect of those depends only on the plenty or scarcity of Money in proportion to the plenty and scarcity of those Things, and not on what *Interest* shall by Necessity, Law or Contract be at that Time laid on the borrowing of Money: And then afterwards I shall shew that the same holds in Land.

There is nothing more confirmed by daily Experience, than that Men give any portion of Money for whatsoever is absolutely necessary, rather than go without it. And in such things, the Scarcity of them alone makes their Prices. As for Example. Let us suppose half an Ounce of Silver, or half a Crown now in *England*, is worth a Bushel of Wheat: But should there be next Year a great scarcity of Wheat in *England*, and a proportionable want of all other Food, five Ounces of Silver would perhaps in Exchange purchase but one Bushel of Wheat: So that Money would be then nine Tenths less worth in respect of Food, though at the same value it was before, in respect of other Things, that kept their former proportion, in their Quantity and Consumption.

By the like proportions of Increase and Decrease, does the value of Things, more or less convenient, rise and fall in respect of Money, only with this difference, that things absolutely *necessary* for Life must be had at any Rate; but Things *convenient* will be had only as they stand in preference with other Conveniences: And therefore in any one of these Commodities, the value rises only as its quantity is less, and vent greater, which depends upon its being preferred to other things in its Consumption. For supposing that at the same time that there is a great scarcity of *Wheat*, and other Grain, there were a considerable quantity of *Oats*, Men no question would give far more for *Wheat* than *Oats*, as being the healthier, pleasanter, and more convenient Food: But since *Oats* would serve to supply that absolute necessity of sustaining Life, Men would not rob themselves of all other Conveniencies of Life, by paying all their Money for *Wheat*, when *Oats*, that are cheaper, though with some Inconvenience, would supply that Defect. It may then so happen at the same time, that half an Ounce of Silver, that the Year before would buy one Bushel of *Wheat*, will this Year buy but one tenth of a Bushel: Half an Ounce of Silver, that the Year before would have bought three Bushels of *Oats*, will this Year still buy one Bushel: And at the same time half an Ounce of Silver, that would the Year before have bought fifteen pounds of Lead, will still buy the same quantity. So that at the same time *Silver*, in respect of *Wheat*, is nine tenths less worth than it was, in respect of *Oats* two thirds less worth, and in respect of *Lead*, as much worth as before.

The fall therefore or rise of *Interest*, making immediately by its change neither more nor less Land, Money, or any sort of Commodity in *England*, than there was before, alters not at all the value of Money, in reference to Commodities.

Because

Because the measure of that is only the *Quantity* and *Vent*, which are not immediately chang'd by the change of *Interest*. So far as the Change of *Interest* conduces in Trade to the bringing in or carrying out Money or Commodities, and so in time to the varying their Proportions here in *England* from what it was before, so far the change of *Interest* as all other things that promote or hinder Trade may alter the value of Money in reference to Commodities. But that is not in this place to be considered.

This is perfectly the *value of Money in respect of consumable Commodities*: But the better to understand it in its full Latitude, in respect both of consumable Commodities, and Land too, we must consider, *First*, That the *value of Land* consists in this, that by its constant production of saleable Commodities it brings in a certain yearly Income: *Secondly*, The *value of Commodities* consists in this, that as portable and useful things, they by their Exchange or Consumption, supply the necessities or conveniencies of Life. *Thirdly*, In *Money* there is a double Value, answering to both of these, first as it is capable by its *Interest* to yield us such a yearly Income: And in this it has the nature of Land, (the Income of one being called *Rent*, of the other *Use*) only with this difference, that the Land in its Soil being different, as some fertile, some barren; and the Products of it very various, both in their sorts, Goodness and Vent, is not capable of any fixed estimate by its quantity: But Money, being constantly the same, and by its *Interest* giving the same sort of Product through the whole Country, is capable of having a fixed yearly Rate set upon it by the Magistrate; but Land is not. But though in the uniformity of its legal Worth, one hundred pounds of lawful Money being all through *England* equal in its current Value to any other one hundred pounds of lawful Money, (because by virtue of the Law it will every where pass for as much Ware or Debt, as any other hundred pounds) is capable to have its yearly Hire valued better than Land: Yet in respect of the varying need, and necessity of Money, (which changes with the increase or decay of Money or Trade in a Country) it is as little capable to have its yearly Hire fixed by Law, as Land it self. For were all the Land in *Rumney-Marsh*, Acre for Acre, equally good, that is, did constantly produce the same quantity of equally good Hay or Grass, one as another, the Rent of it, under that Consideration of every Acre being of an equal Worth, would be capable of being regulated by Law; and one might as well enact, that no Acre of Land in *Rumney-Marsh* shall be let for above forty shillings *per Ann.* as that no hundred pound, shall be let for above four pounds *per Ann.* But no body can think it fit (since by reason of the equal value of that Land it can) that therefore the Rent of the Land in *Rumney-Marsh* should be regulated by Law. For supposing all the Land in *Rumney-Marsh*, or in *England*, were all of so equal a Worth, that any one Acre, compared at the same time to any one other, were equally good in respect of its Product, yet the same Acre, compar'd with it self in different times, would not in respect of Rent be of equal Value. And therefore it would have been an unreasonable thing, if in the time of *Henry 7.* the Rent of Land in *Rumney-Marsh* had been settled by a Law, according to the judg'd Value of it at that time, and the same Law, limiting the Rent perhaps to 5 *s.* *per Acre*, have continued still. The absurdity and impracticableness of this every one sees at the first Proposal, and readily concludes within himself, that things must be left to find their own Price; and it is impossible in this their constant mutability for human Foresight to set Rules and Bounds to their constantly-varying *Proportion* and *Use*, which will always regulate their Value.

They who consider things beyond their Names, will find, that *Money*, as well as all other Commodities, is liable to the same Changes and Inequalities: Nay in this respect of the variety of its *Value*, brought in by time in the succession of Affairs, the rate of Money is less capable of being regulated by a Law in any Country than the Rent of Land. Because to the quick Changes, that happen in Trade, this too must be added, that Money may be brought in, or carried out of the Kingdom, which Land cannot; and so that be truly worth 6 or 8 *per Cent.* this Year, which would yield but 4 the last.

2. *Money* has a *Value*, as it is capable by Exchange to procure us the necessities or conveniencies of Life, and in this it has the nature of a *Commodity*; only with this difference, that it serves us commonly by its Exchange, never almost by

its Consumption. But though the Use Men make of Money be not in its Consumption, yet it has not at all a more standing settled Value in Exchange with any other thing, than any other Commodity has, but a more known one, and better fixed by Name, Number and Weight, to enable us, to reckon, what the Proportion of Scarcity and Vent of one Commodity is to another. For supposing, as before, that half an Ounce of Silver would last Year exchange for one Bushel of Wheat, or for 15 lb . Weight of Lead; if this Year Wheat be Ten times scarcer, and Lead in the same quantity to its Vent as it was, is it not evident that half an Ounce of Silver will still exchange for 15 lb . of Lead, though it will exchange but for one Tenth of a Bushel of Wheat; and he that has use of Lead will as soon take 15 lb . Weight of Lead, as half an Ounce of Silver, for One Tenth of a Bushel of Wheat, and no more. So that if you say, that Money now is nine Tenths less worth, than it was the former Year, you must say so of Lead too, and all other things, that keep the same Proportion to Money which they had before. The Variation indeed is first and most taken notice in Money: Because that is the universal Measure by which People reckon, and used by every body in the valuing of all things. For calling that half Ounce of Silver Half a Crown, they speak properly, and are readily understood when they say, Half a Crown, or two Shillings and six Pence, will now buy One Tenth of a Bushel of Wheat, but do not say, that 15 lb . of Lead will now buy One Tenth of a Bushel of Wheat, because it is not generally used to this sort of Reckoning: Nor do they say Lead is less worth than it was, though in respect of Wheat, Lead as well as Silver be Nine Tenths worse than it was, as well as Silver; only by the Tale of Shillings we are better enabled to judge of it: Because these are measures whose Ideas by constant Use are settled in every English Man's mind.

This I suppose is the true *Value of Money* when it passes from one to another in Buying and Selling; where it runs the same Changes of higher and lower, as any other Commodity doth: For one equal quantity whereof you shall receive in Exchange more, or less of another Commodity at one time, than you do at another. For a Farmer that carries a Bushel of Wheat to Market, and a Labourer that carries Half a Crown, shall find that the Money of one, as well as Corn of the other, shall at some times purchase him more or less Leather or Salt, according as they are in greater Plenty and Scarcity one to another. So that in exchanging Coin'd Silver for any other Commodity, (which is buying and selling) the same measure governs the Proportion you receive, as if you exchange'd Lead, or Wheat, or any other Commodity. That which regulates the Price, i. e. the quantity given for Money (which is called buying and selling) for an other Commodity, (which is called Bartring) is nothing else but their Quantity in Proportion to their Vent. If then lowering of Use makes not your Silver more *in specie*, or your Wheat or other Commodities less, it will not have any Influence at all to make it exchange for less of Wheat, or any other Commodity, than it will have on Lead, to make it exchange for less Wheat, or any other Commodity.

Money therefore in buying and selling being perfectly in the same Condition with other Commodities, and subject to all the same Laws of Value, let us next see how it comes to be of the same Nature with Land, by yielding a certain yearly Income, which we call Use or Interest. For Land produces naturally something new and profitable, and of Value to Mankind; but Money is a barren thing, and produces nothing, but by Compact transfers that Profit that was the Reward of one Man's Labour into another Man's Pocket. That which occasions this, is the unequal Distribution of Money; which Inequality has the same effect too upon Land, that it has upon Money. For my having more Money in my Hand than I can, or am disposed to use in buying and selling, makes me able to lend: And another's want of so much Money as he could employ in Trade, makes him willing to borrow. But why then, and for what Consideration doth he pay Use? For the same Reason, and upon as good Consideration, as the Tenant pays Rent for your Land. For as the unequal Distribution of Land, (you having more than you can or will manure, and another less) brings you a Tenant for your Land; and the same unequal Distribution of Money, (I having more than I can or will employ, and another less) bring me a Tenant for my Money: So my Money is apt in Trade, by the Industry of the Borrower, to produce more than Six per Cent. to the Borrower, as well as your Land, by the Labour of the Tenant,

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is apt to produce more Fruits, than his Rent comes to; and therefore deserves to be paid for, as well as Land, by a yearly Rent. For though the Usurer's Money would bring him in no yearly Profit, if he did not lend it, (supposing he employs it not himself) and so his six *per Cent.* may seem to be the Fruit of another Man's Labour, yet he shares not near so much of the profit of another Man's Labour, as he that lets Land to a Tenant. For without the Tenants Industry (supposing as before, the Owner would not manage it himself) his Land would yield him little or no Profit. So that the Rent he receives is a greater Portion of the Fruit of his Tenants Labour, than the *Use* is at six *per Cent.* For generally he that borrows one thousand pounds at six *per Cent.* and so pays sixty pounds *per Annum Use*, gets more above his *Use* in one Year, by his Industry, than he that Rents a Farm of sixty pounds *per Annum* gets in two, above his Rent, though his Labour be harder.

It being evident therefore, that he that has skill in Traffick, but has not Money enough to exercise it, has not only reason to borrow Money to drive his Trade, and get a livelihood; but as much reason to pay *Use* for that Money; as he, who having skill in Husbandry but no Land of his own to employ it in, has not only reason to rent Land, but to pay Money for the *Use* of it; It follows, that borrowing Money upon *Use* is not only by the necessity of Affairs, and the Constitution of human Society, unavoidable to some Men, but that also to receive Profit for the Loan of Money, is as equitable and lawful, as receiving Rent for Land, and more tolerable to the Borrower, notwithstanding the Opinion of some over-scrupulous Men.

This being so, one would expect, that the rate of *Interest* should be the measure of the value of Land in number of Years Purchase, for which the Fee is sold; For 100 *l.* *per Annum* being equal to 100 *l.* *per Annum*, and so to perpetuity. and 100 *l.* *per Annum* being the Product of 1000 *l.* when *Interest* is at 10 *per Cent.* of 1250 *l.* when *Interest* is at 8 *per Cent.* of 1666 *l.* or thereabouts, when *Interest* is at 6 *per Cent.* of 2000 *l.* when Money is at 5 *per Cent.* of 2500 *l.* when Money is at 4 *per Cent.* One would conclude, I say, that Land should sell in proportion to *Use*, according to these following Rates, *viz.*

When Money is at	$\left. \begin{array}{c} 10 \\ 8 \\ 6 \\ 5 \\ 4 \end{array} \right\}$	<i>per Cent</i> for	$\left\{ \begin{array}{c} 10 \\ 12\frac{1}{2} \\ 16\frac{2}{3} \\ 20 \\ 25 \end{array} \right\}$	years purchase.
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But experience tells us, that neither in Queen Elizabeth, nor King James the first Reigns, when *Interest* was at ten *per Cent.* was Land sold for Ten; or when it was at eight *per Cent.* for twelve and an half years Purchase, or any thing near the low rate that high *Use* required (if it were true, that the rate of *Interest* govern'd the price of Land) any more than Land, now yields twenty five Years Purchase, because a great part of the monied Men will now let their Money upon good Security at four *per Cent.* Thus we see in fact how little this Rule has held at Home: And he that will look into Holland, will find, that the Purchase of Land was not raised there, when their *Interest* fell. This is certain, and past Doubt, that the legal *Interest* can never regulate the price of Land since it is plain, that the price of Land has never changed with it in the several Changes have been made in the rate of *Interest* by Law: Nor now that the rate of *Interest* is by Law the same through all England, is the price of Land every where the same, it being in some parts constantly sold for four or five Years Purchase more than in others. Whether you or I can tell the reason of this, it matters not to the Question in hand: But it being really so, this is plain Demonstration against those, who pretend to advance and regulate the price of Land by a Law, concerning the *Interest* of Money.

But yet I will give you some of my Guesses, why the price of Land is not regulated (as at first sight it seems it should be) by the *Interest* of Money. Why it is not regulated by the legal *Use* is manifest, because the rate of Money does not follow the Standard of the Law, but the price of the Market; and Men not observing the legal and forced, but the natural and current *Interest* of Money, regulate their Affairs by that. But why the rate of Land does not follow the current *Interest* of Money requires a farther Consideration.

Considerations of the Lowering of Interest,

All Things that are bought and sold, raise and fall their price in proportion, as there are more Buyers or Sellers. Where there are a great many Sellers to a few Buyers, there use what art you will, the thing to be sold will be cheap. On the other side, turn the Tables, and raise up a great many Buyers for a few Sellers, and the same thing will immediately grow Dear. This rule holds in Land as well as all other Commodities, and is the Reason, why in *England* at the same time, that Land in some places is at seventeen or eighteen Years Purchase, it is about others, where there are profitable Manufactures, at two or three and twenty Years Purchase: Because there (Men thriving and getting Money by their Industry, and willing to leave their Estates to their Children in Land, as the surest, and most lasting Provision, and not so liable to Casualties as Money in untrading or unskilful Hands) there are many Buyers ready always to purchase, but few Sellers. For the Land thereabout being already possessed by that sort of industrious and thriving Men, they have neither need, nor will, to sell. In such places of Manufacture, the Riches of the one not arising from the squandering and waste of another, (as it doth in other places where Men live lazily upon the product of the Land) the Industry of the People bringing in increase of Wealth from remote Parts, makes plenty of Money there without the impoverishing of their Neighbours. And when the thriving Tradesman has got more than he can well employ in Trade, his next Thoughts are to look out for a Purchase, but it must be a Purchase in the Neighbourhood, where the Estate may be under his Eye, and within convenient distance, that the Care and Pleasure of his Farm may not take him off from the Engagements of his Calling, nor remove his Children too far from him, or the Trade he breeds them up in. This seems to me the Reason, why in places, wherein thriving Manufactures have erected themselves, Land has been observed to sell quicker, and for more Years Purchase than in other places, as about *Hallifax* in the North, *Taunton* and *Exeter* in the West,

This is that then, which makes *Land*, as well as other Things *dear*: plenty of Buyers, and but few Sellers: And so by the Rule of Contraries, plenty of Sellers and few Buyers makes *Land cheap*.

He that will justly estimate the value of any Thing, must consider its quantity in proportion to its vent, for this alone regulates the Price. The value of any thing, compar'd with its self, or with a standing Measure, is greater, as its quantity is less in proportion to its vent: But in comparing it, or exchanging it with any other thing, the quantity and vent of that thing too must be allowed for in the computation of their Value. But because the desire of Money is constantly, almost every where the same, its vent varies very little, but as its greater scarcity enhances its Price, and increases the scramble, there being nothing else that does easily supply the want of it. The lessening its quantity, therefore, always increases its Price, and makes an equal portion of it exchange for a greater of any other Thing. Thus it comes to pass, that there is no manner of settled proportion between the Value of an Ounce of Silver, and any other Commodity: For either varying its quantity in that Country, or the Commodity changing its quantity in proportion to its Vent, their respective Values change, *i. e.* less of one will barter for more of the other: Though in the ordinary way of speaking, 'tis only said, that the price of the Commodity, not of the Money is changed. For example, half an Ounce of Silver in *England*, will exchange sometimes for a whole Bushel of Wheat, sometimes for half, sometimes but a quarter, and this it does equally, whether by Use it be apt to bring in to the Owner six in the Hundred of its own Weight *per Annum*, or nothing at all: It being only the change of the quantity of Wheat to its Vent, supposing we have still the same Sum of Money in the Kingdom; or else the change of the quantity of our Money in the Kingdom, supposing the quantity of Wheat, in respect to its Vent be the same too, that makes the change in the Price of Wheat. For if you alter the quantity or vent on either side, you presently alter the Price, but no other way in the World.

For it is not the Being, Adding, Increasing or Diminishing of any good quality in any Commodity, that makes its Price greater or less, but only as it makes its quantity or vent greater or less, in proportion one to another. This will easily appear by two or three Instances.

1. The Being of any good, and useful quality in any thing neither increases its Price, nor indeed makes it have any Price at all, but only as it lessens its quantity or

or increases its vent, each of these in proportion to one another. What more useful or necessary things are there to the Being or Well-being of Men, than Air and Water, and yet these have generally no Price at all, nor yield any Money: Because their quantity is immensely greater than their vent in most places of the World. But, as soon as ever Water (for Air still offers it self every where, without restraint or inclosure, and therefore is no where of any Price) comes any where to be reduced into any proportion to its Consumption, it begins presently to have a Price, and is sometimes sold dearer than Wine. Hence it is, that the best, and most useful things are commonly the cheapest; because, though their Consumption be great, yet the Bounty of Providence has made their production large, and suitable to it.

2. Nor does the adding an excellency to any Commodity, raise its Price, unless it increase its Consumption. For suppose there should be taught a way (which should be published to the knowledge of every one) to make a Medicine of Wheat alone, that should infallibly cure the *Stone*: 'Tis certain the discovery of this quality in that Grain, would give it an excellency very considerable: And yet this would not increase the Price of it one Farthing in twenty Bushels, because its quantity or vent would not hereby, to any sensible degree, be alter'd.

3. Neither does the increasing of any good quality, in any sort of things make it yield more. For though Teasels be much better this Year, than they were last, they are not one jot dearer, unless they be fewer too, or the consumption of them greater.

4. Nor does the lessening the good qualities of any sort of Commodity lessen its Price; which is evident in Hops, that are usually dearest those Years they are worst. But if it happen to be a Species of Commodity, whose defects may be supplied by some other, the making of it worse does lessen its Price; because it hinders its Vent. For if Rye should any Year prove generally smutty or grown, no question it would yield less Money than otherwise, because the deficiency of that might be, in some measure, made up by Wheat, and other Grain. But if it be a sort of Commodity whose use no other known thing can supply, 'tis not its being better or worse, but its quantity and vent is that alone which regulates, and determines its value.

To apply this now to Money, as capable of different rates of *Interest*. To Money considered in its proper Use, as a Commodity passing in exchange from one to another, all that is done by *Interest*, is but the adding to it by agreement or publick Authority, a faculty, which naturally it has not, of increasing every Year six *per Cent*. Now if publick Authority sink *Use* to four *per Cent*. 'tis certain it diminishes this good quality in Money one Third. But yet this making the Money of *England* not one Farthing more than it was, it alters not the measures upon which all changeable Commodities increase or sink their Price, and so makes not Money exchange for less of any Commodity, than it would without this alteration of its *Interest*. If lessening *Use* to four *per Cent*. should at all alter the quantity of Money, and make it less, it would make Money, as it has the nature of a Commodity, dearer, *i. e.* a less quantity of Money would exchange for a greater quantity of another Commodity, than it would before. This perhaps will appear a little plainer by these following particulars.

1. That the intrinsic natural worth of any Thing, consists in its fitness to supply the Necessities or serve the Conveniencies of human Life; and the more necessary it is to our Being, or the more it contributes to our Well-being the greater is its Worth: But yet,

2. That there is no such intrinsic natural settled value in any Thing, as to make any assign'd quantity of it, constantly worth any assigned quantity of another.

3. The Marketable value of any assign'd quantities of two or more Commodities, are *pro hic & nunc* equal, when they will Exchange one for another. As supposing one Bushel of Wheat, two Bushels of Barley, thirty pound of Lead, and one Ounce of Silver, will now in the Market be taken one for another, they are then of equal Worth: And our Coin being that which Englishmen reckon by, an Englishman would say, that now one Bushel of Wheat, two Bushels of Barley, thirty pound of Lead, and one Ounce of Silver, were equally worth five Shillings.

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Considerations of the Lowering of Interest.

4. The change of this Marketable value of any Commodity in respect of an other Commodity or in respect of a standing common Measure, is not the altering of any intrinsic value or quality in the Commodity; (for musty and smutty Corn will sell dearer at one time than the clean and sweet at another) but the alteration of some proportion, which that Commodity bears to something else.

5. This proportion in all Commodities, whereof Money is one, is the proportion of their quantity to the Vent. The Vent is nothing else, but the passing of Commodities from one Owner to another in Exchange; and is then call'd quicker, when a greater quantity of any species of Commodity, is taken off from the Owners of it, in an equal space of Time.

6. This Vent is regulated, *i. e.* made quicker or slower, as greater or less quantities of any saleable Commodity are remov'd out of the way, and course of Trade; separated from publick Commerce; and no longer lie within the reach of Exchange. For though any Commodity should shift Hands never so fast, and be exchanged from one Man to another; yet if they were not thereby exempted from Trade and Sale, and did not cease to be any longer Traffick, this would not at all make, or quicken their Vent. But this seldom or never happening, makes very little or no alteration.

7. Things are removed out of the Market or hands of Commerce, and so their Vent altered three ways; 1. By Consumption, when the Commodity in its Use is destroy'd, as Meat, Drink, and Cloths, &c. all that is so consumed is quite gone out of the Trade of the World. 2. By Exportation; and all that is so carried away, is gone out of the Trade of *England*, and concerns Englishmen no more in the price of their Commodities among themselves for their own Use, than if it were out of the World. 3. By buying and laying up for a Mans private Use. For what is by any of these ways shut out of the Market, and no longer moveable by the Hand of Commerce, makes no longer any part of Merchantable Ware, and so in respect of Trade, and the quantity of any Commodity, is not more considerable than if it were not in Being. All these three terminating at last in Consumption of all Commodities, (excepting only Jewels and Plate, and some few others which wear out but insensibly) may properly enough pass under that Name. Ingrossing too has some influence on the present Vent: But this inclosing some considerable part of any Commodity, (for if the ingrossing be of all the Commodity, and it be of general Use, the price is at the will of the Ingrosser) out of the free Common of Trade only for some time, and afterwards returning again to Sale, makes not usually so sensible and general an alteration in the Vent as the others do: But yet influences the Price, and the Vent more, according as it extends its self to a larger portion of the Commodity, and hoards it up longer.

8. Most other portable Commodities (excepting Jewels, Plate, &c.) decaying quickly in their Use, but Money being less consumed or increased, *i. e.* by slower Degrees removed from, or brought into the free Commerce of any Country, than the greatest part of other Merchandize; and so the proportion between its quantity and Vent, altering slower than in most other Commodities, it is commonly look'd on as a standing measure to judge of the value of all Things, especially being adapted to it by its Weight and Denomination in Coinage.

9. Money, whilst the same quantity of it is passing up and down the Kingdom in Trade, is really a standing measure of the falling and rising value of other Things in Reference to one another: And the alteration of price is truly in them only. But if you increase or lessen the quantity of Money current in Traffick in any place, then the alteration of value is in the Money: And if at the same time Wheat keep its proportion of Vent to quantity, Money to speak truly alters its Worth, and Wheat does not, though it sell for a greater or less price than it did before. For Money being look'd upon as the standing measure of other Commodities, Men consider and speak of it still, as if it were a standing Measure, though when it has varied its quantity, 'tis plain it is not.

10. But the Value or Price of all Commodities, amongst which Money passing in Trade is truly one, consisting in Proportion, you alter this, as you do all other Proportions, whether you increase one, or lessen the other.

11. In all other Commodities, the Owners when they design them for Traffick, endeavour as much as they can to have them vented and gone, *i. e.* removed out of the reach of Commerce, by Consumption, Exportation, or laying up:
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But Money never lying upon Peoples Hands, or wanting vent, (for any one may part with it in exchange when he pleases,) the provident publick, and private care, is to keep it from venting or consuming, *i. e.* from Exportation, which is its proper Consumption; and from hoarding up by others, which is a sort of ingrossing. Hence it is that other Commodities have sometimes a quicker, sometimes a slower vent: For no body lays out his Money in them but according to the use he has of them, and that has bounds. But every body being ready to receive Money without bounds, and keep it by him, because it answers all things: Therefore the vent of Money is always sufficient, or more than enough. This being so, its Quantity alone is enough to regulate and determine its value, without considering any Proportion between its quantity and vent, as in other Commodities.

12. Therefore the lessening of *Use*, not bringing one Penny of Money more into the Trade or Exchange of any Country, but rather drawing it away from Trade, and so making it less, does not at all sink its value, and make it buy less of any Commodity, but rather more.

13. That which raises the natural *Interest* of Money, is the same that raises the Rent of Land, *i. e.* its aptness to bring in yearly to him that manages it, a greater overplus of income above his Rent, as a Reward to his Labour. That which causes this in Land is the greater quantity of its Product, in Proportion to the same vent of that particular Fruit, or the same quantity of Product, in Proportion to a greater vent of that single Commodity; but that which causes increase of Profit to the Borrower of Money, is the less quantity of Money, in Proportion to Trade, or to the vent of all Commodities, taken together, & *vice versa*.

14. The natural Value of Money, as it is apt to yield such an yearly Income by *Interest*, depends on the whole quantity of the then passing Money of the Kingdom, in Proportion to the whole Trade of the Kingdom, *i. e.* the general vent of all the Commodities. But the natural Value of Money, in exchanging for any one Commodity, is the quantity of the Trading-Money of the Kingdom, design'd for that Commodity, in Proportion to that single Commodity and its vent. For though any single Man's necessity and want, either of Money, or any *species* of Commodity, being known, may make him pay dearer for Money, or that Commodity; yet this is but a particular Case, that does not at the same time alter this constant and general Rule.

15. That supposing Wheat a standing Measure, that is, that there is constantly the same Quantity of it in Proportion to its vent, we shall find Money to run the same variety of Changes in its Value, as all other Commodities do. Now that Wheat in *England* does come nearest to a standing Measure, is evident by comparing Wheat with other Commodities, Money, and the yearly Income of Land in *Henry the VIIIth's* time and now. For supposing that *primo Hen. 7. N.* let 100 Acres of Land to *A.* for 6 *d.* per *An.* per Acre, Rack-rent, and to *B.* another 100 Acres of Land, of the same Soil and yearly worth with the former, for a Bushel of Wheat per Acre, Rack-rent, (a Bushel of Wheat about that time being probably sold for about 6 *d.*) it was then an equal Rent. If therefore these Leases were for Years yet to come, 'tis certain that he that paid 6 *d.* per Acre, would pay now 50 *s.* per *An.* and he that paid a Bushel of Wheat per Acre, would pay about 25 *l.* per *An.* which would be near about the yearly value of the Land, were it to be let now. The reason whereof is this, That there being ten times as much Silver now in the World, (the Discovery of the *West-Indies* having made the Plenty) as there was then, it is nine Tenths less worth now than it was at that time; that is, it will exchange for nine Tenths less of any Commodity now, which bears the same Proportion to its vent as it did 200 Years since; which, of all other Commodities, Wheat is likeliest to do. For in *England*, and this part of the World, Wheat being the constant and most general Food, not altering with the Fashion, not growing by chance; but as the Farmers sow more or less of it, which they endeavour to proportion, as near as can be guessed, to the Consumption, abstracting the Over-plus of the precedent Year in their Provision for the next; and *vice versa*, it must needs fall out, that it keeps the nearest Proportion to its Consumption, (which is more studied and designed in this than other Commodities) of any thing, if you take it for seven or twenty Years together: Tho' perhaps the Plenty or Scarcity of one Year, caused by the

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Accidents of the Season, may very much vary it from the immediately precedent, or following. Wheat therefore, in this part of the World, (and that Grain which is the constant general Food of any other Country) is the fittest Measure to judge of the altered Value of things in any long tract of Time: And therefore Wheat here, Rice in *Turkey*, &c. is the fittest thing to reserve a Rent in, which is designed to be constantly the same for all future Ages. But Money is the best Measure of the alter'd Value of things in a few Years: Because its vent is the same, and its quantity alters slowly. But Wheat, or any other Grain, cannot serve instead of Money: because of its bulkiness, and too quick change of its quantity. For had I a Bond, to pay me 100 Bushels of Wheat next Year, it might be a fourth part Loss or Gain to me; too great an Inequality and Uncertainty to be ventured in Trade: Besides the different Goodness of several Parcels of Wheat in the same Year.

16. That supposing any Island separate from the Commerce of the rest of Mankind, if Gold and Silver, or whatever else (so it be lasting) be their Money, if they have but a certain quantity of it, and can get no more, that will be a steady standing Measure of the Value of all other things.

17. That if in any Country they use for Money any lasting Material, whereof there is not any more to be got, and so cannot be increas'd; or being of no other use, the rest of the World does not value it, and so it is not like to be diminished; this also would be a steady standing Measure of the Value of other Commodities.

18. That in a Country where they had such a standing Measure, any quantity of that Money (if it were but so much that every body might have some) would serve to drive any Proportion of Trade, whether more or less, there being Counters enough to reckon by, and the Value of the Pledges being still sufficient, as constantly encreasing with the Plenty of the Commodity. But these three last, being built on Suppositions that are not like to be found in the Practice of Mankind, since Navigation and Commerce have brought all Parts acquainted with one another, and introduced the use of Gold and Silver Money into all trading Parts of the World, they serve rather to give us some light into the nature of Money, than to teach here a new Measure of Traffick. Though it be certain, that that part of the World, which bred most of our Gold and Silver, used least of it in exchange, and used it not for Money at all.

19. That therefore in any Country that hath Commerce with the rest of the World, it is almost impossible now to be without the use of Silver Coin; and having Money of that, and Accounts kept in such Money, it is impossible to have any standing, unalterable measure of the Value of things. For whilst the Mines supply to Mankind more than wastes and consumes in its use, the quantity of it will daily grow greater in respect of other Commodities, and its value less.

20. That in a Country that hath open Commerce with the rest of the World, and uses Money made of the same Materials with their Neighbours, any quantity of that Money will not serve to drive any quantity of Trade; but there must be a certain Proportion between their *Money* and *Trade*. The reason whereof is this, because to keep your *Trade* going without Loss, your Commodities amongst you must keep an equal, or, at least, near the Price of the same Species of Commodities in the neighbouring Countries: which they cannot do, if your *Money* be far less than in other Countries; for then, either your Commodities must be sold very cheap, or a great part of your *Trade* must stand still, there not being Money enough in the Country to pay for them (in their shifting of Hands) at that high Price, which the Plenty, and consequently low Value of Money makes them at in another Country. For the Value of Money in general is the quantity of all the Money in the World, in Proportion to all the Trade: But the Value of Money in any one Country, is the present quantity of the current Money in that Country, in Proportion to the present Trade. Supposing then, that we had now in *England* but half as much Money as we had seven Years ago, and yet had still as much yearly Product of Commodities, as many Hands to work them, and as many Brokers to disperse them, as before; and that the rest of the World we trade with, had as much Money as they had before, (for 'tis likely they should have more by our Moiety shared amongst them) 'tis certain, that either half our *Rents* should not be paid, half our *Commodities* not vented, and half

half our *Labourers* not employed, and so half the Trade be clearly lost; or else, that every one of these must receive but half the Money, for their Commodities and Labour, they did before, and but half so much as our Neighbours do receive for the same Labour and the same natural Product, at the same time. Such a state of Poverty as this, though it will make no scarcity of our native Commodities amongst us, yet it will have these ill Consequences.

1. It will make our native Commodities vent very cheap.
2. It will make all foreign Commodities very dear, both which will keep us poor. For the Merchant making Silver and Gold his Measure, and considering what the foreign Commodity costs him (*i. e.* how many Ounces of Silver) in the Country where Money is more plenty, *i. e.* cheaper; and considering too, how many Ounces of Silver it will yield him in another Country, will not part with it here but for the same quantity of Silver, or as much as that Silver will buy here of our Commodity, which will be a great deal more than in another place. So that in all our exchange of native for foreign Commodities, we shall pay double the Value that any other Country does, where Money is in greater plenty. This indeed will make a dearth, and, in time, a scarcity of foreign Commodities; which is not the worst Inconveniency that it brings upon us, supposing them not absolutely necessary. But,
3. It endangers the drawing away our People, both Handicrafts, Mariners, and Soldiers, who are apt to go where their Pay is best, which will always be where there is greatest plenty of Money, and in time of War must needs bring great Distress.

21. Upon this Measure too it is, that the variation of exchange of Money between several Countries does somewhat depend. For it is certain, that one Ounce of Silver is alway of equal value to another Ounce of Silver considered in its intrinsic worth, or in reference to the universal Trade of the World: But 'tis not of the same value at the same time, in several parts of the World, but is of the most worth in that Country, where there is the least Money, in Proportion to its Trade: And therefore Men may afford to give twenty Ounces of Silver in one place, to receive eighteen or nineteen Ounces of Silver in another. But this is not all: To this then, (to find out the alteration of the exchange) the over-balance of the Trade must be taken into Consideration. These two together regulate the exchange in all the Commerce of the World, and in both the higher rate of exchange depends upon one and the same thing, *viz.* the greater plenty of Money in one Country than in the other; only with this difference, that where the over-balance of Trade raises the exchange above the *Par*, there it is the plenty of Money, which private Merchants have in one Country, which they desire to remove into another: But where the Riches of the Country raises the exchange above the *Par*, there it is the plenty of the Money in the whole Country. In one the Merchant has more Money (or Debts, which is all one) in a foreign Country than his Trade there will employ, and so is willing to allow upon exchange to him abroad, that shall pay him ready Money at home, 1, 2, 3, &c. *per Cent.* more or less, proportionably as his or his Countrymens plenty of ready Money abroad, the danger of leaving it there, or the Difficulty of bringing it home in Specie, and his present need of Money at home is greater or less: In the other, the whole Country has more Money than can well be employ'd in the Trade thereof, or at least, the Proportion of the Money to the Trade is greater than in the neighbouring Country, where the Exchange is below the *Par*.

For, supposing the Balance of Trade to be equal between *England* and *Holland*, but that there is in *Holland* a greater plenty of Money than in *England*, (which will appear by the lowness of the natural *Use* in *Holland*, and the height of the natural *Use* in *England*; and also by the dearth of Food and Labour in general in *Holland*, and the cheapness of it in *England*.) If *N.* has 10000 *l.* in *Holland*, which the greater Advantage he could make of it in *England*, either by *Use* or *Purchase*, tempts him to transfer into *England*, 'tis probable he will give as much to a Merchant in *Holland* to pay him 10000 *l.* in *England*, as the ensurance at that time between *Holland* and *England* is worth. If this happens to be in a Country, where the Exportation of *Bullion* is prohibited, he must pay the more; because his Venture, if he carry it in Specie, will be greater. And upon this ground, perhaps, the prohibiting the Exportation of Money out of *England*, under Penalties,

may be of some use, by making the rate of the exchange greater to those Countries, which import upon us more than they export in Commodities; and so retain some part of the Money which their over-balance of Trade would carry away from us, though after all, if we are over-balance'd in Trade it must go.

But, since the *Holland* Merchant cannot receive N's 10000 l. in Money in *Holland*, and pay him 10000 l. in *England*, unless his over-balance of Trade make *Englishmen* indebted to him 10000 l. in Money, which he is not like to take in Commodities. I think the over-balance of Trade is that which chiefly raises the exchange in any Country, and that plenty of Money in any Country does it only for so much of the Money as is transferr'd either to be let out to Use, or to be spent there. And though lending to Foreigners, upon Use, doth not at all alter the balance of Trade between those Countries, yet it does alter the exchange between those Countries for so much as is lent upon Use, by not calling away the Money that should follow the over-balance of Trade, but letting it rest there, as if it were accounted for; all one as if the balance of Trade were for so much altered. But this being not much, in comparison of the general Traffick between two Nations, or at least varying slower, the Merchant too regulating the exchange, and not the Usurer. I suppose it is the present balance of Trade, on which the exchange immediately and chiefly depends, unless some Accident shall make a great deal of Money be remitted at the same time, from one place to another, which will for that time raise the Exchange all one as an over-balance of Trade; and indeed, when examin'd, is generally very little different from it.

To be able to estimate the *Par*, with the rise and fall of the Exchange, it is necessary to know the intrinsic Value, *i. e.* how much Silver is in the Coins of the two Countries, by which you reckon and charge the Bill of Exchange.

Sir, If I have been led a little too far from one thing to another, in the Consideration of Money, I beg your Pardon, hoping that these Particulars will afford some light to our present Subject.

To return to the Price of Land. 'Tis evident by what has been above said, That the Years Purchase of Land do not increase with the fall of Interest, and the abating that good quality in Money, of yielding yearly Six per Cent. to Four, does not presently sink its Value in respect of Land, that one third more is required in exchange: Falling of Interest from Six to Four, will not raise Land from twenty to thirty Years Purchase, the rising and falling of the Price of Land, as of other things, depends much on the quantity of Land set to sale, compar'd with the quantity of Money design'd for that Traffick, or, which amounts to the same thing, upon the number of Buyers and Sellers. For where there are many Sellers and few Purchasers, though Interest be lessened Land will be cheap, as I have already shew'd. At least, this is certain, That making a Law to reduce Interest will not raise the Price of Lands; it will only, by driving it more into the Bankers Hands, leave the Country barer of Money, whereby, if the Price of Land about *London* should be accidentally raised, that of remoter Countries would thereby have fewer Purchasers, and at lower Rates.

This being so, that the low rate of Land depends much on the great number of Sellers in Proportion to Purchasers, the next thing to be inquir'd into, is, What makes plenty of Sellers? and to that the Answer is obvious, general *ill Husbandry*, and the Consequence of it, *Debts*. If a neglect of Government and Religion, ill Examples, and depraved Education, have introduc'd Debauchery, and Art or Chance has made it fashionable for Men to live beyond their Estates, Debts will increase and multiply, and draw with them a necessity on Men, first of incumbring, and then selling their Estates. This is generally the Cause why Men part with their Land: And I think there is scarce one of an hundred that thinks of selling his Patrimony, till Mortgages have pretty well eat into the Freehold; and the weight of growing Debts force a Man, whether he will or no, out of his Possessions. When almost is there ever a clear and unincumbered Estate set to sale? 'Tis seldom a thriving Man turns his Land into Money, to make the greater Advantage: The Examples of it are so rare, that they are scarce of any Consideration in the number of Sellers.

This I think may be the reason, why in Queen *Elizabeth's* Days (when Sobriety, Frugality, and Industry, brought in daily Increase, to the growing Wealth of

of the Kingdom) Land kept up its Price, and sold for more Years Purchase, than corresponded to the *Interest* of Money, then busily imploy'd in a thriving Trade, which made the natural *Interest* much higher than it is now, as well as the Parliament then set it higher by Law.

On the contrary side, what makes scarcity of Purchasers?

1. The same Reason, *Ill Husbandry*. When the Tradesman lives up to the height of his Income, and the Vanity of Expences either drains the Merchants Coffers, or keeps them from over-flowing, he seldom thinks of Purchasing. Buying of Land is the result of a full and satiated Gain: And Men in Trade seldom think of laying out their Money upon Land, till their Profit has brought them in more, than their Trade can well employ; and their idle Bags cumbering their Counting Houses, put them upon emptying them on a Purchase.

2. Another thing that makes a scarcity of Buyers of Land, are doubtful and ill Titles: Where these are frequent and fatal, one can no more expect, that Men who have Money should be forward to purchase, than Ships richly laden to venture themselves amongst Rocks and Quicksands. 'Tis no wonder such Seas should not be much frequented, where the Examples, and remains of daily Wrecks, shew the folly, and hazard of the Venture, in the number of those who have miscarried.

3. A general decay of Trade discourages Men from purchasing: For this threatens an universal Poverty, which is sure to fall first and heaviest upon Land. The Merchant who furnishes the improvident Landholder, will not fail to have Money for his Wares with Gain, whether the Kingdom get by his Trade or no; and he will keep his Money rather employed in Trade, which brings him in profit, (for the Merchant, may get by a Trade that makes the Kingdom poor) than lay it out in Land, whose Rents he sees sinking, and foresees by the course of Trade, is likely to continue on to do so. When a Nation is running to Decay and Ruin, the Merchant and monied Man, do what you can, will be sure to starve last: Observe it where you will, the Decays that come upon, and bring to Ruin any Country, do constantly first fall upon the Land: And though the Country Gentleman, (who usually securely relies upon so much a Year as was given in at his Marriage Settlement, and thinks his Land an unmovable Fund for such an Income) be not very forward to think so: Yet this nevertheless is an undoubted truth, that he is more concern'd in Trade, and ought to take a greater care, that it be well manag'd, and preserv'd, than even the Merchant himself. For he will certainly find, when a decay of Trade has carried away one part of our Money out of the Kingdom, and the other is kept in the Merchant and Tradesman's Hands, that no Laws he can make, nor any little Arts of Shifting Property amongst our selves, will bring it back to him again; but his Rents will fall, and his Income every day lessen, till general Industry and Frugality, join'd to a well-order'd Trade, shall restore to the Kingdom the Riches and Wealth it had formerly.

This by the Way, if well consider'd, might let us see, that *Taxes*; however contriv'd, and out of whose Hand soever immediately taken, do in a Country; where their great Fund is in Land, for the most part terminate upon Land. Whatsoever the People is chiefly maintained by, that the Government supports it self on: Nay, perhaps it will be found, that those *Taxes* which seem least to affect Land, will most surely of all other, fall the Rents. This would deserve to be well considered in the raising of *Taxes*, lest the neglect of it bring upon the Country Gentleman an Evil which he will be sure quickly to feel; but not be able very quickly to remedy. For Rents once fallen are not easily raised again. A *Tax* laid upon Land seems hard to the Landholder, because it is so much Money going visibly out of his Pocket: And therefore as an ease to himself, the Landholder is always forward to lay it upon Commodities. But if he will thoroughly consider it, and examine the Effects, he will find he buys this seeming Ease at a very dear Rate: And though he pays not this *Tax* immediately out of his own Purse, yet his Purse will find it by a greater want of Money there at the end of the year, than that comes to, with the lessening of his Rents to boot; which is a settled and lasting Evil, that will stick upon him beyond the present Payment.

To make this clear, let us suppose in the present State of Affairs in *England*, that the Rents of *England* are Twelve Millions, and that the Charge and Necessities of the Government require a supply of Three Millions from the Parliament, which is laid on Land. Here is one fourth part of his Yearly Income goes immediately out of the Landlords and Landholders Pocket. This is a Burthen very apt to be felt. The Country Gentleman, who actually pays the Money out of his Pocket, or finds it deducted out of his Rent at Quarter-day for *Taxes*, fees and very sensibly observes what goes thus out of his Estate. But though this be a Quarter of his yearly Income, and out of an Estate of four hundred pounds a Year, the publick *Tax* now openly takes away one hundred: Yet this influences not at all the yearly Rent of the Land, which the Rack-renter, or under Tenant pays: It being the same thing to him, whether he pays all his Rent to the King, or his Landlord, or half, or a quarter, or none at all to the King; the Case is all one to him, what Hand receives his Rent, when due: So Trade flourishes, and his Commodities go off well, he will be able to pay his Rent on. This lessens not any more the Value of his Farm, than an high or a low chief Rent does paid out of it to the Lord of the Fee: The Tenant's Bargain and Profit is the same, whether the Land be charg'd, or not charg'd with an Annuity payable to another Man. We see this in College Leases, where though the College Tenant pays for it to the College some years five times as much as he does others, upon the varying Rate of Corn: Yet the Under-Tenant feels not this Alteration in the least, nor finds a Reason to have his Rent abated, because a greater part of it is diverted from his Landlord. All this is but changing the Hand, that receives the Rent, without any influence at all upon the yearly Value of the Estate, which will not be let for one Penny more or less to the Renter, however or amongst whomsoever, the Rent he pays, be divided. From hence it is evident, that *Taxes* laid on Land do not in the least make Rents fall.

But suppose, to shift off the Burthen from the Land, some Country Gentlemen should think fit to raise these three Millions upon Commodities, to let the Land go free. First, it is to be consider'd, That since the publick Wants require three Millions, (for that we suppos'd for Argument sake; let it be three Millions, or one Million, that's all one;) and so much must go into the King's Coffers, or else the Necessities of the Government will not be supplied: That for raising these three Millions on Commodities, and bringing so much into the *Exchequer*, there must go a great deal more than three Millions out of the Subjects Pockets. For a *Tax* of that nature cannot be levied by Officers, to watch every little Rivulet of Trade, without a great Charge, especially at first tryal. But supposing no more Charge in raising it, than of a Land *Tax*, and that there are only three Millions to be paid, 'tis evident that to do this out of Commodities, they must to the Consumer be raised a quarter in their Price; so that every thing, to him that uses it, must be a quarter dearer. Let us see now who at long run must pay this quarter, and where it will light. 'Tis plain, the Merchant and Broker, neither will nor can; for if he pays a quarter more for Commodities than he did, he will sell them at a Price proportionably raised. The poor Labourer and Handicraftsman cannot: For he just lives from Hand to Mouth already, and all his Food, Clothing and Utensils, costing a quarter more than they did before, either his Wages must rise with the Price of things, to make him live; or else, not being able to maintain himself and Family by his Labour, he comes to the Parish; and then the Land bears the Burthen a heavier way. If the Labourer's Wages be rais'd in proportion to the increas'd Rates of things, the Farmer, who pays a quarter more for Wages, as well as all other things, whilst he sells his Corn and Wool, either at the same rate, or lower, at the Market, (since the *Tax* laid upon it makes People less forward to buy) must either have his Rent abated, or else break and run away in his Landlord's Debt: And so the yearly Value of the Land is brought down. And who then pays the *Tax* at the Years end, but the Landlord: When the Tenant, not able to raise his Rent by his Commodities, either runs away in his Landlord's Debt, or cannot be continued in the Farm without abatement of Rent? For when the yearly charge in his Farm is greater by the increase of the Labourers Wages, and yet his product sells cheaper by reason of the *Tax* laid on his Commodities; how will the Farmer be able to make up his Rent at Quarter-day? For this may be worth our Notice, that any *Tax* laid on Foreign

Foreign Commodities in *England*, raise its Price, and makes the Importer get more for his Commodity; But on the contrary a *Tax* laid on your Native Product, and home-made Commodities, lessens their price, and makes them yield less to the first Seller.

The Reason whereof is plain. For the Merchant importing no Commodity but what the Necessity, or fashionable Wantonness of your People gives him *Vent* for, will not only proportion his Gain, to the Cost and Risque which he has been at before Landing; but will expect profit of his Money paid here, for any *Tax* laid on it; and take advantage from thence to raise his price above what his *Tax* comes to; and if he cannot do that, he will Trade no more in that Commodity. For it being not the Product of his Farm, he is not tied to bring it to Market, if he finds its price not answer his Expectation there, but turns himself to other Wares, which he finds your Markets take off better. A Merchant will never continue to trade in Wares, which the change of Fashion, or Humour, amongst your People, has made less vendible, though he may be sometimes caught by a sudden Alteration. But that seldom happens in the course of Trade, so as to influence the great Bulk of it. For things of Necessity must still be had, and things of Fashion will be had as long as Men have Money or Credit, whatever Rates they cost, and the rather because they are dear. For it being Vanity not Use that makes the Expensive Fashion of your People, the Emulation is, who shall have the finest, that is, the dearest things, not the most convenient or useful. How many things do we value or buy, because they come at dear rates from *Japan* and *China*, which if they were our own Manufacture or Product, common to be had, and for a little Money, would be contemned and neglected? Have not several of our own Commodities offered to sale at reasonable Rates been despised, and the very same eagerly bought and brag'd of, when sold for *French* at a double Price? You must not think therefore that the raising their Price will lessen the *Vent* of fashionable foreign Commodities amongst you, as long as Men have any way to purchase them, but rather increase it. *French Wine* is become a modish Drink amongst us, and a Man is ashamed to entertain his Friend, or almost to dine himself without it. The Price is in the Memory of Man rais'd from 6 *d.* to 2 *s.* and does this hinder the Drinking of it? No, the quite contrary, a Man's way of Living is commended, because he will give any Rate for it: And a Man will give any Rate rather than pass for a poor Wretch or penurious Curmudgeon, that is not able or knows not how to live well, nor use his Friends civilly. *Fashion* is for the most part nothing but the Ostentation of Riches, and therefore the high price of what serves to that, rather increases than lessens its *Vent*. The Contest and Glory is in the Expence, not the Usefulness of it; and People are then thought and said to live well, when they can make a shew of rare and foreign Things, and such as their Neighbours cannot go to the Price of.

Thus we see how foreign Commodities fall not in their Price by *Taxes* laid on them, because the Merchant is not necessitated to bring to your Market any but fashionable Commodities, and those go off the better for their high rates. But on the contrary your Landholder being forced to bring his Commodities to Market, such as his Land and Industry affords them, common and known things, he must sell them there at such price as he can get. This the buyer knows; and these home-bred Commodities being seldom the Favourites of your People, or any farther acceptable, than as great Conveniency recommends them to the Vulgar, or down right Necessity to all, as soon as a *Tax* is laid on them, every one makes as sparing a use of them as he can, that he may save his Money for other necessary, or credible Expences. Thus the price which our native Commodities yield the first Seller is mightily abated, and so the yearly Value of the Land, which produces them, lessens too.

If therefore the laying of *Taxes* upon Commodities does, as it is evident, affect the Land, that is out at Rack-Rent, it is plain it does equally affect all the other Land in *England* too, and the Gent. will, but the worst way, increase their own Charges, that is by lessening the yearly Value of their Estates, if they hope to ease their Land, by charging Commodities. It is in vain in a Country whose great Fund is Land, to hope to lay the publick Charge of the Government on any thing else; there at last it will terminate. The Merchant (do what you can) will not bear it, the Labourer cannot, and therefore the Landholder must:

And

And whether he were best do it, by laying it directly, where it will at last settle; or by letting it come to him by the sinking of his Rents, which when they are once fallen every one knows are not easily raised again, let him consider.

Holland is brought as an instance of laying the Charge of the Publick upon Trade, and 'tis possible (excepting some few small free Towns) the only place in the World that could be brought to favour this way. But yet when examin'd will be found to shew the quite contrary, and be a clear Proof, that lay the Taxes how you will, Land every where, in Proportion, bears the greater Share of the Burthen. The publick Charge of the Government, 'tis said, is, in the *United Provinces*, laid on Trade. I grant it is, the greatest part of it; but is the Land excus'd or eas'd by it? By no means, but on the contrary so loaded, that in many places half, in others a quarter, in others one eighth of the yearly Value does not come into the Owner's Pocket: And if I have not been misinformed, the Land in some places will not pay the Taxes: So that we may say, that the Charge of the Government came not upon Commodities till the Land could not bear it. The Burthen unavoidably settles upon the Land first, and when it has pressed it so, that it can yield no more, Trade must be brought in Aid to help to support the Government rather than let all sink: But the first Stress is always upon Land, and as far as that will reach, it is unavoidably carried, lay your Taxes how you will. 'Tis known what a share of the publick charges of the Government is supported by the Trade of *Amsterdam* alone, as I remember that one Town pays Thirty-six in the Hundred of all the publick Taxes raised in the *United Provinces*. But are the Lands of *Guelderland* eas'd by it? Let any one see in that Country of Land more than Trade, what they make clear of their Revenues, and whether the Country Gentlemen there grow rich on their Land, whilst the Merchant having the Taxes laid on his Commerce is impoverish'd? On the contrary *Guelderland* is so low and out of Cash, that *Amsterdam* has been fain for many Years to lay down the Taxes for them, which is, in effect to pay the Taxes of *Guelderland* too.

Struggle and contrive as you will, lay your Taxes as you please, the Traders will shift it off from their own Gain; the Merchants will bear the least part of it, and grow poor last. In *Holland* it self, where Trade is so loaded, who, I pray, grows richest, the Landholder or the Trader? Which of them is pinch'd, and wants Money most? A Country may thrive, the Country Gentleman grow rich, and his Rents encrease (for so it has been here) whilst the Land is Taxed: But I challenge any one to shew me a Country, wherein there is any considerable publick Charge raised, where the Land does not most sensibly feel it, and in proportion bear much the greater part of it.

We must not therefore impute the falling of the Rents, or of the price of Land, to high Interest; Nor, if ill Husbandry has wasted our Riches, hope by such kind of Laws to raise them to their former Value. I humbly conceive we shall in vain endeavour it by the fall of Interest. The number of Buyers must be increased, and Sellers lessen'd, which must be done by other ways, than regulating of Interest, or else the Landed-man will neither find Chapmen for his Land, nor for the Corn that grows on it, at the rate he desires.

But could an Act of Parliament, bring down Interest to four per Cent. and the lowering of that immediately raise the Purchasers Fine from 20 to 25 Years Purchase; yet it may be doubted, whether this be fit to be made into a Law, because it would be of no advantage to the Kingdom. For what profit would it be to the Nation to make a Law, that he who sells Land should instead of four have five hundred pounds of the Purchaser? This indeed a little alters the distribution of the Money, we have amongst us Englishmen here at home, but neither helps to continue what we have, nor brings in more from abroad: Which being the only concernment of the Kingdom, in reference to its Wealth, is apt to be supposed by us without doors to be the only care of a Parliament. For it matters not, so it be here amongst us, whether the Money be in *Thomas* or *Richard's* Hands, provided it be so order'd, that, whoever has it, may be encouraged to let it go into the current of Trade, for the improvement of the general Stock, and Wealth of the Nation.

As this Increase of the Fine in the purchase of Land is not an advantage to the Kingdom, so neither is it to the Landholder, who is the person, that bearing the greatest part of the burthens of the Kingdom, ought, I think, to have the greatest care taken of him, and enjoy as many Privileges, and as much Wealth, as the favour of the Law can (with regard to the Publick-weal) confer upon him. But pray consider: The rising the Price of Land in Sale by increasing the number of Years Purchase to be paid for it, gives the advantage not to the Landholder, but to him that ceases to be so. He that has no longer the Land has the more Money, and he who has the Land is the poorer. The true advantage of the Landholder is, that his Corn, Flesh, and Wool, sell better, and yield a greater Price; this indeed is a profit, that benefits the Owner of the Land, and goes along with it: It is this alone raises the Rent, and makes the Possessor Richer: and this can only be done by increasing our Wealth, and drawing more Money into *England*, which the falling of *Interest*, and thereby (if it could effect it) raising the Purchase of Land is so far from doing, that it does visibly and directly one way hinder our increase of Wealth, that is, by hindring Foreigners to come here, and buy Land, and settle amongst us. Whereby we have this double loss; First we lose their Persons, increase of People being the increase both of Strength and Riches. Secondly we lose so much Money. For tho' whatever an Englishman gives to another for Land, though raised to forty Years Purchase, be not one Farthing advantage to the Kingdom; yet whatever a Foreigner, who purchases Land here, gives for it, is so much every Farthing clear gain to the Nation: For that Money comes clear in, without carrying out any thing for it, and is every Farthing of it as perfect Gain to the Nation as if it drop'd down from the Clouds.

But farther, if consideration be to be had only of sellers of Land, the lowering of *Interest* to four *per Cent.* will not be in their favour, unless, by it, you can raise Land to thirty Years Purchase, which is not at all likely: And I think no Body by falling of *Interest* to four *per Cent.* hopes to get Chapmen for their Land at that Rate. Whatsoever they have less, if Law can regulate *Interest*, they lose of their value of Land, Money being thus abased. So that the Landedman will scarce find his account neither by this Law, when it comes to Trial. And at last, I imagine, this will be the result of all such Attempts, that experience will shew, that the price of Things will not be regulated by Laws, though the endeavours after it will be sure to prejudice and inconvenience Trade, and put your Affairs out of Order.

If this be so, that *Interest* cannot be regulated by Law, or that if it could, yet the reducing of it to four *per Cent.* would do more harm than good: What then should there (will you say) be no Law at all to regulate *Interest*? I say not so. For,

1. It is necessary that there should be a stated Rate of *Interest*, that in Debts and Forbearances, where Contract has not settled it between the Parties, the Law might give a Rule, and Courts of Judicature might know what Damages to allow. This may, and therefore should, be Regulated.

2. That in the present current of running Cash, which now takes its course almost all to *London*, and is ingrossed by a very few Hands in Comparison, young Men, and those in Want, might not too easily be exposed to Extortion and Oppression; and the dextrous and combining Money Jobbers not have too great and unbounded a Power, to Prey upon the Ignorance or Necessity of Borrowers. There would not be much danger of this, if Money were more equally distributed into the several quarties of *England*, and into a greater number of Hands, according to the Exigences of Trade.

If Money were to be hired, as Land is; or to be had as Corn, or Wool, from the Owner himself; and known good security be given for it, it might then probably be had at the Market (which is the true) Rate, and that Rate of *Interest* would be a constant gauge of your Trade and Wealth. But when a kind of Monopoly, by Consent, has put this general Commodity into a few Hands, it may need Regulation, though what the stated rate of *Interest* should be in the constant change of Affairs, and flux of Money, is hard to determine. Possibly it may be allowed as a reasonable Proposal, that it should be within such Bounds, as should not on the one side quite eat up the Merchants, and Tradesman's Profit, and discourage their Industry; nor on the other hand so low, as should hinder Men from risking their Money

Considerations of the Lowering of Interest,

Money in other Mens Hands, and so rather chuse to keep it out of Trade, than venture it upon so small Profit. When it is too high, it so hinders the Merchants gain, that he will not Borrow; when too low, it so hinders the Monied Man's profit, that he will not Lend; and both these ways it is a hinderance to Trade.

But this being perhaps too general, and loose a Rule, let me add, that if one would consider Money and Land alone, in relation one to another, perhaps it is now at six *per Cent.* in as good a proportion as is possible, six *per Cent.* being a little higher than Land, at twenty Years Purchase, which is the rate pretty near, that Land has generally carried in *England*, it never being much over nor under. For supposing 100 *l.* in Money, and Land of 5 *l. per Annum*, be of equal Value, which is Land at twenty Years Purchase: 'Tis necessary for the making their value truly equal, that they should produce an equal Income, which the 100 *l.* at 5 *l. per Cent.* Interest is not likely to do.

1. Because of the many, and sometimes long intervals of Barrenness, which happen to Money, more than Land. Money at Use, when return'd into the Hands of the Owner, usually lies dead there, till he gets a new Tenant for it, and can put it out again; and all this time it produces nothing. But this happens not to Land, the growing product whereof turns to account to the Owner, even when it is in his Hands, or is allow'd for by the Tenant, antecedently to his entering upon the Farm. For though a Man that Borrows Money at *Midsummer*, never begins to pay his Interest from our *Lady-Day*, or one moment backwards, yet he who Rents a Farm at *Midsummer*, may have as much reason to begin his Rent from our *Lady-Day*, as if he had then entred upon it.

2. Besides the dead intervals of ceasing Profit, which happen to Money more than Land, there is another Reason, why the Profit and Income of Money let out, should be a little higher than that of Land; and that is, because Money out at Interest runs a greater Risque, than Land does. The Borrower may break, and run away with the Money, and then not only the Interest due, but all the future Profit, with the Principal, is lost for ever. But in Land a Man can lose but the Rent due, for which usually too the Stock upon the Land is sufficient security: And if a Tenant run away in Arrear of some Rent, the Land remains, that cannot be carried away, or lost. Should a Man Purchase good Land in *Middlesex* of 5 *l. per Annum*, at twenty Years Purchase, and other Land in *Runnymarsh*, or elsewhere of the same yearly Value, but so situated, that it were in danger to be swallowed of the Sea, and be utterly lost, it would not be unreasonable, that he should expect to have it under twenty Years Purchase; suppose sixteen and an half. This is to bring it to just the case of Land at twenty Years Purchase, and Money at six *per Cent.* where the uncertainty of securing ones Money may well be allowed that advantage of greater Profit; and therefore perhaps the legal Interest now in *England* at six *per Cent.* is as reasonable and convenient a rate as can well be set by a standing Rule, especially if we consider that the Law requires not a Man to pay six *per Cent.* but ties up the Lender from taking more. So that if ever it falls of it self, the Monied-man is sure to find it, and his Interest will be brought down to it.

High Interest is thought by some a Prejudice to Trade: But if we look back, we shall find, that *England* never throve so well, nor was there ever brought into *England* so great an increase of Wealth since, as in Queen *Elizabeth's* and King *James I.* and King *Charles I.* time, when Money was at ten and eight *per Cent.* I will not say high Interest was the cause of it. For I rather think that our thriving Trade was the Cause of high Interest, every one craving Money to employ in a profitable Commerce. But this I think may reasonably infer from it, That lowering of Interest is not a sure way to improve either our Trade or Wealth.

To this I hear some say. That the *Dutch*, Skilful in all Arts and promoting Trade, to out do us in this, as well as all other Advancements of it, have observed this Rule, viz. That when we fell Interest in *England* from ten to eight, they presently sunk Interest in *Holland* to four *per Cent.* And again, when we lower'd it to six they fell it to Three *per Cent.* thereby to keep the Advantage which the lowness of Interest gives to Trade. From whence these Men readily conclude, That the falling of Interest will advance Trade in *England*. To which I answer,

1. That this looks like an Argument, rather made for the present Occasion, to mislead those who are credulous enough to swallow it, than arising from true Reason,

Reason, and matter of Fact. For if lowering of *Interest* were so advantageous to Trade, why did the *Dutch* so constantly take their measures only by us, and not as well by some other of their Neighbours, with whom they have as great or greater Commerce than with us? This is enough at first sight to make one suspect this, to be Dust only raised, to throw in Peoples eyes, and a Suggestion made to serve a Purpose. For,

2. It will not be found true, That when we abated *Interest* here in *England* to Eight, the *Dutch* sunk it in *Holland* to four *per Cent.* by Law; or that there was any Law made in *Holland* to limit the rate of *Interest* to three *per Cent.* when we reduced it in *England* to six. It is true, *John de Witt*, when he managed the Affairs of *Holland*, setting himself to lessen the publick Debt, and having actually paid some, and getting Money in a readiness to pay others, sent notice to all the Creditors, That those who would not take four *per Cent.* should come and receive their Money. The Creditors finding him in earnest, and knowing not how otherwise to employ their Money, accepted his Terms, and changed their Obligations into four *per Cent.* whereas before they were at five, and so (the great Loans of the Country being to the State) it might be said in this sense, That the rate of *Interest* was reduced lower at that time: But that it was done by a Law, forbidding to take higher *Interest* than four *per Cent.* that I deny, and require any one to shew. Indeed upon good Security one might lately have borrowed Money in *Holland* at three, and three and an half *per Cent.* but not by virtue of any Law, but the natural rate of *Interest*. And I appeal to the Men learned in the Law of *Holland*, whether last Year (and I doubt not but it is so still) a Man might not lawfully lend his Money for what *Interest* he could get, and whether in the Courts he should not recover the *Interest* he contracted for, if it were ten *per Cent.* So that if Money be to be borrowed by honest and responsible Men, at three, or three and an half *per Cent.* it is not by the force of Statutes and Edicts, but by the natural Course of things; which will always bring *Interest* upon good Security low, where there is a great deal of Money to be lent, and little good Security, in proportion, to be had. *Holland* is a Country where the Land makes a very little part of the Stock of the Country. Trade is their great Fund; and their Estates lie generally in Money: So that all, who are not Traders, generally speaking, are Lenders: Of which there are so many whose Income depends upon *Interest*, that if the States were not mightily in Debt, but paid every one their Principal, instead of the four *per Cent. Use*, which they give, there would be so much more Money than could be used, or would be ventured in Trade, that Money there would be at two *per Cent.* or under, unless they found a way to put it out in foreign Countries.

Interest, I grant these Men, is low in *Holland*: But it is so not as an effect of Law, or the politick contrivance of the Government, to promote Trade; but as the Consequence of great Plenty of ready Money, when their *Interest* first fell. I say when it first fell: For being once brought low, and the Publick having borrowed a great part of private Mens Money, and continuing in Debt, it must continue so though the Plenty of Money, which first brought *Interest* low, were very much decay'd, and a great part of their Wealth were really gone. For the Debt of the State affording to the Creditors a constant yearly Income, that is look'd on as a safe Revenue, and accounted as valuable as if it were in Land; and accordingly they buy it one of another; and whether there be any Money in the publick Coffers or no, he, who has to the value of ten thousand pounds owing him from the States, may sell it every day in the Week, and have ready Money for it. This Credit is so great an advantage to private Men, who know not else what to do with their Stocks, that were the States now in a condition to begin to pay their Debts, the Creditors, rather than take their Money out to lie dead by them, would let it stay in, at lower *Interest*, as they did some Years since, when they were call'd on to come and receive their Money. This is the state of *Interest*, in *Holland*: Their plenty of Money, and paying their publick Debts, some time since lowered their *Interest*. But it was not done by the command and limitation of a Law, nor in consequence of our reducing it here by Law to six *per Cent.* For I deny, that there is any Law there yet, to forbid lending of Money for above three, or six, or ten *per Cent.* Whatever some here suggest, every one there may hire out his Money as freely as he does any thing else, for what rate he can get; and the Bargain being made, the Law will inforce the Borrower to pay it.

I grant low *Interest*, where all Men consent to it, is an advantage to Trade, if Merchants will regulate their Gains accordingly, and Men be persuaded to lend to them: But can it be expected, when the publick gives seven or eight, or ten *per Cent.* that private Men, whose security is certainly no better, shall have for four? And can there be any thing stranger, than that the same Men who look on, and therefore allow high *Use* as an encouragement to lending to the *Chequer*, should think low *Use* should bring Money into Trade? The States of *Holland* some few Years since, paid but four *per Cent.* for the Money they owed: If you propose them for an example, and *Interest* be to be regulated by a Law, try whether you can do so here, and bring Men to lend it to the publick at that Rate. This would be a benefit to the Kingdom, and abate a great part of our publick Charge. If you cannot do that, confess, that 'tis not the Law in *Holland* has brought the *Interest* there so low, but something else, and that which will make the States, or any body else pay dearer now, if either their Credit be less, or Money there scarcer.

An infallible sign of your decay of Wealth is the falling of Rents, and the raising of them would be worth the Nations Care: For in that, and not in the falling of *Interest* lies the true advantage of the Landed-man, and with him of the Publick. It may be therefore not besides our present business, to enquire into the cause of the falling of Rents in *England*.

1. Either the Land is grown Barrener, and so the Product is less, and consequently the Money to be received for that Product is less. For it is evident that he whose Land was wont to produce 100 Bushels of Wheat *communibus annis*, if by long Tillage, and Husbandry it will now produce but 50 Bushels, the Rent will be abated half. But this cannot be supposed general.

2. Or the Rent of that Land is lessen'd. 1. Because the use of the Commodity ceases: As the Rents must fall in *Virginia*, were taking of Tobacco forbid in *England*. 2. Or because something else supplies the room of that Product: As the rate of Copis-lands will fall upon the discovery of Coal Mines. 3. Or, because the Markets are supplied with the same Commodity, cheaper from another place. As the breeding Countries of *England* must needs fall their Rents, by the importation of *Irish* Cattle. 4. Or, because a Tax laid on your Native Commodities, makes what the Farmer sells cheaper; and Labour, and what he buys dearer. 5. Or, the Money in the Country is less. For the exigencies and uses of Money not lessening with its quantity, and it being in the same proportion to be employ'd and distributed still in all the parts of its Circulation, so much as its quantity is lessen'd, so much must the share of every one, that has a right to this Money, be the less; whether he be Landholder, for his Goods; or Labourer, for his Hire; or Merchant, for his Brokage. Though the Landholder usually finds it first. Because Money failing, and falling short, People have not so much Money as formerly to lay out, and so less Money is brought to Market, by which the price of things must necessarily fall. The Labourer feels it next. For when the Landholder's Rent falls, he must either bate the Labourer's Wages, or not employ, or not pay him; which either way makes him feel the want of Money. The Merchant feels it last. For though he sell less, and at a lower rate, he buys also our Native Commodities, which he exports, at a lower rate too: And will be sure to leave our Native Commodities unbought, upon the Hands of the Farmer, or Manufacturer, rather than export them to a Market, which will not afford him returns with Profit.

If one third of the Money employed in Trade were lock'd up, or gone out of *England*, must not the Landholders necessarily receive one third less for their Goods, and consequently Rents fall; a less quantity of Money by one third being to be distributed amongst an equal number of Receivers? Indeed, People not perceiving the Money to be gone, are apt to be jealous one of another; and each suspecting anothers inequality of Gain to rob him of his share, every one will be employing his Skill, and Power, the best he can, to retrieve it again, and to bring Money into his Pocket in the same plenty as formerly. But this is but scrambling amongst our selves, and helps no more against our want, than the pulling off a short Coverlet will, amongst Children, that lye together, preserve them all from the Cold. Some will starve, unless the Father of the Family provide better, and enlarge the scanty Covering. This pulling and contest is usually between the Landed-man and the Merchant. For the Labourer's share, being seldom more

than a bare subsistence, never allows that body of Men time or opportunity to raise their Thoughts above that, or struggle with the Richer for theirs, (as one common *Interest*;) unless when some common and great Distress, uniting them in one universal Ferment, makes them forget Respect, and emboldens them to carve to their Wants with armed Force: And then sometimes they break in upon the Rich, and sweep all like a deluge. But this rarely happens but in the mal-administration of neglected or mis-manag'd Government.

The usual struggle and contest, as I said before, in the decays of Wealth and Riches, is between the *Landed-Man* and the *Merchant*, with whom I may here join the *Monied Man*. The *Landed-Man* finds himself aggrieved, by the falling of his Rents, and the streightning of his Fortune; whilst the *Monied Man* keeps up his Gain, and the *Merchant* thrives and grows rich by Trade. These he thinks steal his Income into their Pockets, build their Fortunes upon his Ruin, and ingross more of the Riches of the Nation than comes to their share. He therefore endeavours, by Laws, to keep up the value of *Lands*, which he suspects lessened by the others excess of Profit: But all in vain. The Cause is mistaken, and the Remedy too. 'Tis not the *Merchant's* nor *Monied Man's* Gains that makes Land fall: But the want of Money and lessening of our Treasure wasted by extravagant Expences, and a mis-manag'd Trade, which the Land always first feels. If the *Landed Gentleman* will have, and by his example make it fashionable to have, more *Claret*, *Spice*, *Silk*, and other foreign consumable Wares, than our Exportation of Commodities does exchange for; Money must unavoidably follow to balance the Account, and pay the Debt. And therefore I fear that another Proposal, I hear talked of, to hinder the Exportation of *Money* and *Bullion*, will shew more our need of care to keep our Money from going from us, than a way and method, how to preserve it here.

'Tis Death in *Spain* to export Money: And yet they, who furnish all the World with Gold and Silver, have least of it amongst themselves. Trade fetches it away from that lazy and indigent People, notwithstanding all their artificial and forced Contrivances to keep it there. It follows Trade against the rigour of their Laws; and their want of foreign Commodities makes it openly be carried out at Noon-Day. Nature has bestowed Mines on several parts of the World: But their Riches are only for the Industrious and Frugal. Whom-ever else they visit, 'tis with the Diligent and Sober only they stay. And if the Vertue, and provident way of Living of our Ancestors (content with our native Conveniencies of Life, without the costly Itch after the Materials of Pride and Luxury from abroad) were brought in Fashion and Countenance again amongst us; this alone would do more to keep, and increase our Wealth, and enrich our Land, than all our Paper helps about *Interest*, *Money*, *Bullion*, &c. which however eagerly we may catch at, will not, I fear, without better Husbandry, keep us from sinking, whatever Contrivances we may have recourse to. 'Tis with a *Kingdom*, as with a *Family*. Spending less than our own Commodities will pay for, is the sure and only way for the Nation to grow Rich. And when that begins once seriously to be consider'd, and our faces and steps are in earnest turn'd that way, we may hope to have our Rents rise, and the publick Stock thrive again. Till then, we in vain, I fear, endeavour with noise, and weapons of Law, to drive the Wolf from our own, to one anothers Doors: The Breed ought to be extirpated out of the Island. For Want, brought in by ill management; and nursed up by expensive Vanity, will make the Nation poor, and spare no body.

If three Millions were necessary for the carrying on the Trade of *England*, whereof one Million were for the Landholder, to maintain him; another were for the payment of the Labourer and Handicraftsman; and the third were the share of the Brokers, coming to them for their care and pains in distributing; if one Million of this Money were gone out of the Kingdom, must not there be one third less to be shared amongst them for the product of their Land, their Labour and their Distribution? I do not say they will feel it at the same time. But the Landholder having nothing, but what the Product of his Land will yield; and the buyer according to the plenty or scarcity of Money he has, always setting the Price upon what is offered to Sale; the Landholder must be content to take the Market-Rate, for what he brings thither; which always following the scarcity or plenty of Money; if any part of our Money be gone, he is sure first to find it in the price of

his Commodities. For the Broker and Merchant, though he sell cheaper, yet he buys cheaper too: And he will be sure to get by his Returns, or let alone a Commodity, which will not produce him Gain: And whatsoever is so alone, and left upon hands, always turns to the Landholders Loss.

Supposing that of our Woollen Manufacture, foreign Markets took off one half, and the other half were consumed amongst our selves: If a sensible part (as one third) of our Coin were gone, and so Men had equally one third less Money than they had, (for, 'tis certain, it must be *tantamount*, and what I 'scape of one third less, another must make up) it would follow, That they would have less to lay out in Cloaths, as well as other things, and so would wear them longer, or pay less for them. If a Clothier finds a want of vent, he must either sell cheaper or not at all; if he sells cheaper, he must also pay less, both for Wool and Labour; and if the Labourer hath less Wages, he must also pay less for Corn, Butter, Cheese, Flesh, or else forbear some of these quite. In all which Cases, the Price of Wool, Corn, Flesh, and the other Products of Land are brought down, and the Land bears the greatest part of the Loss. For wherever the Consumption or Vent of any Commodity is stopt, there the stop continues on till it comes to the Landholder. And wherever the Price of any Commodity begins to fall, how many Hands soever there be between that and the Landholder, they all take Reprisals one upon another, till at last it comes to the Landholder; and there the abatement of Price, of any of his Commodities, lessens his Income, and is a clear Loss. The Owner of Land which produces the Commodity, and the last Buyer who consumes it, are the two Extreame in Commerce. And though the falling of any sort of Commodity in the Landholder's Hand does not prove so to the last Consumer, the Arts of intervening Brokers and Ingrossers keeping up the Price to their own Advantage, yet whenever want of Money, or want of Desire in the Consumer, make the Price low, that immediately reaches the first Producer: No body between having any Interest to keep it up.

Now, as to the two first Causes of falling of Rents, falling of Interest has no Influence at all. In the latter it has a great part, because it makes the Money of England less, by making both Englishmen and Foreigners withdraw or withhold their Money. For that which is not let loose into Trade, is all one whilst hoarded up, as if it were not in being.

I have heard it brought for a reason, why Interest should be reduced to four per Cent. That thereby the Landholder, who bears the Burthen of the publick Charge, may be in some degree eased by falling of Interest.

This Argument will be put right, if you say it will ease the Borrower, and lay the Loss on the Lender: But it concerns not the Land in general, unless you will suppose all Landholders in Debt. But I hope we may yet think that Men in England, who have Land, have Money too; and that Landed Men, as well as others, by their Providence and good Husbandry, accommodating their Expences to their Income, keep themselves from going backwards in the World.

That which is urged, as most deserving Consideration and Remedy in the Case, is, That it is hard and unreasonable, that one, who has mortgaged half his Land, should yet pay Taxes for the whole, whilst the Mortgagee goes away with the clear Profit of an high Interest. To this I answer.

1. That if any Man has run himself in Debt for the Service of his Country, 'tis fit the Publick should reimburse him, and set him free. This is a Care that becomes the publick Justice, That Men, if they receive no Rewards, should at least be kept from suffering, in having served their Country. But I do not remember the Polity of any Nation, who altered their Constitution in favour of those whose Mismanagement had brought them behind-hand; possibly as thinking the Publick little beholden to those, who had misemployed the Stock of their Country in the Excess of their private Expences, and, by their Example, spread a Fashion that carries Ruin with it. Mens paying Taxes of mortgaged Lands, is a Punishment for ill Husbandry, which ought to be discouraged: But it concerns very little the Frugal and the Thrifty.

2. Another thing to be said in reply to this, is, That it is with Gentlemen in the Country, as with Tradesmen in the City. If they will own Titles to greater Estates than really they have, it is their own Faults, and there is no way left to help

help them from paying for them. The Remedy is in their own Hands, to discharge themselves when they please. And when they have once sold their Land, and paid their Debts, they will no longer pay Taxes for what they own without being really theirs. There is another way also, whereby they may be relieved, as well as a great many other Inconveniencies remedied; and that is by a *Registry*: For if Mortgages were registred, Land-Taxes might reach them, and order the Lender to pay his Proportion.

I have met with Patrons of four *per Cent.* who (amongst many other fine things they tell us of) affirm, That if Interest were reduc'd to four *per Cent.* then some Men would borrow Money at this low Rate, and pay their Debts; others would borrow more than they now do, and improve their Land; others would borrow more, and employ it in Trade and Manufacture. Gilded Words indeed, were there any thing substantial in them! These Men talk as if they meant to shew us, not only the Wisdom, but Riches of Solomon, and would make Gold and Silver as common as the Stones in the Street: But at last, I fear, 'twill be but Wit without Money, and I wish it amount to that. 'Tis without question, that could the Countryman and the Tradesman take up Money cheaper than now they do, every Man would be forward to borrow, and desire that he might have other Mens Money to employ to his Advantage. I confess, those who contend for four *per Cent.* have found out a way to set Mens Mouths a watering for Money at that rate, and to increase the Number of the Borrowers in England; if any body can imagine it would be an Advantage to increase them. But to answer all their fine Projects, I have but this one short question to ask them: Will four *per Cent.* increase the Number of the Lenders? If it will not, as any Man at the very first hearing will shrewdly suspect it will not, then all the Plenty of Money these Conjurors bestow upon us, for improvement of Land, paying of Debts, and advancement of Trade, is but like the Gold and Silver, which old Women believe other Conjurors bestow sometimes, by whole Lapfuls, on poor credulous Girls, which, when they bring to the light, is found to be nothing but wither'd Leaves; and the Possessors of it are still as much in want of Money as ever.

Indeed I grant it would be well for England, and I wish it were so, that the Plenty of Money were so great amongst us, that every Man could borrow as much as he could use in Trade for four *per Cent.* nay, that Men could borrow as much as they could employ for six *per Cent.* But even at that rate, the Borrowers already are far more than the Lenders. Why else doth the Merchant, upon occasion, pay six *per Cent.* and often above that rate for Brokage? And why doth the Country Gentleman of 1000 *l. per Annum* find it so difficult, with all the Security he can bring, to take up 1000 *l.* All which proceeds from the Scarcity of Money, and bad Security; two Causes which will not be less powerful, to hinder borrowing, after the lowering of Interest; and I do not see how any one can imagine that reducing Use to four *per Cent.* should abate their Force, or how lessening the Reward of the Lender, without diminishing his risque, should make him more forward and ready to lend. So that these Men, whilst they talk, that at four *per Cent.* Men would take up, and employ more Money to the publick Advantage, do but pretend to multiply the Number of Borrowers among us, of which it is certain we have too many already. While they thus set Men a longing for the golden Days of four *per Cent.* methinks they use the poor indigent Debtor, and needy Tradesman, as I have seen prattling Jack-Daws do sometimes their Young, who kawing and fluttering about the Nest, set all their young ones a gaping, but having nothing in their empty Mouths but Noise and Air, leave them as hungry as before.

'Tis true these Men have found out by a cunning Project, how, by the restraint of Law, to make the Price of Money one third cheaper, and then they tell John a Nokes that he shall have 10000 *l.* of it to employ in Merchandise, or Cloathing; and John a Stiles shall have 20000 *l.* more to pay his Debts; and so distribute this Money as freely as Diego did his Legacies, which they are to have, even where they can get it. But till these Men can instruct the forward Borrowers where they shall be furnished, they have perhaps done something to increase Mens Desire, but not made Money one jot easier to come by. And till they do that, all this sweet jingling of Money in their Discourses goes just to the Tune of, *If all the World were Oatmeal.* Methinks these Undertakers, whilst they have put Men in hopes

of

of borrowing more plentifully at easier Rates, for the supply of their Wants and Trades, had done better to have bethought themselves of a way, how Men need not borrow upon *Use* at all: For this would be much more advantageous, and altogether as feasible. It is as easie to distribute twenty pair of Shoes amongst thirty Men, if they pay nothing for them at all, as if they paid 4 s. a pair; ten of them (notwithstanding the Statute-Rate should be reduced from 6 s. to 4 s. a pair) will be necessitated to sit still barefoot, as much as if they were to pay nothing for Shoes at all. Just so it is in a Country, that wants Money in Proportion to Trade. It is as easie to contrive how every Man shall be supplied with what Money he needs, (*i. e.* can employ in *Improvement of Land, paying his Debts, and Returns of his Trade*) for nothing, as for four per Cent. Either we have already more Money than the Owners will lend, or we have not. If part of the Money which is now in *England*, will not be lent at the rate *Interest* is at present at, will Men be more ready to lend, and Borrowers be furnished for all those brave Purposes more plentifully, when Money is brought to four per Cent.? If People do already lend all the Money they have, above their own Occasions, whence are those, who will borrow more at four per Cent. to be supplied? Or is there such Plenty of Money, and Scarcity of Borrowers, that there needs the reducing of *Interest* to four per Cent. to bring Men to take it?

All the imaginable ways of increasing Money in any Country, are these two: Either to dig it in Mines of our own, or get it from our Neighbours. That four per Cent. is not of the nature of the *Deusing-rod*, or *Virgula Divina*, able to discover Mines of Gold and Silver, I believe will easily be granted me. The way of getting from Foreigners, is either by Force, Borrowing, or Trade. And whatever ways besides these Men may fantasie or propose, for increasing of Money, (except they intend to set up for the Philosophers Stone) would be much the same with a distracted Man's Device that I knew, who, in the beginning of his Distemper, first discover'd himself to be out of his Wits by getting together and boiling a great Number of Groats, with a Design, as he said, to make them *plim*, *i. e.* grow thicker. That four per Cent. will raise Armies, discipline Soldiers, and make Men valiant, and fitter to conquer Countries, and enrich themselves with the Spoils, I think was never pretended. And that it will not bring in more of our Neighbours Money upon loan, than we have at present among us, is so visible in itself, that it will not need any Proof; the Contenders for four per Cent. looking upon it as an undeniable Truth, and making use of it as an Argument to shew the Advantage it will be to the Nation, by lessening the *Use* paid to Foreigners, who upon falling of *Use* will take home their Money. And for the last way of increasing our Money, by promoting of Trade, how much lowering of *Interest* is the way to that, I have, I suppose, shew'd you already.

Having lately met with a little Tract, intituled, A Letter to a Friend concerning Usury, printed this present Year 1690; which gives in short, the Arguments of some Treatises printed many Years since, for the lowering of Interest: It may not be amiss, briefly to consider them.

1. **A** High Interest decays Trade. The Advantage from Interest is greater than the Profit from Trade, which makes the rich Merchants give over, and put out their Stock to Interest, and the lesser Merchants break.

Ans. This was printed in 1621, when Interest was at ten per Cent. And whether *England* had ever a more flourishing Trade, than at that time, must be left to the Judgment of those, who have consider'd the growing Strength and Riches of this Kingdom in *Q. Elizabeth's* and *K. James I's* Reigns. Not that I impute it to high Interest, but to other Causes I have mention'd, wherein Usury had nothing to do. But if this be thought an Argument now in 1690, when the legal Interest is six per Cent. I desire those, who think fit to make use of it, to name those rich Merchants, who have given over and put out their Stocks to Interest.

2. Interest

2. Interest being at ten per Cent. and in Holland at six, our Neighbour Merchants undersel us.

Ans. The legal Interest being here now at six per Cent. and in Holland not limited by Law, our Neighbour Merchants undersel us, because they live more frugally, and are content with less Profit.

3. Interest being lower in Holland than in England, their Contributions to War, Works of Piety, and all Charges of the State, are cheaper to them than to us.

Ans. This needs a little Explication. Contributions, greater or less, I understand: but Contributions cheaper or dearer, I confess I do not. If they manage their Wars and Charges cheaper than we, the blame is not to be laid on high or low Interest.

4. Interest being so high, prevents the building of Shipping, which is the Strength and Safety of our Island, most Merchant-Ships being built in Holland.

Ans. Though this Argument be now gone, such Ships being prohibited by a Law, I will help the Author to one as good. The Dutch buy our Rape-seed, make it into Oil, bring it back to us, and sell it with Advantage. This may be as well said to be from high Interest here, and low there. But the truth is, the Industry and Frugality of that People, makes them content to work cheaper, and sell at less Profit than their Neighbours, and so get the Trade from them.

5. The high rate of Usury makes Land sell so cheap, being not worth more than fourteen or fifteen Years Purchase; whereas in Holland, where Interest is at six, it is worth above twenty five. So that a low Interest raises the Price of Land. Where Money is dear Land is cheap.

Ans. This Argument plainly confesses, That there is something else regulates the Price of Land, besides the rate of Interest; else when Money was at ten per Cent. here, Land should have been at ten Years Purchase, whereas he confesses it then to have been at fourteen or fifteen. One may suppose, to favour his Hypothesis, he was not forward to speak the most of it. And Interest, as he says, being at six per Cent. in Holland, Land there should have sold by that Rule for sixteen and an half Years Purchase, whereas he says it was worth about twenty five. And Mr. Manly says, (p. 33.) That Money in France being at seven per Cent. noble Land sells for thirty four and thirty five Years Purchase, and ordinary Land for twenty five. So that the true Conclusion from hence is, not what our Author makes, but this; That 'tis not the legal Interest, but something else, that governs the Rate of Land. I grant his Position, That where Money is dear, Land is cheap, and vice versa. But it must be so by the natural, not legal Interest. For where Money will be lent on good Security, at four or five per Cent. 'tis a Demonstration that there is more than will be ventured on ordinary Credit in Trade. And when this Plenty becomes general, 'tis a sign there is more Money than can be employed in Trade; which cannot but put many upon seeking Purchases, to lay it out in Land, and so raise the Price of Land by making more Buyers than Sellers.

6. 'Tis not probable Lenders will call in their Money, when they cannot make greater Interest any where. Besides, their Security upon Land will be better.

Ans. Some unskilful and timorous Men will call in their Money; others put it into the Bankers Hands. But the Bankers and Skilful will keep it up, and not lend it, but at the natural Use, as we have shewn. But how Securities will be mended, by lowering of Interest, is, I confess, beyond my Comprehension.

Of Raising our Coin.

BEing now upon the Consideration of Interest and Money, give me leave to say one Word more on this Occasion, which may not be wholly unreasonable at this time. I hear a Talk up and down of raising our Money, as a means to retain our Wealth, and keep our Money from being carried away. I wish those that use the Phrase of raising our Money, had some clear Notion annexed to it; and that then they would examine, Whether, that being true, it would at all serve to those Ends, for which it is propos'd.

The raising of Money then signifies one of these two things; either raising the Value of our Money, or raising the Denomination of our Coin.

The raising of the Value of Money, or any thing else, is nothing, but the making a less quantity of it exchange for any other thing, than would have been taken for it

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it before. *v. g.* If 5 *s.* will exchange for, or, (as we call it) buy a Bushel of Wheat; if you can make 4 *s.* buy another Bushel of the same Wheat, it is plain the *Value* of your Money is *raised*, in respect of Wheat one Fifth. But thus nothing can *raise* or *fall* the *Value* of your Money, but the proportion of its Plenty, or Scarcity, in proportion to the Plenty, Scarcity, or Vent of any other Commodity, with which you compare it, or for which you would exchange it. And thus Silver, which makes the Intrinsic Value of Money, compar'd with it self, under any Stamp or Denomination of the same or different Countries, cannot be *raised*. For an Ounce of Silver, whether in *Pence*, *Groats*, or *Crown-Pieces*, *Stivers*, or *Ducatoons*, or in Bullion, is and always eternally will be of equal Value to any other Ounce of Silver, under what Stamp or Denomination soever; unless it can be shewn that any Stamp can add any new and better qualities to one parcel of Silver, which another parcel of Silver wants.

Silver therefore being always of equal Value to Silver, the *value of Coin*, compar'd with Coin, is greater, less or equal, only as it has more, less or equal Silver in it: And in this respect, you can by no manner of Way raise or fall your Money. Indeed most of the Silver of the World, both in Money and Vessels being alloy'd, (*i. e.* mixed with some baser Metals) *fine Silver* (*i. e.* Silver separated from all Alloy) is usually dearer than so much Silver alloy'd, or mix'd with baser Metals. Because, besides the Weight of the Silver, those who have need of fine (*i. e.* unmix'd Silver; as *Gilders*, *Wyre-Drawers*, &c.) must according to their Need, besides an equal Weight of Silver mixed with other Metals, give an Overplus to reward the Refiner's Skill and Pains. And in this Case, *fine Silver*, and alloy'd or mixed Silver are considered as two distinct Commodities. But no Money being coin'd here, or almost any where of pure fine Silver, this concerns not the Value of Money at all; wherein an equal quantity of Silver is always of the same Value with an equal quantity of Silver, let the Stamp, or Denomination be what it will.

All then that can be done in this great mystery of *Raising Money*, is only to alter the *Denomination*, and call that a Crown now, which before by the Law was but a part of a Crown. For Example: Supposing, according to the Standard of our Law, 5 *s.* or a Crown, were to weigh an Ounce, (as it does now, wanting about 16 Grains) whereof one twelfth were Copper, and eleven twelfths Silver, (for thereabouts it is) 'tis plain here 'tis the quantity of Silver gives the Value to it. For let another Piece be coin'd of the same Weight, wherein half the Silver is taken out, and Copper or other Alloy put into the place, every one knows it will be worth but half as much. For the Value of the Alloy is so inconsiderable as not to be reckoned. This Crown now must be rais'd, and from henceforth our Crown Pieces coin'd one Twentieth lighter; which is nothing but changing the Denomination, calling that a Crown now, which yesterday was but a part, *viz.* Nineteen twentieths of a Crown; whereby you have only raised 19 parts to the Denomination formerly given to 20. For I think no body can be so senseless, as to imagine, that 19 Grains or Ounces of Silver can be raised to the Value of 20; or that 19 Grains or Ounces of Silver shall at the same time exchange for, or buy as much Corn, Oyl, or Wine, as 20; which is to raise it to the Value of 20. For if 19 Ounces of Silver can be worth 20 Ounces of Silver, or pay for as much of any other Commodity, then 18, 10, or 1 Ounce may do the same. For if the abating one twentieth of the quantity of the Silver of any Coin, does not lessen its Value, the abating nineteen twentieths of the quantity of the Silver of any Coin, will not abate its Value. And so a single Threepence, or a single Penny, being called a Crown, will buy as much Spice or Silk, or any other Commodity, as a Crown-piece, which contains 20 or 60 times as much Silver; which is an Absurdity so great, that I think no body will want Eyes to see, and Sense to disown.

Now, this *raising your Money*, or giving a less quantity of Silver the Stamp and Denomination of a greater, may be done two Ways.

1. By raising one *Species* of your Money.
2. By raising all your Silver Coin, at once, proportionably; which is the thing I suppos'd, now propos'd.

1. The raising of one *Species* of your Coin, beyond its intrinsic Value, is done by coining any one *Species*, (which in Account bears such a proportion to the other

other Species of your Coin) with less Silver in it, than is required by that Value it bears in your Money.

For Example, A *Crown* with us goes for 60 Pence, a *Shilling* for 12 Pence, a *Tester* for 6 Pence, and a *Groat* for 4 Pence: And accordingly, the Proportion of Silver in each of them, ought to be at 60, 12, 6, and 4. Now, if in the Mint there should be coin'd *Groats*, or *Testers*, that being of the same Alloy with our other Money, had but two Thirds of the Weight, that those Species are coin'd at now; or else, being of the same Weight, were so alloy'd as to have one Third of the Silver required by the present Standard chang'd into Copper; and should thus, by Law, be made current; (the rest of your Silver Money being kept to the present Standard in Weight and Fineness) 'tis plain, those Species would be raising one third part; that passing for 6*d.* which had but the Silver of 4*d.* in it; and would be all one as if a *Groat* should by Law be made current for 6*d.* and every 6*d.* in payment pass for 9*d.* This is truly raising these Species: But is no more in effect, than if the Mint should coin clip'd Money. And has, besides the Cheat that is put, by such base or light Money, on every particular Man, that receives it, that he wants one third of that real Value which the Publick ought to secure him, in the Money, it obliges him to receive as lawful and current; It has, I say, this great and unavoidable inconvenience to the Publick, That, besides the opportunities it gives to domestick Coiners to cheat you with lawful Money, it puts it into the Hands of Foreigners to fetch away your Money without any Commodities for it. For if they find that Two-penny weight of Silver, marked with a certain Impression, shall here in *England* be equivalent to 3*d.* weight mark'd with another Impression; they will not fail to stamp Pieces of that Fashion; and so importing that base and low Coin, will, here in *England*, receive 3*d.* for 2*d.* and quickly carry away your Silver in Exchange for Copper, or barely the Charge of Coinage.

This is unavoidable in all Countries where any one Species of their Money is disproportionate in its intrinsic Value, (*i. e.* in its due proportion of Silver to the rest of the Money of that Country) an Inconvenience so certainly attending the allowance of any base Species of Money to be current, that the King of *France* could not avoid it, with all his Watchfulness. For though, by Edict, he made his 4 *Sols* Pieces, (whereof 15 were to pass for a *French* Crown, though 20 of them had not so much Silver in them, as was in a *French* Crown Piece) pass in the Inland parts of his Kingdom, 15 for a Crown in all Payments; yet he durst not make them current in his Seaport Towns, for fear that should give an Opportunity to their Importation. But yet this Caution served not the Turn. They were still imported; and by this Means, a great Loss and Damage brought upon his Country. So that he was forced to cry them down, and sink them to near their intrinsic Value. Whereby a great many particular Men, who had quantities of that Species in their Hands, lost a great part of their Estates; and every one that had any, lost proportionably by it.

If we had *Groats* or *Six Pences* current by Law, amongst us, that wanted one third of the Silver which they now have by the Standard, to make them of equal Value to our other Species of Money; who can imagine, that our Neighbours would not presently pour in quantities of such Money upon us, to the great Loss and Prejudice of the Kingdom? The quantity of Silver that is in each Piece or Species of Coin, being that, which makes it real and intrinsic Value, the due proportions of Silver ought to be kept in each Species, according to the respective Rate set on each of them by Law. And when this is ever varied from, it is but a Trick to serve some present Occasion; but is always with Loss to the Country where the Trick is play'd.

2. The other way of raising Money is by raising all your Silver Coin at once, the proportion of a *Crown*, a *Shilling*, and a *Penny*, in reference to one another, being still kept, (*viz.* That a *Shilling* shall weigh one fifth of a *Crown* Piece, and a *Penny* weigh one twelfth of a *Shilling*, in Standard Silver) but out of every one of these, you abate one twentieth of the Silver, they were wont to have in them.

If all the species of Money, be, as 'tis call'd raised, by making each of them to have one twentieth less of Silver in them than formerly; and so your whole Money be lighter than it was: These following will be some of the Consequences of it.

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8. It will rob all *Creditors* of one twentieth (or 5 per Cent.) of their Debts; and all Landlords one twentieth of their quit Rents for ever; and in all other Rents as far as their former Contracts reach, of 5 per Cent. of their yearly Income; and this without any Advantage to the Debtor or Farmer. For he receiving no more Pounds Sterling for his Land or Commodities, in this new lighter Coin, than he should have done of your old and weightier Money, gets nothing by it. If you say yes, he will receive more *Crown*, *Half-Crown*, and *Shilling* Pieces, for what he now sells for new Money, than he should have done if the Money of the old Standard had continued; you confess your Money is not raised in Value, but in Denomination; since what your new Pieces want in Weight, must now be made up in their Number. But which way soever this falls, 'tis certain, the Publick (which most Men think, ought to be the only reason of changing a settled Law, and disturbing the common current Course of things) receives not the least Profit by it: Nay, as we shall see by and by, it will be a great Charge and Loss to the Kingdom. But this, at first sight, is visible; That in all Payments to be received upon precedent Contracts, if your Money be in effect raised, the Receiver will lose 5 per Cent. For Money having been lent, and Leases and other Bargains made, when Money was of the same Weight and Fineness that it is now, upon Confidence that under the same names of *Pounds*, *Shillings* and *Pence*, they should receive the same Value, i. e. the same quantity of Silver, by giving the denomination now to less quantites of Silver by one twentieth, you take from them 5 per Cent. of their due.

When Men go to Market to buy any other Commodities with their new, but lighter Money, they will find 20 s. of their new Money will buy no more of any Commodity than 19 would before. For it not being the denomination but the quantity of Silver, that gives the Value to any Coin, 19 Grains or parts of Silver, however denominated or marked, will no more be worth, or pass for, or buy so much of any other Commodity as 20 Grains of Silver will, than 19 s. will pass for 20 s. If any one thinks a Shilling or a Crown in Name has its Value from the Denomination and not from the Quantity of Silver in it, let it be tried; and hereafter let a Penny be called a Shilling, or a Shilling be called a Crown. I believe no body would be content to receive his Debts or Rents in such Money: Which though the Law should raise thus, yet he foresees he should lose eleven twelfths by the one, and by the other four fifths of the Value he received; and would find his new Shilling, which had no more Silver in it than one twelfth of what a Shilling had before, would buy him of Corn, Cloth, or Wine but one twelfth of what an old Shilling would. This is as plainly so in the raising, as you call it, your Crown to 5 s. and 3 d. or (which is the same thing) making your Crown one twentieth lighter in Silver. The only difference is, that the Loss is so great, (it being eleven twelfths) that every body sees, and abhors it at first proposal; but in the other (it being but one twentieth, and covered with the deceitful name of raising our Money) People do not so readily observe it. If it be good to raise the Crown-Piece this way one twentieth this Week, I suppose it will be as good and profitable to raise it as much again the next Week. For there is no reason, why it will not be as good to raise it again another one twentieth the next Week, and so on; wherein, if you proceed but 10 Weeks successively, you will by New-Years-Day next have every Half-Crown raised to a Crown, to the Loss of one half of Peoples Debts and Rents, and the King's Revenue, besides the Confusion of all your Affairs: And if you please to go on in this beneficial way of raising your Money, you may by the same Art bring a Penny-Weight of Silver to be a Crown.

Silver, i. e. the quantity of pure Silver separable from the Alloy, makes the real Value of Money. If it does not, coin Copper with the same Stamp and Denomination, and see whether it will be of the same Value. I suspect your Stamp will make it of no more Worth, than the Copper-Money of Ireland is, which is its Weight in Copper, and no more. That Money lost so much to Ireland, as it passed for above the rate of Copper. But yet I think no body suffered so much by it as he by whose Authority it was made current.

If Silver give the Value, you will say what need is there then of the charge of Coinage? May not Men exchange Silver by Weight, for other things; make their Bargains, and keep their Accounts in Silver by Weight? This might be done, but it has these Inconveniencies.

1. The

1. The weighing of Silver to every one we had occasion to pay it to, would be very troublesome, for every one must carry about Scales in his Pocket.

2. Scales would not do the business. For, in the next place, every one cannot distinguish between *fine* and *mix'd* Silver: So that though he receive the full weight, he was not sure he received the full weight of Silver; since there might be a mixture of some of the baser Metals, which he was not able to discern. Those who have had the care, and government of Politick Societies, introduced Coinage, as a remedy to those two inconveniencies. The Stamp was a *Warranty* oft he publick, that under such a denomination they should receive a piece of such a weight, and such a fineness; that is, they should receive so much Silver. And this is the reason why the counterfeiting the Stamp is made the highest Crime, and has the weight of Treason laid upon it: Because the Stamp is the publick voucher of the intrinsic Value. The Royal Authority gives the Stamp; the Law allows and confirms the denomination: And both together give, as it were, the Publick Faith, as a security, that Sums of Money contracted for under such denominations, shall be of such a value, that is, shall have in them so much Silver. For 'tis Silver and not Names that pay Debts and purchase Commodities. If therefore I have contracted for twenty Crowns, and the Law then has required, that each of those Crowns should have an Ounce of Silver; 'tis certain my Bargain is not made good, I am defrauded (and whether the Publick Faith be not broken with me, I leave to be considered) if, paying me twenty Crowns, the Law allows them to be such as have but nineteen twentieths of the Silver, they ought to have, and really had in them, when I made my Contract.

2. It diminishes all the King's Revenue *5 per Cent.* For though the same number of Pounds, Shillings, and Pence are paid into the Exchequer as were wont, yet these Names being given to Coin that have each of them one twentieth less of Silver in them; and that being not a secret concealed from Strangers, no more than from his own Subjects, they will sell the King no more Pitch, Tarr, or Hemp, for 20 Shillings, after the raising your Money, than they would before for 19: or, to speak in the ordinary phrase, they will raise their Commodities *5 per Cent.* as you have rais'd your Money *5 per Cent.* And 'tis well if they stop there. For usually in such changes, an out-cry being made of your lessening your Coin, those who have to deal with you, taking the advantage of the alarm, to secure themselves from any loss by your new Trick, raise their price even beyond the *Par* of your lessening your Coin.

I hear of two inconveniencies complained of, which 'tis propos'd by this project to Remedy.

The one is, The melting down of our Coin: The other, The carrying away of our Bullion. These are both inconveniencies which, I fear, we lie under: But neither of them will be in the least removed or prevented by the propos'd alteration of our Money.

1. It is past doubt that our Money is melted down. The reason whereof is evidently the cheapness of Coinage. For a Tax on Wine paying the Coinage, the particular Owners pay nothing for it. So that 100 Ounces of Silver Coin'd, comes to the Owner at the same Rate, as 100 Ounces of Standard Silver in Bullion. For delivering into the Mint his Silver in Bars, he has the same quantity of Silver delivered out to him again in Coin, without any Charges to him. Whereby, if at any time he has occasion for Bullion, 'tis the same thing to melt down our mill'd Money, as to buy Bullion from abroad, or take it in Exchange for other Commodities. Thus our Mint to the only advantage of our Officers, but at the publick Cost, Labours in Vain, as will be found. But yet this makes you not have one jot less Money in England, than you would have otherwise; but only makes you coin that, which otherwise would not have been Coin'd, nor perhaps been brought hither: And being not brought hither by an over-balance of your Exportation, cannot stay when it is here. It is not any sort of Coinage, does, or can keep your Money here: That wholly and only depends upon the balance of your Trade. And had all the Money in King Charles the II. and King James the II's. time, been minted according to this new propos'd, this rais'd Money would have been gone as well as the other, and the remainder been no more, nor no less than it is now. Though I doubt not but the Mint would have coin'd as much of it as it has of our present mill'd Money. The short is this. An over-balance of Trade with

Spain brings you in Bullion; cheap Coinage, when it is here, carries it into the Mint, and Money is made of it; but if your Exportation will not balance your Importation in the other parts of your Trade, away must your Silver go again, whether Monied or not Monied. For where Goods do not, Silver must pay for the Commodities you spend.

That this is so, will appear by the Books of the Mint, where may be seen how much mill'd Money has been Coin'd in the two last Reigns. And in a Paper I have now in my Hands, (supposed written by a Man not wholly ignorant in the Mint) 'tis confessed, That whereas one third of the current Payments were some time since of mill'd Money, there is not now one twentieth. Gone then it is: But let not any one mistake and think it gone, because in our present Coinage, an Ounce wanting about 16 Grains is denominated a Crown: Or that (as is now proposed) an Ounce wanting about 40 Grains, being coin'd in one piece, and denominated a Crown, would have stop'd it, or will (if our Money be so alter'd) for the future fix it here. Coin what quantity of Silver you please, in one piece, and give it the denomination of a Crown; when your Money is to go, to pay your foreign Debts, (or else it will not go out at all) your heavy Money, (*i. e.* that which is weight according to its Denomination, by the Standard of the Mint) will be that, which will be melted down, or carried away in Coin by the Exporter, whether the pieces of each Species be by the Law bigger or less. For whilst Coinage is wholly paid for by a Tax, whatever your size of Money be, he that has need of Bullion to send beyond Sea, or of Silver to make Plate, need but take mill'd Money, and melt it down, and he has it as cheap, as if it were in pieces of Eight, or other Silver coming from abroad; the Stamp, which so well secures the weight and fineness of the mill'd Money, costing nothing at all.

To this perhaps will be said, That if this be the effect of mill'd Money, that it is so apt to be melted down, it were better to return to the old way of *Coining by the Hammer*. To which I answer by no means. For,

1. Coinage by the Hammer less secures you from having a great part of your Money melted down. For in that way there being a greater inequality in the weight of the Pieces, some being too heavy, and some too light, those who know how to make their advantage of it, *cull out the heavy pieces, melt them down, and make a benefit of the over-weight.*

2. Coinage by the *Hammer* exposes you much more to the danger of *false Coin*. Because the Tools are easily made and concealed, and the work carried on with fewer Hands, and less noise than a Mill; whereby false Coiners are less liable to discovery.

3. The pieces not being so round, even, and fairly stamp'd, nor mark'd on the Edges, are expos'd to *Clipping*, which mill'd Money is not.

Mill'd Money is therefore certainly best for the Publick. But whatever be the cause of melting down our mill'd Money, I do not see how raising our Money (as they call it) will at all hinder its being melted down. For if our Crown-pieces should be coin'd one twentieth lighter. Why should that hinder them from being melted down more than now? The intrinsic value of the Silver is not alter'd, as we have shewn already: Therefore that temptation to melt them down remains the same as before.

But they are lighter by one twentieth. That cannot hinder them from being melted down. For Half Crowns are lighter by half, and yet that preserves them not.

But they are of less weight, under the same denomination, and therefore they will not be melted down. That is true, if any of these present Crowns that are one twentieth heavier, are current for Crowns at the same time. For then they will no more melt down the new light Crowns, than they will the old clip'd ones, which are more worth in Coin, and Tale, than in Weight and Bullion. But it cannot be suppos'd that Men will part with their old and heavier Money, at the same rate that the lighter new Coin goes at; and pay away their old Crowns for 5 s. in Tale, when at the Mint they will yield them 5 s. 3 d. And then if an old mill'd Crown goes for 5 s. 3 d. and a new mill'd Crown (being so much lighter) go for a Crown, what I pray will be the odds of melting down the one or the other? The one has one twentieth less Silver in it, and goes for one twentieth less; and so being weight, they are melted down upon equal Terms. If it be a convenience to melt one,

one, it will be as much a convenience to melt the other: Just as it is the same convenience, to melt mill'd Half Crowns as mill'd Crowns; the one having with half the quantity of Silver, half the Value. When the Money is all brought to the new rate, *i. e.* to be one twentieth lighter, and Commodities raised as they will proportionably, what shall hinder the melting down of your Money then, more than now, I would fain know? If it be coin'd then as it is now *Gratis*, a Crown-piece, (let it be of what weight soever) will be as it is now, just worth its own weight in Bullion, of the same fineness for the Coinage, which is the manufactory about it, and makes all the difference, costing nothing, what can make the difference of Value? And therefore, whoever wants Bullion, will as cheaply melt down these new Crowns, as buy Bullion with them. The raising of your Money cannot then (the Act for free Coinage standing) hinder its being melted down.

Nor, in the next place, much less can it, as it is pretended, hinder the Exportation of our Bullion. Any denomination or stamp we shall give to Silver here, will neither give Silver a higher value in *England*, nor make it less prized abroad. So much Silver will always be worth (as we have already shew'd) so much Silver given in exchange one for another. Nor will it, when in your Mint a less quantity of it is raised to a higher denomination (as when nineteen twentieths of an Ounce has the denomination of a Crown, which formerly belong'd only to the whole 20) be one jot rais'd, in respect of any other Commodity.

You have rais'd the denomination of your stamp'd Silver one twentieth, or which is all one *5 per Cent.* And Men will presently raise their Commodities *5 per Cent.* So that if yesterday 20 Crowns would exchange for 20 Bushels of Wheat, or 20 Yards of a certain sort of Cloth, if you will to day coin current Crowns one twentieth lighter, and make them the Standard, you will find 20 Crowns will exchange for but 19 Bushels of Wheat, or 19 Yards of that Cloth, which will be just as much Silver for a Bushel, as yesterday. So that Silver being of no more real value, by your giving the same denomination to a less quantity of it; this will no more bring in, or keep your Bullion here, than if you had done nothing. If this were otherwise, you would be beholden (as some People foolishly imagine) to the *Clippers* for keeping your Money. For if keeping the old denomination to a less quantity of Silver, be raising your Money (as in effect it is all that is, or can be done in it by this project of making your Coin lighter) the *Clippers* have sufficiently done that: And if their Trade go on a little while longer, at the rate it has of late, and your mill'd Money be melted down and carried away, and no more coin'd; your Money will, without the charge of new Coinage, be, by that sort of Artificers, raised above *5 per Cent.* when all your current Money shall be clipped, and made above one twentieth lighter than the Standard, preserving still its former denomination.

It will possibly be here objected to me, That we see 100 *l.* of clip'd Money, above *5 per Cent.* lighter than the Standard, will buy as much Corn, Cloth, or Wine, as 100 *l.* in mill'd Money, which is above one twentieth heavier: Whereby it is evident, that my Rule fails, and that it is not the Quantity of Silver, that gives the value to Money, but its Stamp and Denomination. To which I answer, That Men make their Estimate and Contracts according to the Standard, upon Supposition they shall receive good and lawful Money, which is that of full Weight: And so in effect they do, whil'st they receive the current Money of the Country. For since 100 *l.* of clip'd Money will pay a Debt of 100 *l.* as well as the weightiest mill'd Money, and a new Crown out of the Mint will pay for no more Flesh, Fruit, or Cloth, than five clip'd Shillings; 'tis evident that they are equivalent as to the Purchase of any thing here at home, whil'st no body scruples to take five clip'd Shillings in exchange for a weighty mill'd Crown. But this will be quite otherwise as soon as you change your Coin, and (to raise it as you call it) make your Money one twentieth lighter in the Mint; for then no body will any more give an old Crown of the former Standard for one of the new, than he will now give you *3 s.* and *3 d.* for a Crown: For so much then his old Crown will yield him at the Mint.

Clip'd and unclip'd Money will always buy an equal quantity of any thing else, as long as they will without scruple change one for another. And this makes, that the foreign Merchant, who comes to sell his Goods to you, always counts upon the

the Value of your Money by the Silver that is in it, and estimates the quantity of Silver by the Standard of your Mint; though perhaps by reason of clip'd or worn Money amongst it, any sum that is ordinarily received is much lighter than the Standard, and so has less Silver in it than what is in a like Sum new coin'd in the Mint. But whilst clip'd and weighty Money will equally change one for another, it is all one to him whether he receive his Money in clip'd Money or no, so it be but current. For if he buy other Commodities here with his Money, whatever Sum he contracts for, clip'd as well as weighty Money equally pays for it. If he would carry away the Price of his Commodity in ready Cash, 'tis easily changed into weighty Money: And then he has not only the Sum in Tale, that he contracted for, but the quantity of Silver he expected for his Commodities, according to the Standard of our Mint. If the quantity of your clip'd Money be once grown so great, that the foreign Merchant cannot (if he has a mind to it) easily get Weighty Money for it, but having sold his Merchandize, and received clip'd Money, finds a difficulty to procure what is weight for it; he will, in selling his Goods, either contract to be paid in weighty Money, or else raise the Price of his Commodities, according to the diminish'd quantity of Silver in your current Coin.

In *Holland*, (*Ducatoons* being the best Money of the Country, as well as the largest Coin) Men in Payments, received and paid those indifferently, with the other Money of the Country, till of late the coining of other Species of Money, of baser Alloy, and in greater quantities, having made the *Ducatoons*, either by melting down, or Exportation, scarcer than formerly, it became difficult to change the baser Money into *Ducatoons*; and since that, no body will pay a Debt in *Ducatoons*, unless he be allowed half per Cent. or more, above the value they were coin'd for.

To understand this, we must take notice, That *Guilders* is the denomination, that in *Holland* they usually compute by, and make their Contracts in. A *Ducatoon* formerly passed at three *Guilders*, and three *Stuyvers*, or sixty-three *Stuyvers*. There were then (some Years since) began to be coin'd another Piece, which was call'd a three *Guilders* Piece, and was order'd to pass for three *Guilders* or sixty *Stuyvers*. But 21 Three *Guilders* Pieces, which were to pass for 63 *Guilders*, not having so much Silver in them as 20 *Ducatoons*, which passed for the same Sum of 63 *Guilders*: the *Ducatoons* were either melted down in their Mints, (for the making of these Three *Guilders* Pieces, or yet baser Money, with Profit) or were carried away by foreign Merchants; who when they carried back the Product of their Sale in Money, would be sure to receive their Payment of the number of *Guilders* they contracted for in *Ducatoons*, or change the Money they received, into *Ducatoons*: Whereby they carried home more Silver, than if they had taken their Payment in Three *Guilders* Pieces, or any other Species. Thus *Ducatoons* became scarce. So that now he that will be paid in *Ducatoons* must allow half per Cent. for them. And therefore the Merchants, when they sell any thing now, either make their Bargain to be paid in *Ducatoons*, or if they contract for *Guilders* in general, (which will be sure to be paid them in the baser Money of the Country,) they raise the Price of their Commodities accordingly.

By this Example, in a Neighbour Country, we may see how our new mill'd Money goes away. When foreign Trade imports more than our Commodities will pay for, 'tis certain we must contract Debts beyond Sea, and those must be paid with Money, when either we cannot furnish, or they will not take our Goods to discharge them. To have Money beyond Sea to pay our Debts, when our Commodities do not raise it, there is no other way but to send it thither. And since a weighty Crown costs no more here than a light one, and our Coin beyond Sea is valued no otherwise than according to the quantity of Silver it has in it, whether we send it in Specie, or whether we melt it down here to send it in Bullion, (which is the safest way as not being prohibited) the weightiest is sure to go. But when so great a quantity of your Money is clip'd, or so great a part of your weighty Money is carried away, that the foreign Merchant or his Factor here cannot have his Price paid in weighty Money, or such as will easily be changed into it, then every one will see (when Men will no longer take five clipp'd Shillings for a mill'd or weighty Crown) that it is the quantity of Silver that buys Commodities and pays Debts, and not the Stamp and Denomination which is put upon it. And then too it will be seen what a Robbery is committed on the Publick by Clipping. Every Grain

Grain diminished from the just weight of our Money, is so much Loss to the Nation, which will one time or other be sensibly felt; and which, if it be not taken care of, and speedily stoppt, will in that enormous Course it is now in, quickly, I fear, break out into open ill Effects, and at one blow deprive us of a great part (perhaps near one fourth) of our Money. For that will be really the Case, when the Increase of *clip'd* Money makes it hard to get weighty; when Men begin to put a difference of value between that which is weighty, and light Money, and will not sell their Commodities, but for Money that is weight, and will make their Bargains accordingly.

Let the Country Gentleman, when it comes to that Pass, consider, what the Decay of his Estate will be, when receiving his Rent in the Tale of *clipp'd* Shillings, according to his Bargain, he cannot get them to pass at Market for more than their Weight. And he that sells him *Salt* or *Silk*, will bargain for 5*s.* such a quantity, if he pays him in fair weighty Coin, but in *clipp'd* Money he will not take under 5*s.* 3*d.* Here you see you have your Money without this new trick of Coinage, raised 5 per Cent. But whether to any advantage of the Kingdom, I leave every one to judge.

Hitherto we have only considered the raising of Silver Coin, and that has been only by coining it with less Silver in it, under the same Denomination. There is another way yet of raising Money which has something more of reality, though as little good as the former in it. This too, now that we are upon the Chapter of Raising of Money, it may not be unseasonable to open a little. The raising I mean is, when either of the two richer Metals, (which Money is usually made of) is by Law raised above its natural Value, in respect of the other. Gold and Silver, have, in almost all Ages, and parts of the World (where Money was used) generally been thought the fittest Materials to make it of. But there being a great disproportion in the Plenty of these Metals in the World, one has always been valued much higher than the other; so that one Ounce of Gold has exchanged for several Ounces of Silver: As at present, our Guinea passing for 21*s.* 6*d.* in Silver, Gold is now about fifteen and an half Times more worth than Silver; there being about fifteen and an half times more Silver in 21*s.* 6*d.* than there is Gold in a Guinea. This being now the Market Rate of Gold to Silver; if by an established Law the Rate of Guineas should be set higher, (as to 22*s.* 6*d.*) they would be raised indeed, but to the Loss of the Kingdom. For by this Law Gold being raised 5 per Cent. above its natural true Value, Foreigners would find it worth while to send their Gold hither, and so fetch away our Silver at five per Cent. Profit, and so much Loss to us. For when so much Gold as would purchase but 100 Ounces of Silver any where else, will in England purchase the Merchant 105 Ounces, what shall hinder him from bringing his Gold to so good a Market; and either selling it at the Mint, where it will yield so much, or having it coin'd into Guineas: And then (going to Market with his Guineas) he may buy our Commodities at the Advantage of 5 per Cent. in the very sort of his Money; or change them into Silver, and carry that away with him?

On the other side, if by a Law you would raise your Silver Money, and make four Crowns, or 20*s.* in Silver, equal to a Guinea, at which rate I suppose it was first coin'd; so that by your Law a Guinea should pass but for 20*s.* the same Inconveniency would follow. For then Strangers would bring in Silver, and carry away your Gold, which was to be had here at a lower rate than any where else.

If you say, that this Inconvenience is not to be fear'd; for that as soon as People found, that Gold began to grow scarce, or that it was more worth than the Law set upon it, they would not then part with it at the Statute-rate; as we see the Broad Pieces that were coined in King James I. time for 20*s.* no body will now part with under 23*s.* or more, according to the Market Value. This I grant is true, and it does plainly confess the Foolishness of making a Law, which cannot produce the Effect it is made for: As indeed it will not, when you would raise the Price of Silver in respect of Gold, above its natural Market Value: For then, as we see in our Gold, the Price of it will raise itself. But on the other side, if you should by a Law set the Value of Gold above its *Par*, then People would be bound to receive it at that high rate, and so part with their Silver at an under value. But supposing that having a mind to raise your Silver in

in respect of Gold, you make a Law to do it, what comes of that? If your Law prevail, only this; that as much as you raise Silver, you debase Gold, (for they are in the Condition of two things put in opposite Scales, as much as the one rises the other falls) and then your Gold will be carried away with so much clear Loss to the Kingdom, as you raise Silver and debase Gold by your Law, below their natural Value. If you raise Gold in Proportion to Silver, the same Effect follows.

I say, *raise Silver in respect of Gold, and Gold in Proportion to Silver.* For when you would raise the Value of Money, fancy what you will, 'tis but in respect of something you would change it for, and is done only when you can make a less quantity of the Metal, which your Money is made of, change for a greater quantity of that thing which you would raise it to.

The Effect indeed, and ill Consequence of raising either of these two Metals, in respect of the other, is more easily observed and sooner found in raising Gold than Silver Coin: Because your Accounts being kept, and your Reckonings all made in Pounds, Shillings, and Pence, which are denominations of Silver Coins, or numbers of them; if Gold be made current at a rate above the free and Market Value of those two Metals, every one will easily perceive the Inconvenience. But there being a Law for it, you cannot refuse the Gold in payment for so much. And all the Money or Bullion People will carry beyond Sea from you, will be in Silver, and the Money or Bullion brought in will be in Gold. And the same just will happen when your Silver is raised and Gold debased in respect of one another, beyond their true and natural proportion: (*natural proportion or value* I call that respective rate they find any where without the prescription of Law) For then Silver will be that which is brought in, and Gold will be carried out; and that still with Loss to the Kingdom, answerable to the overvalue set by the Law. Only as soon as the Mischief is felt, People will (do what you can) *raise their Gold* to its natural value. For your Accounts and Bargains being made in the denomination of Silver Money; if, when Gold is raised above its proportion, by the Law, you cannot refuse it in payment (as if the Law should make a Guinea current at 22 s. and 6 d.) you are bound to take it at that rate in payment. But if the Law should make Guineas current at 20 s. he that has them is not bound to pay them away at that rate, but may keep them if he pleases, or get more for them if he can: Yet from such a Law one of these three things will follow. Either 1st, The Law forces them to go at 20 s. and then being found passing at that rate, Foreigners make their Advantage of it: Or, 2^{dly}, People keep them up, and will not part with them at the legal rate, understanding them really to be worth more, and then all your Gold lies dead, and is of no more use to Trade, than if it were all gone out of the Kingdom: Or, 3^{dly}, It passes for more than the Law allows, and then your Law signifies nothing, and had been better let alone. Which way ever it succeeds it proves either prejudicial or ineffectual. If the design of your Law takes place, the Kingdom loses by it: If the Inconvenience be felt and avoided, your Law is eluded.

Money is the *measure* of Commerce, and of the rate of every thing, and therefore *ought to be kept (as all other measures) as steady and invariable as may be.* But this cannot be, if your Money be made of two Metals, whose Proportion, and consequently whose Price, constantly varies in respect of one another. Silver, for many Reasons, is the fittest of all Metals to be this Measure, and therefore generally made use of for Money. But then it is very unfit and inconvenient that Gold, or any other Metal, should be made current legal Money, at a standing settled Rate. This is to set a Rate upon the varying value of Things by Law, which justly cannot be done; and is, as I have shewed, as far as it prevails, a constant damage and prejudice to the Country where it is practised. Suppose fifteen to one be now the exact *Par* between Gold and Silver, what Law can make it lasting; and establish it so, that next Year, or twenty Years hence, this shall be the just Value of Gold to Silver, and that one Ounce of Gold shall be just worth fifteen Ounces of Silver, neither more nor less? 'Tis possible, the *East-India* Trade sweeping away great Sums of Gold, may make it scarcer in *Europe*. Perhaps the *Guinea* Trade, and Mines of *Peru*, affording it in greater Abundance, may make it more plentiful; and so its Value in respect of Silver, come on the one side to be as sixteen, or on the other as fourteen to one. And can any Law
you

you shall make alter this Proportion here, when it is so every where else round about you? If your Law set it at fifteen, when it is at the free Market Rate in the neighbouring Countries, as sixteen to one; will they not send hither their Silver to fetch away your Gold at one sixteen Loss to you? Or if you will keep its Rate to Silver, as fifteen to one, when in *Holland, France, and Spain* its Market Value is but fourteen; will they not send hither their Gold, and fetch away your Silver at one fifteen loss to you? This is unavoidable, if you will make Money of both Gold and Silver at the same time, and set Rates upon them by Law in respect of one another.

What then? (Will you be ready to say) would you have Gold kept out of *England*? Or being here, would you have it useless to Trade; and must there be no Money made of it? I answer, Quite the contrary. 'Tis fit the Kingdom should make use of the Treasure it has. 'Tis necessary your Gold should be coin'd, and have the King's Stamp upon it, to secure Men in receiving it, that there is so much Gold in each piece. But 'tis not necessary that it should have a fixed Value set on it by publick Authority: 'Tis not convenient that it should in its varying Proportion have a settled Price. Let Gold, as other Commodities, find its own Rate. And when, by the King's Image and Inscription, it carries with it a publick Assurance of its weight and fineness, the Gold Money so coin'd will never fail to pass at the known Market Rates, as readily, as any other Species of your Money. Twenty Guineas, though designed at first for 20 *l.* go now as current for 21 *l.* 10 *s.* as any other Money, and sometimes for more, as the Rate varies. The Value or Price of any thing, being only the respective estimate it bears to some other, which it comes in Competition with, can only be known by the quantity of the one, which will exchange for a certain quantity of the other. There being no two things in nature, whose Proportion and Use does not vary, 'tis impossible to set a standing regular Price between them. The growing Plenty or Scarcity of either in the Market, (whereby I mean the ordinary Places, where they are to be had in Traffick) or the real Use, or changing Fashion of the Place, bringing either of them more into Demand than formerly, presently varies the respective Value of any two Things. You will as fruitlessly endeavour to keep two different things steddily at the same price one with another, as to keep two things in an *equilibrium*, where their varying Weights depend on different Causes. Put a piece of Sponge in one Scale, and an exact counterpoise of Silver on the other, you will be mightily mistaken if you imagine, that because they are to Day equal, they shall always remain so. The Weight of the Sponge varying with every change of Moisture in the Air, the Silver in the opposite Scale will sometimes rise and sometimes fall. This is just the state of *Silver* and *Gold* in regard of their mutual Value. Their Proportion, or Use, may, nay constantly does vary, and with it their Price. For being estimated one in Reference to the other, they are as it were put in opposite Scales, and as the one rises the other falls, and so on the contrary.

Farthings made of a baser Metal, may on this Account too deserve your Consideration. For whatsoever Coin you make current, above the intrinsic Value, will always be Damage to the Publick, whoever get by it. But of this I shall not at present enter into a more particular Enquiry; only this I will confidently affirm, *That it is the Interest of every Country, that all the current Money of it should be of one and the same Metal; That the several Species should be all of the same Alloy, and none of a baser mixture: And that the Standard once thus settled, should be inviolably and immutably kept to Perpetuity.* For whenever that is alter'd, upon what Pretence soever, the Publick will lose by it.

Since then it will neither bring us in more Money, Bullion, nor Trade; nor keep that we have here, nor hinder our weighty Money, of what Denomination soever, from being melted, to what purpose should the Kingdom be at the Charge of coining all our Money anew? For I do not suppose any body can propose, that we should have two sorts of Money at the same time, one heavier, and the other lighter, as it comes from the Mint; that is very absurd to imagine. So that if all your old Money must be coin'd over again, it will indeed be some Advantage, and that a very considerable one, to the Officers of the Mint. For they being allow'd 3 *s.* 6 *d.* it should be sixteen Pence Halfpenny for the Coinage of every Pound Troy, which is very near five and an half per Cent. If our Money be six

Millions, and must be coin'd all over again; it will cost the Nation to the Mint three hundred thirty thousand Pounds. One hundred thirty thousand Pounds if the clipp'd Money must scape, because it is already as light as your new Standard; do you not own that this Design of new Coinage is just of the nature of Clipping?

This Business of Money and Coinage is by some Men, and amongst them some very ingenious Persons, thought a great Mystery, and very hard to be understood. Not that truly in itself it is so, but because interess'd People, that treat of it, wrap up the Secrer they make Advantage of in mystical, obscure, and unintelligible ways of Talking; which Men, from a pre-conceiv'd Opinion of the Difficulty of the Subject, taking for Sense, in a Matter not easie to be penetrated, but by the Men of Art, let pass for current without Examination. Whereas, would they look into those Discourses, enquire what meaning their Words have, they would find for the most part, either their Positions to be false, their Deductions to be wrong, or (which often happens) their Words to have no distinct meaning at all. Where none of these be, there their plain, true, honest Sense, would prove very easie and intelligible, if express'd in ordinary and direct Language.

That this is so, I shall shew, by examining a printed Sheet on this Subject, intituled, *Remarks on a Paper given in to the Lords, &c.*

Rem. 'Tis certain, That what plate soever will give most for Silver by weight, it will thither be carried and sold: And if of the Money which now passes in England, there can be 5 s. 3 d. the Ounce given for Standard Silver in the Mint; when but 5 s. 4 d. of the very same Money can be given elsewhere for it, it will certainly be brought to the Mint; and when coin'd, cannot be sold (having one Penny over-value set upon it by the Ounce) for the same that other Plate may be bought for, so will be left unmelted; at least, 'twill be the Interest of any Exporters, to buy Plate to send out, before Money; whereas now 'tis his Interest to buy Money to send out before Plate.

Ans. The Author would do well to make it intelligible, how, of the Money that now passes in England, at the Mint can be given 5 s. 3 d. the Ounce for Standard Silver, when but 5 s. 4 d. of the same Money can be given elsewhere for it. Next, How it has one Penny over-value set upon it by the Ounce, so that when coin'd it cannot be sold. This, to an ordinary Reader, looks very mysterious; and, I fear, is so, as either signifying nothing at all, or nothing that will hold. For,

1. I ask who is it at the Mint, that can give 5 s. 3 d. per Ounce, for Standard Silver, when no body else can give above 5 s. 4 d.? Is it the King, or is it the Master-Worker, or any of the Officers? For to give 5 s. 3 d. for what will yield but 5 s. 4 d. to any body else, is to give one sixty fifth part more than it is worth. For so much every thing is worth, as it will yield. And I do not see how this can turn to account to the King, or be born by any body else.

2. I ask, How a Penny over-value can be set upon it by the Ounce, so that it cannot be sold? This is so mysterious that I think it near impossible. For an equal Quantity of Standard Silver will always be just worth an equal Quantity of Standard Silver. And it is utterly impossible to make sixty four parts of Standard Silver equal to, or worth sixty five parts of the same Standard Silver; which is meant by setting a Penny over-value upon it by the Ounce, if that has any meaning at all. Indeed, by the Workmanship of it, sixty four Ounces of Standard Silver may be made not only worth sixty five Ounces, but seventy or eighty. But the Coinage, which is all the Workmanship here, being paid for by a Tax, I do not see how that can be reckon'd at all: Or if it be, it must raise every 5 s. 4 d. coin'd, to above 5 s. 5 d. If I carry sixty four Ounces of Standard Silver in Bullion to the Mint to be coin'd, shall I not have just sixty four Ounces back again for it in Coin? And if so, can these sixty four Ounces of coin'd Standard Silver be possibly made worth sixty five Ounces of the same Standard Silver uncoin'd; when they cost me no more, and I can, for barely going to the Mint, have sixty four Ounces of Standard Silver in Bullion turn'd into Coin? Cheapness of Coinage in England, where it costs nothing, will indeed make Money be sooner brought to the Mint, than any where else; because there I have the Convenience of having it made into Money for nothing. But this will no more keep it in England than if it were perfect Bullion. Nor will it hinder it from being melted down, because it cost no more in Coin than in Bullion: And this equally, whether your Pieces of the same Denomination be lighter, heavier, or just as they were before.

This

This being explain'd, 'twill be easie to see, whether the other things said in the same Paragraph be true or false, and particularly, whether 'twill be the Interest of every Exporter, to buy Plate to send out before Money.

Rem. 'Tis only barely asserted, That if Silver be raised at the Mint, that 'twill rise elsewhere above it, but can never be known till it be tried.

Ans. The Author tells us, in the last Paragraph, that Silver that is worth but 5 s. 2 d. per Ounce at the Mint, is worth 5 s. 4 d. elsewhere. This, how true, or what Inconvenience it hath, I will not here examine. But be the Inconvenience of it what it will, this raising the Money he proposes as a Remedy: And to those who say, upon raising our Money Silver will rise too, he makes this Answer, that It can never be known whether it will or no, till it be tried. To which I reply, That it may be known as certainly without tryal as it can, that two pieces of Silver that weighed equally Yesterday, will weigh equally again to Morrow in the same Scales.

There is Silver (says our Author) whereof an Ounce (i. e. 480 Grains) will change for 5 s. 4 d. (i. e. 496 Grains) of our Standard Silver coin'd. To morrow you coin your Money lighter; so that then 5 s. 4 d. will have but 472 Grains of coin'd Standard Silver in it. Can it not then be known, without Tryal, whether that Ounce of Silver, which to day will change for 496 Grains of Standard Silver coin'd, will change to morrow but for 472 Grains of the same Standard Silver coin'd? Or can any one imagine that 480 Grains of the same Silver which today are worth 496 Grains of our coin'd Silver, will to morrow be worth but 472 Grains of the same Silver, a little differently coin'd? He that can have a Doubt about this till it be tried, may as well demand a Trial to be made, to prove, that the same thing is æquiponderant, or equivalent to it self. For I think it is as clear, That 472 Grains of Silver are æquiponderant to 496 Grains of Silver, as that an Ounce of Silver, that is to day worth 496 Grains of Standard Silver, should to morrow be worth but 472 Grains of the same Standard Silver, all Circumstances remaining the same, but the different Weight of the Pieces stamp'd: Which is that our Author asserts, when he says, That 'tis only barely asserted, &c. What has been said to this, may serve also for an Answer to the next Paragraph. Only I desire it may be taken notice of, that the Author seems to insinuate that Silver goes not in England, as in foreign Parts, by Weight: Which is a very dangerous as well as false Position; and which, if allowed, may let into our Mint what Corruption and Debasement of our Money one pleases.

Rem. That our Trade hath heretofore furnished us with an Overplus, brought home in Gold and Silver, is true; But that we bring home from any Place more Goods than we now export to it, I do not conceive to be so. And more Goods might be sent to those Parts; but by reason of the great Value of Silver in this part of the World, more Money is to be got by exporting Silver, than by any other thing that can be sent; and that is the reason of it. And for its being melted down, and sent out, because it is so heavy, is not by their Paper denied.

Ans. That we bring home from any place more Goods than we now export, (The Author tells us) he doth not conceive.

Would he had told us a Reason for his Conceit. But since the Money of any Country is not presently to be changed, upon any private Man's groundless Conceit, I suppose this Argument will not be of much Weight with many Men. I make bold to call it a groundless Conceit: For if the Author please to remember the great Sums of Money are carried every Year to the East-Indies, for which we bring home consumable Commodities; (though I must own that it pays us again with Advantage) or if he will examine, how much only two Commodities, wholly consum'd here, cost us yearly in Money, (I mean Canary Wine and Currants) more than we pay for with Goods exported to the Canaries and Zant; besides the Over-balance of Trade upon us in several other Places, he will have little reason to say, he doth not conceive we bring home from any place more Goods than we now Export to it.

As to what he says concerning the melting down and exporting our Money, because it is heavy. If by heavy, he means, because our Crown-pieces (and the rest of our species of Money in proportion) are 23 or 24 Grains heavier than he would have them coin'd: This, whoever grants it, I deny upon Grounds, which I suppose, when examined, will be found clear and evident.

Indeed when your Debts beyond Sea, to answer the Over-balance of foreign Importations, call for your Money, 'tis certain the heavy Money, which has the full Standard Weight, will be melted down and carried away; because Foreigners value not your Stamp or Denomination, but your Silver.

He would do well to tell us what he means by *the great Value of Silver in this part of the World*. For he speaks of it as a Cause that draws away our Money more now than formerly, or else it might as well have been omitted as mentioned in this place: And if he mean, by *this part of the World*, England: 'tis scarce Sense to say, That the great Value of Silver in England should draw Silver out of England. If he means the neighbouring Countries to England, he should have said it, and not doubtfully *this part of the World*. But let him, by *this part of the World*, mean what he will, I dare say every one will agree, That Silver is not more valu'd in this, than any other part of the World; nor in this Age, more than in our Grandfathers Days.

I am sorry if it be true, what he tells us, That *more Money is to be got by Exportation of Silver, than by any other thing that can be sent*. This is an Evidence, that *we bring home more Goods than we export*. For till that happens, and has brought us in Debt beyond Sea, Silver will not be exported; but the overplus of Peoples Gain, being generally laid up in Silver, it will be brought home in Silver; and so our People will value it as much as any other, in *this part of the World*.

The Truth of the Case in short is this. Whenever we, by a losing Trade, contract Debts with our Neighbours, they will put a *great Value on our Silver, and more Money will be got by transporting Silver than any thing can be sent*: Which comes about thus. Suppose that by an Over-balance of their Trade (whether by a Sale of Pepper, Spices, and other *East-India* Commodities, it matters not) we have received great quantities of Goods, within these two or three Months, from *Holland*, and sent but little thither; so that the Accounts balanced between the Inhabitants of *England* and the *United Provinces*, we of *England* were a Million in their Debt: What would follow from hence? This: That these Dutch Creditors, desiring to have what is due to them, give Order to their Factors and Correspondents here, to return it to them. For enquiring, as we do, what are the Effects of an over-balance of Trade, we must not suppose, they invest their Debts in Commodities, and return their Effects that way. A Million then being to be returned from *England* to *Holland* in Money, every one seeks Bills of Exchange; but Englishmen not having Debts in *Holland* to answer this Million, or any the least part of it, Bills are not to be got. This presently makes the Exchange very high: upon which the Bankers, &c. who have the command of great quantities of Money and Bullion, send that away to *Holland* in Specie, and so take Money here to pay it again there, upon their Bills, at such a rate of Exchange, as gives them five, ten, fifteen, &c. *per Cent.* profit: And thus sometimes a 5*s.* Piece of our mill'd Money may truly be said to be worth 5*s.* 3*d.* 4*d.* 6*d.* 9*d.* in *Holland*. And if this be *the great Value of Silver in this part of the World*, I easily grant it him. But this great Value is to be remedied, not by the alteration of our Mint, but by the Regulation and Balance of our Trade. For be your Coin what it will, our Neighbours, if they over-balance us in Trade, will not only have a *great Value of our Silver*, but get it too; and there will be *more to be got by exporting Silver to them than by any other Thing can be sent*.

Rem. The alteration of the Coins in Spain and Portugal are no way at all like this. For there they alter'd in Denomination near half, to deceive those they paid, with paying those to whom they owed one Ounce of Silver, but half an Ounce for it. But in the alteration here designed, to whoever an Ounce of Silver was owing, an Ounce will be paid in this Money; it being here only designed, that an Ounce of Money should equal an Ounce of Silver in Value, at home, as well as abroad, which now it does not.

Answ. In this Paragraph the Author confesses the alteration of the Coin in Spain and Portugal was a Cheat; but the Alteration here design'd, he says, is not: But the Reason he gives for it is admirable: viz. *Because they there alter'd in Denomination near half, and here the Denomination is alter'd but five per Cent. for so in Truth it is, whatever be designed*. As if fifty *per Cent.* were a Cheat, but five *per Cent.* were not; because perhaps less perceivable. For the two Things that are pretended to be done here by this new Coinage, I fear will both fail, viz. 1. That to whomsoever an Ounce of Silver is owing, an Ounce of Silver shall be paid in this Money.

Money. For when an Ounce of Silver is coin'd, as is propos'd, into 5 s. 3 d. (which is to make our Money five per Cent. lighter than it is now) I that am to receive an 100 l. per Annum, Fee Farm Rent; shall I in this new Money receive 105 l. or barely 100 l.? The first I think will not be said. For if by Law you have made it 100 l. 'tis certain the Tenant will pay me no more. If you do not mean that 400 Crowns, or 2000 Shillings of your new Coin shall be an 100 l. but there must be five per Cent. in Tale, added to every 100, you are at the charge of new Coinage to no other purpose but to breed Confusion. If I must receive 100 l. by Tale, of this new Money for my Fee Farm Rent, 'tis demonstration that I lose five Ounces per Cent. of the Silver was due to me. This a little lower he confesses in these Words, *That where a Man has a Rent-SEC, that can never be more, this may somewhat affect it, but so very little, that it will scarce ever at all be perceived.* This very little is five per Cent. And if a Man be cheated of that, so he perceives it not, it goes for nothing. But this Loss will not affect only such Rents, as can never be more, but all Payments whatsoever, that are contracted for before this alteration of our Money.

2. If it be true, what he affirms, *That an Ounce of Money doth equal an Ounce of Silver in value abroad, but not at home;* then this part of the Undertaking will also fail. For I deny that the Stamp on our Money does any more debase it here at home than abroad, or make the Silver in our Money not equal in value to the same weight of Silver every where. The Author would have done well to have made it out, and not left so great a Paradox only to the credit of a single Assertion.

Rem. And for what is said in this Bill to prevent Exportation, relates only to the keeping in our own Coin, and Bullion, and leaves all foreign to be exported still.

Answ. What the Author means by our own and foreign Bullion, will need some Explication.

Rem. There is now no such thing as Payments made in weighty and mill'd Money.

Answ. I believe there are very few in Town, who do not very often receive a mill'd Crown for 5 s. and a mill'd half Crown for 2 s. 6 d. But he means I suppose in great and entire Sums of mill'd Money. But I ask, if all the clip'd Money were called in, whether then all the Payments would not be in weighty Money; and that not being call'd in, whether if it be lighter than your new mill'd Money, the new mill'd Money will not be melted down as much as the old? Which I think the Author there confesses, or else I understand him not.

Rem. Nor will this any way interrupt Trade; for Trade will find its own course; the Denomination of Money in any Country no way concerning that.

Answ. The Denomination to a certain Weight of Money, in all Countries, concerns Trade; and the alteration of that necessarily brings disturbance to it.

Rem. For if so be it occasions the coining more Money.

Answ. He talks as if it would be the occasion of coining more Money. Out of what? Out of Money already coin'd, or out of Bullion? For I would be glad to know where it is.

Rem. It may be some Gain to those that will venture to melt down the Coin, but very small Loss (if any) to those that shall be paid in the new: 'Tis not to be denied, but that where any Man has a Rent-SEC, that can never be more, this may somewhat affect it; but so very little, 'twill scarce ever at all be perceived.

Answ. As much as it will be Gain to melt down their Coin, so much Loss will it be to those who are paid in the new, viz. 5 per Cent. which I suppose, is more than the Author would be willing to lose, unless he get by it another way.

Rem. And if the alteration designed should have the effect of making our Native Commodities any way dearer.

Answ. Here the Author confesses, that proportionably as your Money is raised, the Price of other things will be raised too. But to make amends, he says,

Rem. It does at the same time make the Land which produces them, of more than so much more in value.

Answ. This more than so much more in Value, is more than our Author, or any body else for him, will ever be able to make out.

The Price of Things will always be estimated by the quantity of Silver is given in exchange for them. And if you make your Money less in Weight, it must be made up in Tale. This is all this great Mystery of raising Money, and raising Land.

Land. For Example, The Mannor of *Blackacre* would yesterday have yielded one hundred thousand Crowns, which Crown-pieces, let us suppose *numero rotundo*, to weigh each of them an Ounce of Standard Silver. To day your new Coin comes in play, which is $\frac{1}{2}$ per Cent. lighter. There's your Money raised: The Land now at Sale yields one hundred and five thousand Crowns, which is just the same one hundred thousand Ounces of Standard Silver. There's the Land raised. And is not this an admirable Invention, for which the Publick ought to be at above one hundred thousand Pounds Charge for new Coinage, and all your Commerce put in disorder? And then to recommend this Invention, you are told, as a great Secret, That, *Had not Money from time to time, been raised in its Denomination, Lands had not so risen too*: Which is to say, Had not your Money been made lighter, fewer Pieces of it would have bought as much Land as a greater number does now.

Rem. The loss of Payments there spoken of, will, in no sort, be so great as if the Parties to whom these Debts are owing, were now bound to receive them in the Money now passed, and then to melt the same down; so at this they will have no cause to complain.

Ans. A very good Argument! The Clippers have rob'd the Publick of a good part of their Money (which Men will, some time or other, find in the Payments they receive) and 'tis desired the Mint may have a liberty to be beforehand with those to whom Debts are owing. They are told they will have no reason to complain of it, who suffer this loss; because it is not so great as the other. The damage is already done to the Publick, by clipping. Where at last it will light, I cannot tell. But Men who receive clipp'd Money, not being forced to melt it down, do not yet receive any loss by it. When clipp'd Money will no longer change for weighty, then those who have clipp'd Money in their hands, will find the loss of it.

Rem. 'Twill make the Customs better paid, because there will be more Money.

Ans. That there will be more Money in Tale, 'tis possible: That there will be more Money in Weight and Worth the Author ought to shew. And then, whatever becomes of the Customs, (which I do not hear are unpaid now) the King will lose in the Excise above thirty thousand pounds per Annum. For in all Taxes where so many Pounds, Shillings, or Pence are determined by the Law to be paid, there the King will lose five per Cent. The Author here as in other places, gives a good reason for it. For, *His Majesty being to pay away this Money by Tale, as he received it, it will be to him no loss at all.*

As if my receiving my Rents in full Tale, but in Money of undervalue five per Cent. were not so much loss to me, because I was to pay it away again by Tale. Try it at fifty per Cent. The odds only is, That one being greater than the other, would make more noise. But our Author's great refuge in this is, *That it will not be perceiv'd.*

Rem. If all foreign Commodities, were to be Purchased with this new Species of Money sent out; we agree, That with 100 l. of it, there could not be so much Silver or other Commodities bought, as with 100 l. in Crown Pieces as now coined; because they would be heavier; and all Coin in any Kingdom, but where 'tis coined, only goes by Weight; and for the same weight of Silver, the same every where still will be bought; and so there will, with the same quantity of Goods. And if those Goods should cost five per Cent. more here in England than heretofore, and yield but the same Money (we mean by the Ounce abroad) the same Money brought home and coin'd, will yield the Importer five per Cent. more at the Mint than it heretofore could do, and so no damage to the Trader at all.

Ans. Here Truth forces from the Author a confession of two Things, which demonstrate the vanity and useflessness of the Project. 1. That upon this change of your Coin, foreign Goods will be rais'd. 2. Your own Goods will cost more five per Cent. So that Goods of all kinds being thereupon rais'd; wherein consists the raising of your Money, when an Ounce of Standard Silver, however minc'd, stamp'd, or denominated, will buy no more Commodities than it did before? This confession also shews the Falseness of that dangerous supposition, That Money, in the Kingdom where it is coin'd, goes not by Weight, i. e. is not valued by its Weight.

Rem. 'Tis true, The Owners of Silver will find a good Market for it, and no others will be damaged; but, on the contrary, the making Plenty of Money will be an advantage to all.

Ans.

Answ. I grant it true, That if your Money were really raised five per Cent. the Owners of Silver would get so much by it, by bringing it to the Mint to be coin'd. But since, as is confessed, Commodities will (upon this raising your Money) be raised to five per Cent. this alteration will be an advantage to no body but the Officers of the Mint, and Hoarders of Money.

Rem. When Standard Silver was last raised at the Mint, (which it was, from 5 s. to 5 s. and 2 d. the Ounce, in the 43 d. of Eliz.) and, for above Forty Years after, Silver uncoin'd was not worth above 4 s. 10 d. the Ounce, which occasion'd much coining; and of Money, none in those days was exported: Whereas Silver now is worth but the very same 5 s. and 2 d. the Ounce still at the Mint, and is worth 5 s. 4 d. elsewhere. So that if this Bill now with the Lords does not happen to pass, there can never any Silver be ever more coin'd at the Mint; and all the mill'd Money will in a very little time more be destroyed.

Answ. The reason of so much Money coin'd in Queen Elizabeth's Time, and afterwards, was not the lessening your Crown Pieces from 480 to 462 Grains, and so proportionably all the rest of your Money, (which is that the Author calls, raising Standard Silver from 5 s. to 5 s. 2 d. the Ounce) but from the over-balance of your Trade, bringing then in Plenty of Bullion, and keeping it here.

How Standard Silver (for if the Author speaks of other Silver, it is a fallacy) should be worth its own Weight in Standard Silver at the Mint, (i. e. 5 s. 2 d. the Ounce) and be worth more than its own Weight in Standard Silver, (i. e. 5 s. 4 d. the Ounce) in Lombard-Street, is a Paradox that no body, I think, will be able to comprehend, till it be better explain'd. It is time to give off coining, if the value of Standard Silver be lessened by it: as really it is, if an Ounce of coin'd Standard Silver will not exchange for an Ounce of uncoin'd Standard Silver, unless you add 15 or 16 Grains over-plus to it: Which is what the Author would have taken upon his Word, when he says, *Silver is worth Five Shillings Four Pence elsewhere.*

Five Shillings Four Pence of Money coin'd at the Mint, the Author must allow to be at least 495 Grains. An Ounce is but 480 Grains. How then an Ounce of uncoin'd Standard Silver can be worth five Shillings four Pence, (i. e. How 480 Grains of uncoin'd Standard Silver can be worth 495 Grains of the same Standard Silver, coin'd into Money) is unintelligible; unless the coinage of our Mint lessens the Value of Standard Silver.

S I R,

C OIN and Interest are Two Things of so great Moment to the Publick, and of so great Concernment in Trade, that they ought, very accurately to be examin'd into, and very nicely weigh'd, upon any Proposal of an Alteration to be made in them. I pretend not to have treated of them here as they deserve. That must be the work of an abler Hand. I have said something on these Subjects, because you requir'd it. And, I hope, the readiness of my Obedience will excuse, to You, the Faults I have committed, and assure You that I am,

S I R,

Your most humble Servant,

JOHN LOCKE.

SHORT



SHORT
OBSERVATIONS

ON A

PRINTED PAPER,

Entituled,

*For encouraging the Coining Silver Money in England, and
after for keeping it here.*



THE Author says, *Silver yielding the propos'd 2 d. or 3 d. more by the Ounce, than it will do by being coin'd into Money, there will be none coin'd into Money; and matter of Fact shews there is none.*

'Twould be hard to know what he means, when he says, *Silver yields 2 d. or 3 d. more by the Ounce, than it will do by being coin'd into Money*: But that he tells us in plain words at the bottom of the Leaf, that an Ounce of Silver uncoin'd, is of 2 d. more value, than after it is coin'd it will be; which I take the liberty to say, is so far from being true, that I affirm it is impossible to be so. For which I shall only give this short reason, *viz.* Because the Stamp neither does nor can take away any of the intrinsic value of the Silver, and therefore an Ounce of coined Standard Silver, must necessarily be of equal value to an Ounce of uncoined Standard Silver. For Example; suppose a Goldsmith has a round Plate of Standard Silver just of the shape, size and weight of a coin'd Crown-piece, which, for brevity's sake we will suppose to be an Ounce, this Ounce of Standard Silver is certainly of equal value to any other Ounce of unwrought Standard Silver in his Shop; away he goes with his round piece of Silver to the Tower, and has there the Stamp set upon it; when he brings this numerical Piece back again to his Shop coin'd, can any one imagine that it is now 2 d. less worth than it was when he carried it out smooth a quarter of an hour before, or that it is not still of equal value to any other Ounce of unwrought Standard Silver in his Shop? He that can say 'tis 2 d. less worth than it was before it had the King's Image and Inscription on it, may as well say, that 60 Grains of Silver brought from the Tower are worth but 58 Grains of Silver in Lombard-street.

But the Author very warily limits this ill effect of Coinage only to *England*; why it is so in *England*, and not every where, would deserve a reason.

But let us grant it to be true, as our Author affirms, that coin'd Silver in *England* is one thirtieth worse, or of less value than uncoin'd, the natural Consequence from this, if it be true, is, that it is very unfit that the Mint should be employed in *England* where it debases the Silver one thirtieth; for if the Stamp lessens the value of our Silver this Year, it will also do so the next, and so on to the end of the World, it always working the same way. Nor will the altering the Denomination, as is propos'd, at all help it.

But yet he thinks he has some Proof for his Proposition, because it is matter of Fact that there is no Money coin'd at the Mint. This is the great Grievance, and is one indeed, but for a different reason from what seems to inspire that Paper.

The matter in short is this; *England* sending more consumable Commodities to *Spain*, than it receives from thence, the Merchants who manage that Trade, bring back the *overplus* in Bullion, which at their return they sell as a Commodity. The Chapmen that give highest for this, are, as in all Cases of buying and selling, those who can make most profit by it; and those are the Returners of our Money by Exchange into those Countries where our Debts any way contracted make a need of it; for they getting 6, 8, 10, &c. *per Cent.* according to the want and demand of Money from *England* there, and according to the risque of the Sea, buy up this Bullion as soon as it comes in, to send it to their Correspondents in those Parts, to make good their Credit for the Bills they have drawn on them, and so can give more for it than the Mint rate, *i. e.* more than an equal weight of mill'd Money, for an equal weight of Standard Bullion, they being able to make more profit of it by Returns.

Suppose the balance of our Trade with *Holland* were in all other Commodities equal, but that in the last *East-India* Sale we bought of them of *East-India* Commodities to the value of a Million, to be paid in a Month; within a Month a Million must be returned into *Holland*, this presently raises the Exchange, and the Traders in Exchange sell their Bills at high rates; but the balance of Trade being (as is suppos'd in the case) equal in all other Commodities, this Million can no way be repaid to their Correspondents on whom those Bills were drawn, but by sending them Money or Bullion to reimburse them.

This is the true reason why the Bullion brought from *Spain* is not carried to the Mint to be coin'd, but bought by Traders in foreign Exchange, and exported by them to supply the *overplus* of our Expences there, which are not paid for by our Commodities. Nor will the proposed raising of our Money, as 'tis call'd, whether we coin our Money for the future one thirtieth, or one twentieth, or one half lighter than now it is, bring one Ounce more to the Mint than now, whilst our Affairs in this respect remain in the same Posture. And I challenge the Author to shew that it will, for saying is but saying: Bullion can never come to the Mint to be coin'd, whilst the over-balance of Trade and foreign Expences are so great, that to satisfy them, not only the Bullion your Trade in some parts now yearly brings in, but also some of your formerly coin'd Money is requisite, and must be sent out; but when a change in that brings in and lodges Bullion here, (for now it seems it only passes through *England*) the increase of Silver and Gold staying in *England*, will again bring it to the Mint to be coin'd.

This makes it easily intelligible how it comes to pass, that when now at the Mint they can give but 5 s. 2 d. *per* Ounce for Silver, they can give 5 s. 4 d. the Ounce (in *Lombard-street*, which is what our Author means when he says, *Silver now is worth but 5 s. 2 d. the Ounce at the Mint, and is worth 5 s. 4 d. else where.*) The reason whereof is plain, *viz.* because the Mint giving weighty Money for Bullion, can give so much and no more for Silver than it is coin'd at, which is 5 s. 2 d. the Ounce, the Publick paying all the odds that is between the coin'd and uncoin'd Silver, which is the Manufacture of Coinage: But the Banker or Returner of Money having use of Silver beyond Sea, where he can make his Profit of it by answering Bills of Exchange, which he sells dear, must either send our Money in *specie*, or melt down our Coin to transport, or else with it buy Bullion.

The sending our Money in *specie*, or melting it down, has some hazard, and therefore if he could have Bullion for 5 s. 2 d. *per* Ounce, or a little dearer, 'tis like he would always rather chuse to exchange Coin for Bullion, with some little loss, rather than run the risque of melting it down, or exportation.

But this would scarce make him pay 2 d. in the Crown, which is almost three and an half *per Cent.* if there were not something more in it, than barely the risque of melting or exportation; and that is the Lightness of the greatest part of our Current Coin. For Example: *N.* has given Bills for Thirty thousand pounds *sterling* in *Flanders*, and so has need of Ten thousand weight of Silver to be transported thither; he has Thirty thousand pounds *sterling* by him in ready Money, whereof Five thousand pounds is weighty mill'd Money; what shall hinder him then from throwing that into his Melting-Pot, and so reducing it to Bullion, to be transported? But what shall he do for the other Twenty-five thousand pounds, which tho' he has by him, is yet clipp'd and light Money, that is at least twenty

per Cent. lighter than the standard? If he transports or melts down this, there is so much clear Loss to him; it is therefore more advantage to him to buy Bullion at 5 s. 4 d. the Ounce with that light Money, than to transport or melt it down; wherein tho' the Seller of the Bullion has less weight in Silver than he parts with, yet he finds his Accompt as much as if he received it in weighty Coin, whilst a clipp'd Crown-piece or Shilling passes as well in payment for any Commodity here in England as a mill'd one. Thus our Mint is kept from coining.

But this Paper, *For encouraging the Coining, &c.* would fain have the Mill at work, though there be no Grift to be had, unless you will grind over again what is ground already, and pay Toll for it a second Time; a Proposition fit only for the Miller himself to make; for the meanest Housewife in the Country would laugh at it as soon as propos'd. However the Author pleases himself, and thinks he has a good Argument to make it pass, *viz.* because the Toll to be paid for it will not amount to Three hundred and thirty thousand Pounds, as is said in a late Treatise about the *raising the Value of Money*, (p. 170.) for, says he, that Writer is mistaken, in saying that 3 s. and 6 d. is allowed at the Mint for the Coinage of every pound Troy, whereas there is but Sixteen pence half penny there allowed for the same; which Sixteen pence half penny being above one third of 3 s. 6 d. it follows by his own Computation, that the new coining our Money will cost the Nation above one hundred and ten thousand Pounds; a small Sum in this our plenty of Riches, to be laid out for the purchasing these following Inconveniencies without any the least Advantage.

1. A Loss to the King of one fiftieth (if you coin your Money 2 d. *per* Crown, one twentieth if you coin your Money 3 d. *per* Crown lighter) of all his standing Revenue.

2. A like Loss of one twentieth or one thirtieth in all Rents that are settled, for these have, during the Term, the Nature of Rent-seck: But five *per Cent.* Loss in a Man's Income he thinks so little, *it will not be perceived.*

3. *Trouble to Merchants in their Trade.* These Inconveniencies he is forc'd to allow. He might have said disorder to all People in their Trade, though he says it will be but a little *Trouble to Merchants*, and without any real *damage to Trade.* The Author would have done well to have made out this and a great many other Assertions in that Paper; but saying is much easier, if that may pass for Proof.

Indeed he has, by a short way, answer'd the Book above-mentioned, in the conclusion of his Paper, in these Words: *And he that so grossly mistakes in so material Points of what he would assert, 'tis plain is not free from Mistakes.* It does not appear that he who published that Book, ever thought himself free from Mistakes; but he that mistakes in two material Points, may be in the right in two others, and those will still need an Answer. But one of these material Points will, I think, by what is already said, appear not to be a Mistake; and for any thing the Author of the Paper has said, or can say, it will always be true, that an Ounce of Silver coin'd or not coin'd, is, and eternally will be of equal Value to any other Ounce of Silver. As to any other Mistake, concerning the Rate of Coinage, 'tis like he had his Information from some disinterested Person whom he thought worthy of Credit. And whether it be 3 s. 6 d. as he was told, or only Sixteen Pence half penny *per* Pound Troy, as the Paper says, whether the Reader will believe the one or the other, or think it worth his more exact Enquiry, this is certain, the Kingdom ought not to be at that or any other Charge where there is no Advantage, as there will be none in this propos'd Coinage, but quite the contrary.

In his Answer to

Object. 1. He says from *Edw. II.* Silver has from time to time (as it grew in esteem) been by degrees raised in all Mints. If an Ounce of Silver now not exchanging or paying for what one tenth of an Ounce would have purchased in *Edw. III's* time, and so being ten times less worth now than it was then, be growing in Esteem, this Author is in the right, else Silver has not since *Edw. III's* Reign, from time to time grown in Esteem. Be that as it will, he assigns a wrong Cause of raising of Silver, as he calls it in our Mint. For if growing thus in Request, *i. e.* by lessening its Value, had been the reason of altering our Money, this change of Coin, or raising the denomination of Silver in ours and other Mints, ought to have been greater by much

much since *Henry VII's* time, than it was between that and *Edw. III's*; because the great change of the Value of Silver has been made, by the Plenty of it pour'd into this part of the World from the *West-Indies*, not discovered till *Henry VII's* Reign. So that I think I may say that the Value of Silver from *Edw. III.* to *Henry VII.* changed not one tenth, but from *Henry VII.* till now it chang'd above seven tenths, and yet Money having been rais'd in our Mint two thirds since *Edw. III's* time, the far greater part of the raising of it was before *Hen. VII's* time, and a very small part of it since; so that the cause insinuated by our Author, 'tis evident, was not the cause of lessening our Coin so often, whatever was it: And 'tis possible there wanted not Men of Projects in those Days, who for private Ends, by wrong Suggestions, and false Reasonings, cover'd with mysterious Terms, led those into Mistakes, who had not the time and will nicely to examine, tho' a Crown-piece three times as big as one of ours now might, for its Size alone, deserve to be reformed.

To *Object. 2.* He says, *The raising the Denomination of Money in Spain and Portugal, was making it go for more when coin'd, than its true Value.*

This, I say, is impossible, and desire the Author to prove it. It did in *Spain* and *Portugal*, just what it will do here and every where, it made not the Silver coin'd go for more than its Value in all Things to be bought, but just so much as the Denomination was rais'd, just so much less of Commodity had the Buyer in exchange for it: As it would be here, if you should coin Six-pences into Shillings; if any one went to Market with this new Money, he would find that whereas he had a Bushel of Wheat last Week for eight Shillings of the former Coin, he would have now but half a Bushel for eight of the new Shillings, when the same Denomination had but half the quantity of Silver. Indeed those who were to receive Money upon former Contracts, would be defrauded of half their Due, receiving in their full Tale of any Denomination contracted for, but half the Silver they should have; the Cheat whereof they would find, when they went to Market with their new Money. For this I have above proved, that one Ounce of Silver is, and eternally will be equal in Value to another Ounce of Silver; and all that can possibly put a difference between them, is only the different Value of the Workmanship bestowed one on more than another, which in Coinage our Author tells us in this Paper is but Sixteen pence half penny per Pound Troy. I demand therefore of our Author, to shew that any sort of Coinage, or, as he calls it, raising of Money, can raise the Value of coin'd Silver, or make it go for more than uncoin'd, bating the charge of Coinage, unless it be to those who being to receive Money upon former Contracts will by receiving the tale agreed for, receive less than they should of Silver, and so be defrauded of what they really contracted for.

What effect such a raising of their Money had in one particular, I will tell our Author. In *Portugal* they count their Money by Reys, a very small, or rather imaginary Coin, just as if we here should count all our Sums by Farthings. It pleas'd the Government, possibly, being told that it would raise the Value of their Money to raise in Denomination the several species, and make them go for a greater (let us suppose double the) Number of Reys than formerly. What was the Consequence? It not only confounded the Property of the Subject, and disturb'd Affairs to no purpose; but Treaties of Commerce having settled the Rates of the Customs, at so many Reys on the several Commodities, the King immediately lost in the Value half his Customs. The same that in Proportion will happen in the settled Revenue of the Crown here upon the proposed Change.

For tho' our Author in these Words, *Whereas all now desired by this Act is, to keep Silver, when coin'd, of the same value it was before*, would insinuate, that this raising the Denomination, or lessening our Coin, as is proposed, will do no such thing; yet 'tis Demonstration, that when our Coin is lessened 3 d. in 5 s. the King will receive five per Cent. less in value in his Customs, Excise, and all his settled Revenue, and so proportionably, as the Quantity of Silver in every species of our Coin shall be made less than now it is coin'd in those of the same Denomination.

But whatever our Author means by *making Money go for more when coin'd than its true value, or by keeping Silver when coin'd of the same value it was before*; this is evident, that raising their Money thus by coining it with less Silver in it than it had before, had not the Effect in *Portugal* and *Spain*, which our Author proposes from it here: For it has not brought one Penny more to the Mint there, nor kept

their Money or Silver from Exportation since, tho' Forfeiture and Death be the Penalties joyned in Aid to this Trick of *raising* to keep it in.

But our Author tells us in Answer to *Object. 4.* This will scarce ever at all be perceived. If of 100 Guineas a Man has in his Pocket, § should be picked out so as he should not perceive it, the Fraud and the Loss would not be one jot the less; and tho' he perceived it not when or how it was done, yet he will find it in his Accompts, and the going so much back in his Estate at the end of the Year.

To *Object. 3.* he says, The *raising* your Coin (*it may be*) may raise the price of Bullion here in England. An Ounce of Silver will always be equal in value to an Ounce of Silver every where, bating the Workmanship. I say it is impossible to be otherwise, and require our Author to shew it possible in *England*, or any where, or else hereafter to spare his *may be's*. To avoid Fallacies, I desire to be understood, when I use the Word *Silver* alone, to mean nothing but Silver, and do lay aside the Consideration of baser Metals that may be mixed with it: For I do not say that an Ounce of Standard Silver, that has almost one twelfth of Copper in it, is of equal value with an Ounce of fine Silver that has no Alloy at all, but that any two Ounces of equally alloy'd Silver will always be of equal value; the Silver being the Measure of Commerce, 'tis the Quantity of Silver that is in every Piece he receives, and not the Denomination of it which the Merchant looks after, and values it by.

But this raising of the Denomination our Author would have pass, because 'twill be better for the Possessors of Bullion, as he says, *Ans. 3.* But who are they who now in *England* are possess'd of so much Bullion? Or what private Men are there in *England* of that Consideration, that for their Advantage all our Money should be new coin'd, and of a less Weight, with so great a Charge to the Nation, and Loss to his Majesty's Revenue?

He farther adds, *Ans. 3.* It doth not thence inevitably follow, it will raise the Price of Bullion beyond Sea.

It will as inevitably follow, as that nineteen Ounces of Silver will never be equal in weight or worth to twenty Ounces of Silver: So much as you lessen your Coin, so much more must you pay in tale as will make the Quantity of Silver the Merchant expects for his Commodity, under what Denomination soever he receives it.

The Clothier thus buying his *Spanish* Wool, Oil, and Labour, at five per Cent. more in Denomination, sells his woollen Manufacture proportionably dearer to the *English* Merchant, who exporting it to *Spain*, where their Money is not changed, sells it at the usual Market-rate, and so brings home the same Quantity of Bullion for it which he was wont, which therefore he must sell to you at the same raised value your Money is at: And what then is gain'd by all this? The Denomination is only chang'd to the Prejudice of the Publick, but as to all the great Matters of your Trade, the same Quantity of Silver is paid for Commodities as before, and they sold in their several foreign Markets for the same Quantity of Silver. But whatever happens in the rate of foreign Bullion, the raising of the Denomination of our Money, will bring none of it to our Mint to be coin'd; that depends on the Balance of our Trade, and not on lessening our Coin under the same Denomination: For whether the Pieces we call Crowns be coin'd 16, 24, or 100 Grains lighter, it will be all one as to the value of Bullion, or the bringing more or less of it into *England*, or to our Mint.

What he says in his Answer to *Object. 4.* besides what we have already taken notice of, is partly against his Bill, and partly mistake.

1. He says, *It may be some (as it is now) Gain to those that will venture to melt down the mill'd and heavy Money now coin'd.* That Men do venture to melt down the mill'd and heavy Money, is evident, from the small part of mill'd Money is now to be found of that great Quantity of it that has been coin'd; and a farther Evidence is this, that mill'd Money will now yield four or five more per Cent. than the other, which must be to melt down, and use as Bullion, and not as Money in ordinary Payments. The reason whereof is, the shameful and horrible debasing (or, as our Author would have it, *raising*) our unmill'd Money by clipping.

For the odds betwixt mill'd and unmill'd Money being now, modestly speaking, above 20 per Cent. and Bullion, for Reasons elsewhere given, being not to be had,

had, Refiners, and such who have need of Silver, find it the cheapest way to buy mill'd Money for clipp'd, at four, five, or more *per Cent.* Loss.

I ask therefore this Gentleman, What shall become of all our present mill'd and heavy Money, upon the passing of his Act? To which his Paper almost confesses what I will venture to answer for him, *viz.* That as soon as such a Law is passed, the mill'd and heavy Money will all be melted down; for it being five *per Cent.* heavier, *i. e.* more worth than what is to be coin'd in the Mint, no body will carry it thither to receive five *per Cent.* less for it, but sell it to such as will give four or four and an half *per Cent.* more for it, and at that rate melt it down with Advantage: For *Lombard-street* is too quick-sighted to give sixty Ounces of Silver for fifty seven Ounces of Silver, when bare throwing it into the Melting-pot will make it change for its equal weight; so that by this Law five *per Cent.* Gain on all our mill'd Money, will be given to be shared between the Possessor and Melter of our mill'd Money, out of the honest Creditor and Landlord's Pocket, who had the guaranty of the Law, that under such a tale of Pieces of such a Denomination as he let his Land for, he should have to such a Value, *i. e.* such a weight in Silver. Now I ask whether it be not a direct and unanswerable Reason against this Bill, that he confesses that it will be a *Gain to those who will melt down the mill'd and heavy Money* with so much Loss to the Publick, and not, as he says, *with very small Loss to those that shall be paid in the new*, unless he calls five *per Cent.* very small Loss, for just so much is it to receive but fifty seven Grains or Ounces of Silver for sixty, which is the Proportion in making your Crowns 3 *d.* lighter. This is certain, no body will pay away mill'd or weighty Money for Debts or Commodities, when it will yield him four or five *per Cent.* more; so that which is now left of weighty Money, being scatter'd up and down the Kingdom into private Hands, which cannot tell how to melt it down, will be kept up and lost to our Trade. And as to your clipp'd and light Money, will you make a new Act for Coinage, without taking any Care for that? The making a new Standard for your Money, cannot do less than make all Money, which is lighter than that Standard, unpassable; and thus the mill'd and heavy Money not coming into Payment, and the light and clipp'd not being lawful Money, according to the new Standard, there must needs be a sudden stop of Trade, and, 'tis to be fear'd, a general Confusion of Affairs; tho' our Author says, *it will not any ways interrupt Trade.*

2. The latter part of this *Section* about raising the Value of Land, I take the liberty to say is a Mistake; which though a sufficient Reply to an Assertion without Proof, yet I shall not so far imitate this Author as barely to say things: And therefore I shall add this Reason for what I say, *viz.* Because nothing can truly raise the Value, *i. e.* the Rent of Land, but the Increase of your Money; but because *raising the Value of Land* is a Phrase which, by its uncertain Sense, may deceive others, we may reckon up these several meanings of it.

1. The Value of Land is raised, when its intrinsic Worth is increased, *i. e.* when it is fitted to bring forth a greater Quantity of any valuable Product. And thus the Value of Land is raised only by good Husbandry.

2. The Value of Land is raised, when remaining of the same Fertility, it comes to yield more Rent, and thus its Value is raised only by a greater Plenty of Money and Treasure.

3. Or it may be raised in our Author's way, which is, by raising the Rent in Tale of Pieces, but not in the quantity of Silver received for it, which, in truth, is no raising of it at all, no more than it could be accounted the raising of a Man's Rent, if he let his Land this Year for forty Sixpences, which last Year he let for twenty Shillings. Nor would it alter the Case, if he should call those forty Sixpences forty Shillings; for having but half the Silver of forty Shillings in them, they would be but of half the Value, however their Denomination were changed.

In his Answer to the fifth *Objection*, there is this dangerous Insinuation, That Coin in any Country where it is coin'd *goes not by weight*, *i. e.* has its Value from the Stamp and Denomination, and not the Quantity of Silver in it. Indeed in Contracts already made, if your species be by Law coin'd a fifth part lighter, under the same Denomination, the Creditor must take a hundred such light Shillings, or twenty such light Crown-pieces for 5*l.* if the Law calls them so, but he loses one fifth in the intrinsic Value of his Debt. But in Bargains to be made, and Things to be purchased, Money has and will always have its Value from

from the Quantity of Silver in it, and not from the Stamp and Denomination, as has been already proved, and will some time or other be evidenced with a witness in the clipp'd Money. And if it were not so, that the Value of Money were not according to the Quantity of Silver in it, *i. e.* that it goes by weight, I see no reason why clipping should be so severely punished.

As to Foreigners, he is forced to confess, That 'tis all one what our Money is, greater or less, who regard only the Quantity of Silver they sell their Goods for, how then can the lessening our Money bring more Plenty of Bullion into *England*, or to the Mint?

But he says, *The Owners and Importers of Silver will find a good Market at the Mint, &c.* But always a better in *Lombard-Street*, and not a Grain of it will come to the Mint, as long as by an under-balance of Trade, or other foreign Expences, we contract Debts beyond Sea, which require the remitting of greater Sums thither than are imported in Bullion. *If for above forty Years after Silver was raised, in the forty third Year of Queen Elizabeth, from 5 s. to 5 s. 2 d. the Ounce, uncoin'd Silver was not worth above 4 s. 10 d. per Ounce;* the Cause was not that raising of Silver in the Mint, but an over-balance of Trade, which bringing in an Increase of Silver yearly, for which Men having no occasion abroad, brought it to the Mint to be coin'd, rather than let it lie dead by them in Bullion; and whenever that is the Case again in *England*, it will occasion Coining again, and not till then. *No Money was in those Days exported;* says he; no, nor Bullion neither, say I; why should, or how could it, when our exported Merchandize paid for all the Commodities we brought home, with an overplus of Silver and Gold, which staying here set the Mint on work. But the passing this Bill, will not hinder the Exportation of one Ounce either of Bullion or Money, which must go if you contract Debts beyond Sea; and how its having been *once melted in England*, which is another thing propos'd in this Bill, shall hinder its Exportation, is hard to conceive, when even Coining has not been able to do it, as is demonstrable, if it be examined, what vast Sums of mill'd Money have been coin'd in the two last Reigns, and how little of it is now left. Besides, if the Exportation of Bullion should be brought under any greater Difficulty than of any other Commodity, it is to be considered whether the Management of that Trade which is in skillful Hands, will not thereupon be so ordered, as to divert it from coming to *England* for the future, and cause it to be sent from *Spain*, directly to those Places where they know *English* Debts will make it turn to best account, to answer Bills of Exchange sent thither.



FUR-

FURTHER
CONSIDERATIONS
CONCERNING
Raising the Value
OF
MONEY.

WHEREIN

Mr. LOWNDES's Arguments for it, in his late Report concerning *An Essay for the Amendment of the Silver Coins*, are particularly Examined.

CONSIDERATIONS

Regarding the Value

MONEY

Mr. Lowndes's Arguments for it, in his late Re-
port concerning An Essay for the Amendment
of the Silver Coin, are particularly Examined.

To the RIGHT HONOURABLE

Sir **JOHN SOMMERS**, K^t.

Lord Keeper of the Great Seal of *England*, and one of His Majesty's most Honourable Privy Council.

My LORD,



THE Papers I here present your Lordship, are in Substance the same with one which I delivered to you, in Obedience to the Commands I received by your Lordship, from their Excellencies the Lords Justices; and with another, which I writ in Answer to some Questions your Lordship was pleased to propose to me concerning our Coin. The Approbation your Lordship was pleased to give them then, has been an Encouragement to me to revise them now, and put them in an Order; fitter to comply with their Desires, who will needs have me print something at this time on this Subject: And could any thing of this nature be received with Indifferency in this Age; the Allowance they have had from your Lordship, whose great and clear Judgment is, with general Consent and Applause, acknowledged to be the just Measure of right and wrong amongst us, might make me hope that they might pass in the World without any great dislike.

However, since your Lordship thought they might be of use to clear some Difficulties, and rectifie some wrong Notions that are taken up about Money, I have ventured them into the World, desiring no Mercy to any erroneous Positions or wrong Reasonings, which shall be found in them. I shall never knowingly be of any, but Truth's and my Country's side; the former I shall always gladly embrace and own, whoever shews it me. And in these Papers, I am sure, I have no other Aim, but to do what little I can for the Service of my Country. Your Lordship's so evidently preferring that to all other Considerations, does, in the Eyes of all Men, sit so well upon you, that my Ambition will not be blamed; if I in this propose to myself so great an Example, and in my little Sphere am moved by the same Principle.

I have a long time foreseen the Mischief and Ruin coming upon us by clipp'd Money, if it were not timely stopp'd: And had Concern enough for the Publick, to make me print some Thoughts touching our Coin some Years since. The Principles I there went on, I see no reason to alter: They have, if I mistake not, their Foundation in Nature, and will stand: They have their Foundation in Nature, and are clear; and will be so, in all the Train of their Consequences throughout this whole (as it is thought) mysterious Business of Money, to all those, who will but be at the easie trouble of stripping this Subject of hard, obscure, and doubtful Words, wherewith Men are often misled, and mislead others. And now the Disorder is come to Extremity, and can no longer be plaid with, I wish it may find a sudden and effectual Cure; not a Remedy in Sound and Appearance, which may flatter us on to Ruin in the Continuation of a growing Mischief, that calls for present Help.

I wish too, that the Remedy may be as easy as possible; and that the Cure of this Evil be not ordered so as to lay a great part of the Burthen unequally on those who have had no particular Hand in it. *Westminster-Hall* is so great a Witness of your Lordship's unbiaffed Justice, and steddy Care to preserve to every one their Right; that the World will not wonder you should not be for such a lessening our Coin, as will, without any reason, deprive great Numbers of blameless Men of a fifth part of their Estates, beyond the Relief of *Chancery*. I hope this Age will scape so great a Blemish. I doubt not but there are many, who, for the Service of their Country, and for the Support of the Government, would gladly part with, not only one fifth, but a much larger Portion of their Estates. But when it shall be taken from them, only to be bestowed on Men in their, and the common Opinion, no better deserving of their Country than themselves, unless growing exceedingly rich by the publick Necessities, whilst every body else finds his Fortune streightened by them, be a publick Merit, that deserves a publick and signal Reward, this Loss of one fifth of their Debts and Income will sit heavy on them, who shall feel it without the Alleviation of any Profit or Credit, that will thereby accrue to the Nation, by such a lessening of our Coin.

If any one ask, how I, a retired private Man, come at this time to meddle with Money and Trade, for they are inseparable; I reply, that your Lordship, and the other great Men that put me upon it, are answerable for it: Whether what I say be to the purpose or no, that I my self am answerable for. This I can answer to all the World, that I have not said any thing here, without a full Persuasion of its Truth; nor with any other Motive or Purpose than the clearing of this artificially perplexed, rather than in itself mysterious Subject, as far as my poor Talent reaches. That which perhaps I shall not be so well able to answer, to your Lordship and my self, is the Liberty I have taken in such an Address as this, to profess that I am,

Your Lordship's most humble, and most obedient Servant,

JOHN LOCKE.

The P R E F A C E.

THough Mr. Lowndes and I differ in the way, yet I assure my self our End is the same; and that we both propose to our selves the Service of our Country. He is a Man known so able in the Post he is in, to which the Business of Money peculiarly belongs; and has shewed himself so learned in the Records, and Matters of the Mint; and so exact in Calculations and Combinations of Numbers relating to our Coin, either already in use, or designed by him, that I think I should have troubled the Publick no more on this Subject, had not he himself engaged me in it; and brought it to that pass, that either I must be thought to renounce my own Opinion, or must publicly oppose his.

Whilst his Treatise was yet a Manuscript, and before it was laid before those great Persons, to whom it was afterwards submitted, he did me the favour to shew it to me; and made me the Complement, to ask me my Opinion of it. Though we had some short Discourse on the Subject, yet the Multiplicity of his Business whilst I staid in Town, and my Health, which soon after forced me out of it, allowed us not an Occasion to debate any one point thoroughly, and bring it to an Issue. Before I returned to Town his Book was in the Press, and finished before I had the opportunity to see Mr. Lowndes again. And here he laid a new Obligation on me, not only in giving me one of them, but telling me, when I received it from his Hands, that it was the first he had parted with to any body. I then went it over a second time, and having more leisure to consider it, I found there were a great many Particulars in it drawn out of ancient Records, not commonly known, wherewith he had obliged the World. These, which very pleasantly entertained me, though they prevail'd not on me to be of his Opinion every where, yet join'd with the great Civilities he had shewn me, left me in a Disposition so little inclin'd to oppose any thing in it, that I should rather have chosen to acknowledge my self in Print, to be his Convert, if his Arguments had convinced me, than to have troubled the World with the Reasons why I dissent from him.

In this Disposition my Pen rested from meddling any farther with this Subject whilst I was in Town; soon after my own Health, and the Death of a Friend, forc'd me into the Country; and the Business occasion'd thereby, and my own private Affairs, took up all my time at my first coming thither; and had continued on to do so, had not several repeated Intimations and Instances from London, not without some Reproaches of my backwardness, made me see, that the World concern'd me particularly in Mr. Lowndes's Postscript, and expected something from me on that occasion.

Though possibly I was not wholly out of his mind when Mr. Lowndes writ that Invitation, yet I shall not make my self the Complement, to think I alone am concern'd in it. The great Importance of the Matter made him desire every one to contribute what he could to the clearing of it, and setting it in a true light. And I must do him this right, to think that he prefers the publick Good to his private Opinion; and therefore is willing his Proposals and Arguments should be with Freedom examin'd to the bottom, that if there be any mistake in them, no body may be misled by his Reputation and Authority, to the Prejudice of his Country. Thus I understand his Postscript, and thus I shall endeavour to comply with it. I shall to the best of my Skill, examine his Arguments with all respect to him, and Fidelity to Truth, as far as I can discover it. The frankness of his proceeding in particular with me, assures me he is so great a Lover of Truth and Right, that he will not think himself injur'd when that is defended; and will be glad, when it is made plain, by whose Hand soever it be.

This is what has made me publish these Papers, without any Derogation to Mr. Lowndes, or so much as a Suspicion that he will take it amiss. I judge of him by my self. For I shall think my self obliged to any one, who shall shew me or the Publick any material Mistake in any thing I have here said, whereon any part of the Question turns.

FAR.

FARTHER CONSIDERATIONS

CONCERNING

Raising the **V A L U E**

OF

M O N E Y.

SILVER is the *Instrument* and *Measure* of Commerce in all the civilized and trading parts of the World.

It is the *Instrument* of Commerce by its intrinſick Value.

The *intrinſick Value* of Silver conſider'd as Money, is that eſtimate which common Conſent has placed on it, whereby it is made equivalent to all other things, and conſequently is the univerſal Barter or Exchange which Men give and receive for other things they would purchaſe or part with for a valuable Conſideration: And thus, as the Wiſe Man tells us, *Money answers all things.*

Silver is the *Measure* of Commerce by its *Quantity*, which is the Measure alſo of its intrinſick Value. If one Grain of Silver has an intrinſick Value in it, two Grains of Silver have double that intrinſick Value, and three Grains treble, and ſo on proportionably. This we have daily Experience of, in common buying and ſelling. For if one Ounce of Silver will buy, *i. e.* is of equal Value to one Buſhel of Wheat, two Ounces of Silver will buy two Buſhels of the ſame Wheat, *i. e.* has double the Value.

Hence it is evident, that an equal *Quantity* of Silver is always of equal Value to an equal *Quantity* of Silver.

This common Senſe, as well as the Market, teaches us. For Silver being all of the ſame Nature and Goodneſs, having all the ſame Qualities, 'tis impoſſible but it ſhould in the ſame *Quantity* have the ſame Value. For if a leſs *Quantity* of any Commodity be allowed to be equal in Value to a greater *Quantity* of the ſame ſort of Commodity, it muſt be for ſome good Quality it has which the other wants. But Silver to Silver has no ſuch Difference.

Here it will be asked, Is not ſome Silver finer than other?

I anſwer, one Maſs of mixed Metal not diſcerned by the Eye to be any thing but Silver, and therefore called Silver, may have a leſs Mixture of baſer Metal in it than another, and ſo in common Speech is ſaid to be finer Silver. So Ducatons having a leſs Mixture of Copper in them than our *English* Coin has, are ſaid to be finer Silver. But the truth is, the Silver that is in each is equally fine, as will appear when the baſer Metal is ſeparate from it. And 'tis of this pure or fine Silver I muſt be underſtood when I mention Silver; not regarding the Copper or Lead which may chance to be mixed with it. For Example: Take an Ounce of fine Silver, and one fourth of an Ounce of Copper, and melt them together,

one may say of the whole Mass, that it is not fine Silver, but it is true there is an Ounce of fine Silver in it; and though this Mass weighing one Ounce and a quarter be not of equal Value to one Ounce and a quarter of fine Silver, yet the Ounce of fine Silver in it is, when separate from the Copper, of equal Value to any other Ounce of Silver.

By this Measure of Commerce, viz. The *Quantity* of Silver, Men measure the Value of all other things. Thus to measure what the Value of Lead is to Wheat, and of either of them to a certain sort of Linnen Cloath, the *Quantity* of Silver that each is valued at or sells for, needs only be known. For if a Yard of Cloth be sold for half an Ounce of Silver, a Bushel of Wheat for one Ounce, and a hundred weight of Lead for two Ounces, any one presently sees and says that a Bushel of Wheat is double the value of a Yard of that Cloth, and but half the value of an hundred weight of Lead.

Some are of opinion that this Measure of Commerce, like all other Measures, is arbitrary, and may at pleasure be varied, by putting more or fewer Grains of Silver in pieces of a known Denomination, *v. g.* by making a Penny or a Shilling lighter or heavier in Silver, in a Country where these are known Denominations of pieces of Silver Money. But they will be of another Mind, when they consider that Silver is a Measure of a nature quite different from all other. The Yard or Quart Men measure by, may rest indifferently in the Buyers or Sellers, or a third Person's hands, it matters not whose it is. But it is not so in Silver. It is the thing bargain'd for, as well as the measure of the Bargain; and in Commerce passes from the Buyer to the Seller, as being in such a *quantity* equivalent to the thing sold: And so it not only measures the Value of the Commodity it is apply'd to, but is given in Exchange for it, as of equal Value. But this it does, (as is visible) only by its *quantity*, and nothing else. For it must be remembred, that Silver is the *Instrument* as well as *Measure* of Commerce, and is given in Exchange for the things traded for: And every one desiring to get as much as he can of it for any Commodity he sells, 'tis by the *Quantity* of Silver he gets for it in Exchange, and by nothing else, that he measures the Value of the Commodity he sells.

The *Coining* of Silver, or making *Money* of it, is the ascertaining of its *Quantity* by a publick Mark, the better to fit it for Commerce.

In coin'd Silver or *Money* there are these three Things, which are wanting in other Silver. 1. Pieces of exactly the same Weight and Fineness. 2. A Stamp set on those Pieces by the publick Authority of that Country. 3. A known Denomination given to these Pieces by the same Authority.

The *Stamp* is a Mark, and as it were a publick Voucher, that a Piece of such a Denomination is of such a Weight, and such a Fineness, &c. has so much Silver in it.

That precise Weight and Fineness, by Law appropriated to the Pieces of each Denomination, is called the *Standard*.

Fine Silver is Silver without the mixture of any baser Metal.
Alloy is baser Metal mixed with it.

The *Fineness* of any Metal appearing to be Silver, and so called, is the Proportion of Silver is in it, compared with what there is in it of baser Metals.

The Fineness of *Standard Silver* in *England* is eleven parts Silver, and one part Copper, near: Or to speak more exactly, the Proportion of Silver to Copper is as 111 to 9. Whatever Piece or Mass has in it of baser Metal, above the Proportion of 9 to 111, is worse or coarser than *Standard*. Whatever Mass of Metal has a less Proportion than 9 to 111, of baser Metal in it, is better or finer than *Standard*.

Since Silver is the thing sought, and would better serve for the Measure of Commerce if it were unmixt, it will possibly be asked why any Mixture of baser Metal is allowed in *Money*, and what use there is of such *Alloy*, which serves to make the *Quantity* of Silver less known in the several Coins of different Countries.

Perhaps it would have been better for Commerce in general, and more convenient for all their Subjects, if the Princes every where, or at least in this part of the World, would at first have agreed on the Fineness of the *Standard* to have been just one twelfth *Alloy*, in round Numbers; without those minuter Fractions which are to be found in the *Alloy* of most of the Coin in the several distinct Dominions

minions of this part of the World. Which broken proportion of baser Metal to Silver, in the Standard of the several Mints seems to have been introduced by the Skill of Men employ'd in Coining, to keep that Art (as all Trades are call'd) a Mystery; rather than for any use or necessity there was of such broken Numbers. But be that as it will, the Standard in our Mint being now settled by Authority, and established by Custom, known at home and abroad, and the rules and methods of Essaying suited to it; and all the wrought Plate as well as Coin of *England* being made by that Measure; it is of great concernment that it should remain unvariable.

But to the question; What need is there of any mixture of baser Metal with Silver in Money or Plate? I answer, there is great reason for it. For,

1. Copper mixt with Silver makes it harder, and so wears and wastes less in use than if it were fine Silver. 2. It melts easier. 3. Silver as it is drawn and melted from the Mine, being seldom perfectly fine, it would be a great charge by refining, to separate all the baser Metals from it, and reduce it to perfectly unmixt Silver.

The use of coin'd Silver or Money is, that every Man in the Country where it is current by publick Authority, may, without the trouble of refining, essaying or weighing, be assured what **Quantity** of Silver he gives, receives, or contracts for, under such and such Denominations.

If this Security goes not along with the publick Stamp, coining is labour to no purpose, and puts no difference between coin'd Money and uncoin'd Bullion. This is so obvious, that I think no Government, where Money is coin'd, ever overlooks it. And therefore the Laws every where, when the **Quantity** of Silver has been lessen'd in any piece carrying the publick Stamp, by Clipping, Washing, Rounding, &c. have taken off the Authority of the publick Stamp, and declar'd it not to be lawful Money. This is known to be so in *England*, and every one may not only refuse any Money bearing the publick Stamp, if it be clip'd, or any ways rob'd of the due weight of its Silver; but he that offers it in payment is liable to Indictment, Fine and Imprisonment. From whence we may see, that the use and end of the publick Stamp is only to be a guard and voucher of the **Quantity** of Silver which Men contract for. And the injury done to the publick Faith, in this point, is that which in Clipping and false Coining heightens the Robbery into Treason.

Men in their Bargains contract not for Denominations or Sounds, but for the intrinsic Value; which is the **Quantity** of Silver by publick Authority warranted to be in pieces of such Denominations. And 'tis by having a greater **Quantity** of Silver, that Men thrive and grow richer, and not by having a greater number of Denominations; which when they come to have need of their Money will prove but empty sounds, if they do not carry with them the real **Quantity** of Silver is expected.

The Standard once settled by publick Authority, the **Quantity** of Silver establish'd under the several Denominations, (I humbly conceive) should not be altered, till there were an absolute necessity shewn of such a Change, which I think can never be.

The reason why it should not be changed is this; Because the publick Authority is Guarantee for the performance of all legal Contracts. But Men are absolved from the performance of their legal Contracts, if the **Quantity** of Silver, under settled and legal Denominations be altered: As is evident, If borrowing 100 *l.* or 400 Ounces of Silver to repay the same quantity of Silver (for that is understood by the same Sum, and so the Law warrants it) or taking a Lease of Land for years to come, at the like Rent of 100 *l.* they shall pay both the one and the other in Money coin'd under the same Denominations with one fifth less Silver in it, than at the time of the Bargain. The Landlord here and Creditor are each defrauded of twenty *per Cent.* of what they contracted for, and is their due. And I ask, How much juster it would be thus to dissolve the Contracts they had made; than to make a Law, that from henceforth all Landlords and Creditors should be paid their past Debts, and the Rents for Leases already made, in clip'd Money, twenty *per Cent.* lighter than it should be? Both ways they lose twenty *per Cent.* of their due, and with equal Justice.

The case would be the same, and legal Contracts be voided, if the Standard should be altered on the other side, and each Species of our Coin be made one fifth heavier. For then he that had borrow'd or contracted for any Sum, could not be discharged by paying the quantity he agreed for, but be liable to be forced to pay twenty *per Cent.* more than he bargained for, that is, more than he ought.

On the other side; Whether the Creditor be forced to receive less, or the Debtor forced to pay more than his Contract, the damage and injury is the same, whenever a Man is defrauded of his Due. And whether this will not be a publick failure of Justice, thus arbitrarily to give one Man's Right and Possession to another, without any fault on the suffering Man's side, and without any the least advantage to the Publick, I shall leave to be considered.

Raising of Coin is but a specious word to deceive the unwary. It only gives the usual Denomination of a greater quantity of Silver to a less, (*v. g.* calling Four Grains of Silver a Penny to Day, when five Grains of Silver made a Penny yesterday) but adds no worth or real value to the Silver Coin, to make amends for its want of Silver. That is impossible to be done. For it is only the **Quantity** of the Silver in it that is, and eternally will be, the measure of its Value. And to convince any one of this I ask, whether he that is forced to receive but 320 Ounces of Silver under the Denomination of 100*l.* (for 400 Ounces of Silver which he lent under the like Denomination of 100*l.*) will think these 320 Ounces of Silver, however Denominated, worth those 400 Ounces he lent? If any one can be supposed so silly, he need but go to the next Market or Shop to be convinced, that Men value not Money by the Denomination, but by the **Quantity** of Silver that is in it. One may as rationally hope to lengthen a foot by dividing it into fifteen parts, instead of twelve, and calling them Inches; as to increase the Value of the Silver that is in a Shilling, by dividing it into fifteen parts instead of twelve, and calling them Pence. This is all that is done when a Shilling is raised from twelve to fifteen Pence.

Clipping of Money is raising it without publick Authority; the same denomination remaining to the piece, that hath now less Silver in it, that it had before.

Altering the Standard, by coining pieces under the same Denomination with less Silver in them than they formerly had, is doing the same thing by publick Authority. The only odds is, that by clipping the loss is not forced on any one, (for no body is obliged to receive clipp'd Money;) by altering the Standard it is.

Altering the Standard, by *raising* the Money, will not get to the Publick or bring to the Mint to be coin'd one Ounce of Silver: But will defraud the King, the Church, the Universities and Hospitals, &c. of so much of their settled Revenue, as the Money is raised, *v. g.* twenty *per Cent.* if the Money (as is propos'd) be raised one fifth. It will weaken, if not totally destroy the publick Faith, when all that have trusted the Publick, and assisted our present Necessities, upon Acts of Parliament, in the *Million Lottery*, *Bank Act*, and other *Loans*, shall be defrauded of twenty *per Cent.* of what those Acts of Parliament were Security for. And to conclude, this raising our Money will defraud all private Men of twenty *per Cent.* in all their Debts and settled Revenues.

Clipping by English Men is robbing the honest Man who receives clipp'd Money, and transferring the Silver, *i. e.* the value is pared off from it into the Clippers Pocket. **Clipping** by Foreigners is robbing *England* it self. And thus the *Spaniards* lately rob'd *Portugal* of a great part of its Treasure or Commodities (which is the same thing) by importing upon them clipp'd Money of the *Portugal* Stamp.

Clipping, and clipp'd Money, have besides this robbery of the Publick other great inconveniences: As the disordering of Trade, raising foreign Exchange, and a general disturbance which every one feels thereby in his private Affairs.

Clipping is so gainful, and so secret a Robbery, that penalties cannot restrain it, as we see by experience.

Nothing I humbly conceive, can put a stop to **Clipping**, now it is grown so universal, and Men become so skilful in it, but making it unprofitable.

Nothing can make **Clipping** unprofitable, but making all light Money go only for its weight. This stops **Clipping** in a Moment, brings out all the mill'd and weighty Money, deprives us not of any part of our clipp'd Money for the use of Trade. And brings it orderly, and by degrees, and without force into the Mint to be recoin'd.

If

If *clipp'd* Money be call'd in all at once, and stop'd from passing by Weight, I fear it will stop Trade, put our Affairs all at a stand, and introduce Confusion. Whereas, if it be permitted to pass by its Weight, till it can by degrees be coin'd, (the Stamp securing its fineness as well then as now, and the Scales determining its weight) it will serve for the paying of great Sums as commodiously almost as weighty Money, and the weighty Money being then brought out will serve for the Market Trade, and less Payments, and also to weigh the *clipp'd* Money by.

On the other side; If *clipp'd* Money be allowed to pass current by Tale, till it be all recoin'd, one of these two effects will apparently follow: Either that we shall want Money for Trade, as the *clipp'd* Money decreases by being coin'd into weighty; (for very few, if any body, who get weighty Money into their Hands, will part with it, whilst *clipp'd* Money, not of half the value is current) Or if they do, the Coiners and Clippers will pick it up, and new coin and clip it; whereby *clipp'd* Money will be increased. So that, by this way, either Money will be wanting to Trade, or *clipp'd* Money continued. If *clipp'd* Money be stop'd all at once, there is immediately a stop of Trade. If it be permitted to pass in Tale, as if it were lawful weighty Money whilst it is recoinning, and till all be recoin'd, that way also there will be an end of Trade, or no end of *clipp'd* Money. But if it be made to pass for its weight till it be all recoin'd, both these evils are avoided, and the weighty Money which we want will be brought out to boot.

Money is necessary to the carrying on of Trade. For where Money fails, Men cannot buy, and Trade stops.

Credit will supply the defect of it to some small degree for a little while. But *Credit* being nothing but the expectation of Money within some limited time, Money must be had or *Credit* will fail.

Money also is necessary to us, in a certain proportion to the plenty of it amongst our Neighbours. For if any of our Neighbours have it in a much greater abundance than we, we are many ways obnoxious to them. 1. They can maintain a greater force. 2. They can tempt away our People, by greater Wages, to serve them by Land or Sea, or in any Labour. 3. They can command the Markets, and thereby break our Trade, and make us poor. 4. They can on any occasion ingross Naval and Warlike Stores, and thereby endanger us.

In Countries where Domestick Mines do not supply it, nothing can bring in *Silver* but Tribute or Trade. Tribute is the effect of Conquest: Trade, of Skill and Industry.

By *Commerce* Silver is brought in only by an over-balance of Trade.

An **Over-balance of Trade**, is when the quantity of Commodities which we send to any Country do more than pay for those we bring from thence: For then the over-plus is brought home in Bullion.

Bullion is Silver whose workmanship has no Value. And thus foreign Coin hath no value here for its Stamp, and our Coin is *Bullion* in foreign Dominions. 'Tis useless and labour in vain, to coin Silver imported into any Country where it is not to stay.

Silver imported cannot stay in any Country in which, by an over-balance of their whole Trade, it is not made theirs, and doth not become a real increase of their Wealth.

If by a general *Balance* of its Trade, *England* yearly sends out Commodities to the value of four hundred thousand Ounces of Silver more than the Commodities we bring home from abroad cost us; there is one hundred thousand Pound every year clear Gain: Which will come home in Money, be a real increase of our Wealth, and will stay here.

On the other side, if upon a general *balance* of our whole Trade, we yearly import Commodities from other parts to the value of an hundred thousand Pound more than our Commodities exported pay for, we every Year grow an hundred thousand Pound poorer. And if, besides that, we should also import a Million in Bullion from *Spain* every Year, yet it is not ours; it is no increase to our Wealth, nor can it stay here; but must be exported again every grain of it with an hundred thousand Pound of our own Money to boot.

I have heard it propos'd as a way to keep our Money here, that we should pay our Debts contracted beyond Seas, by Bills of *Exchange*.

The Idleness of such a Proposition will appear, when the nature of Exchange is a little consider'd.

Foreign **Exchange** is the paying of Money in one Country, to receive it in another.

The **Exchange is High**, when a Man pays for Bills of Exchange above the *Par*. It is **Low** when he pays less than the *Par*.

The **Par** is a certain number of pieces of the Coin of one Country, containing in them an equal quantity of Silver to that in another number of pieces of the Coin of another Country : *v. g.* supposing 36 *Skilling*s of *Holland* to have just as much Silver in them as twenty *English Shilling*s. Bills of Exchange drawn from *England* to *Holland* at the rate of 36 *Skilling*s *Dutch* for each pound Sterling, is according to the *Par*. He that pays the Money here, and receives it there, neither gets nor loses by the Exchange; but receives just the same Quantity of Silver in the one place, that he parts with in the other. But if he pays one pound Sterling to receive but 30 *Skilling*s in *Holland*, he pays one sixth more than the *Par*, and so pays one sixth more Silver for the Exchange, let the Sum be what it will.

The reason of *High Exchange*, is the buying much Commodities in any foreign Country, beyond the value of what that Country takes of ours. This makes *English Men* have need of great Sums there, and this raises the Exchange or Price of Bills. For what grows more into demand, increases presently in price.

Returning Money by Exchange into foreign parts, keeps not one Farthing from going out; It only prevents the more troublesome and hazardous way of sending Money in Specie forwards and backwards. Bills of Exchange more Commodiously, by scrips of Paper, even the Accounts between particular Debtors and Creditors in different Countries, as far as the Commerce between those two Places is equivalent. But where the over-balance, on either side, demands Payment, there Bills of Exchange can do nothing; but Bullion, or Money in Specie must be sent. For in a Country where we owe Money, and have no Debts owing to us, Bills will not find Credit; but for a short time, till Money can be sent to reimburse those that paid them; unless we can think Men beyond Sea will part with their Money for nothing. If the Traders of *England* owe their Correspondents of *Holland* a hundred thousand Pound, their Accounts with all the rest of the World standing equal, and remaining so, one Farthing of this hundred thousand Pound cannot be paid by Bills of Exchange. For example, I owe a thousand Pound of it; And to pay that, buy a Bill of *N.* here, drawn on *John de Wit* of *Amsterdam*, to pay *P. van Lore* my Correspondent there. The Money is paid accordingly, and thereby I am out of *Van Lore*'s Debt; but one Farthing of the Debt of *England* to *Holland* is not thereby paid; for *N.* of whom I bought the Bill of Exchange, is now as much indebted to *John de Wit*, as I was before to *P. van Lore*. Particular Debtors and Creditors are only changed by Bills of Exchange; but the Debt owing from one Country to the other, cannot be paid without real Effects sent thither to that Value, either in Commodities, or Money. Where the balance of Trade barely pays for Commodities with Commodities, there Money must be sent, or else the Debt cannot be paid.

I have spoke of Silver Coin alone, because that makes the Money of Account, and measure of Trade, all through the World. For all Contracts are, I think, every where made, and Accounts kept in Silver Coin. I am sure they are so in *England*, and the neighbouring Countries.

Silver therefore, and Silver alone, is the measure of Commerce. Two Metals, as Gold and Silver, cannot be the measure of Commerce both together, in any Country: Because the measure of Commerce must be perpetually the same, invariable, and keeping the same proportion of value in all its Parts. But so only one Metal does, or can do to it self: So Silver is to Silver, and Gold to Gold. An Ounce of Silver is always of equal value to an Ounce of Silver, and an Ounce of Gold to an Ounce of Gold; and two Ounces of the one, or the other, of double the value to an Ounce of the same. But Gold and Silver change their value one to another: For supposing them to be in value as sixteen to one now; perhaps the next Month they may be as fifteen and three quarters, or fifteen and seven eighths to one. And one may as well make a Measure, *v. g.* a Yard, whose parts lengthen and shrink, as a measure of Trade of Materials, that have not always a settled unvariable value to one another.

One Metal therefore alone can be the Money of Account and Contract, and the Measure of Commerce in any Country. The fittest for this Use, of all other, is Silver, for many Reasons, which need not here be mention'd. It is enough that the World has agreed in it, and made it their common Money; and as the Indians rightly call it, *Measure*. All other Metals, Gold, as well as Lead, are but Commodities.

Commodities are Moveables, valuable by Money, the common Measure.

Gold, tho' not the Money of the World, and the Measure of Commerce, nor fit to be so, yet may, and ought to be coined, to ascertain its Weight and Fineness; and such Coin may safely have a Price as well as a Stamp set upon it by publick Authority; so the Value set be under the Market price. For then such Pieces coin'd, will be a Commodity as passable as Silver Money, very little varying in their Price: As Guineas which were coin'd at the Value of 20 s. but passed usually for between 21 or 22 Shillings, according to the current Rate; but not having so high a Value put upon them by the Law, no body could be forced to take them to their Loss at 21 s. 6 d. if the Price of Gold should happen at any Time to be cheaper.

From what has been said, I think it appears:

1. That Silver is that which Mankind have agreed on to take, and give in Exchange for all other Commodities, as an Equivalent.
2. That 'tis by the quantity of Silver they give or take, or contract for, that they estimate the Value of other things, and satisfy for them; and thus by its quantity Silver becomes the Measure of Commerce.
3. Hence it necessarily follows, that a greater quantity of Silver has a greater Value; a less quantity of Silver has a less Value; and an equal quantity an equal Value.
4. That Money differs from uncoin'd Silver only in this, that the quantity of Silver in each Piece of Money, is ascertain'd by the Stamp it bears; which is set there to be a publick Voucher of its Weight and Fineness.
5. That Gold is *Treasure* as well as Silver, because it decays not in keeping, and never sinks much in its Value.
6. That Gold is fit to be coin'd as well as Silver, to ascertain its quantity to those who have a mind to traffick in it; but not fit to be joyn'd with Silver, as a Measure of Commerce.
7. That Jewels too are *Treasure*, because they keep without Decay; and have constantly a great Value, in proportion to their Bulk: But cannot be used for Money, because their Value is not measur'd by their Quantity; nor can they, as Gold and Silver, be divided, and keep their Value.
8. The other Metals are not *Treasure*, because they decay in keeping, and because of their Plenty; which makes their Value little in a great Bulk; and so unfit for Money, Commerce, and Carriage.
9. That the only Way to bring *Treasure* into England, is the well ordering our Trade.
10. That the only Way to bring Silver and Gold to the Mint, for the increase of our Stock of Money and Treasure, which shall stay here, is an overbalance of our whole Trade. All other Ways to increase our Money and Riches, are but Projects that will fail us.

These things premised, I shall now proceed to shew wherein I differ from Mr. Lowndes, and upon what Grounds I do so.

Mr. Lowndes proposes, that our Money should be raised (as it is called) one fifth: that is, That all our present Denominations of Money, as Penny, Shilling, Half-Crown, Crown, &c. should each have, one fifth less Silver in it, or be answered with Coin of one fifth less Value. How he proposes to have it done I shall consider hereafter. I shall at present only examine the Reasons he gives for it:

His first Reason, p. 68. he gives us in these Words, *The Value of the Silver in the Coin ought to be raised to the foot of six Shillings three Pence in every Crown; because the Price of Standard Silver in Bullion is risen to six Shillings five Pence an Ounce.*

This reason seems to me to labour under several great Mistakes, as,

1. That Standard Silver can rise in respect of it self.
2. That Standard Bullion is now, or ever was worth, or sold to the Traders in it for 6 s. 5 d. the Ounce of lawful Money of England. For if that Matter of fact holds not to be so, that an Ounce of Sterling Bullion is worth 6 s. 5 d. of our

mill'd weighty Money, this reason ceases; And our weighty Crown-pieces ought not to be raised to 6*s.* 3*d.* because our light clipp'd Money will not purchase an Ounce of Standard Bullion, under the rate of 6*s.* 5*d.* of that light Money. And let me add here, nor for that Rate neither. If therefore the Author means here, that an Ounce of Standard Silver is risen to 6*s.* 5*d.* of our clipp'd Money, I grant it him, and higher too. But then that has nothing to do with the raising our lawful Coin, which remains unclipp'd; unless he will say too, that Standard Bullion is so risen, as to be worth, and actually to sell for 6*s.* 5*d.* the Ounce of our weighty mill'd Money. This I not only deny, but farther add, that it is impossible to be so. For 6*s.* 5*d.* of mill'd Money, weighs an Ounce and a Quarter near. Can it therefore be possible, that one Ounce of any Commodity, should be worth an Ounce and a Quarter of the self same Commodity, and of exactly the same Goodness? For so is Standard Silver to Standard Silver. Indeed one has a Mark upon it, which the other has not: But it is a Mark that makes it rather more, than less valuable: Or if the Mark, by hindring its Exportation, makes it less valuable for that Purpose, the Melting-pot can easily take it off.

The Complaint made of melting down our weighty Money, answers this Reason evidently. For can it be suppos'd, that a Goldsmith will give one Ounce and a Quarter of coin'd Silver, for one Ounce of Bullion; when by putting it into his Melting-pot, he can for less than a Penny Charge make it Bullion? (For 'tis always to be remembred, what I think is made clear, that the Value of Silver, considered as it is Money, and the Measure of Commerce, is nothing but its quantity.) And thus a mill'd Shilling, which has double the weight of Silver in it to a current Shilling, whereof half the Silver is clipp'd away, has double the Value. And to shew that this is so, I will undertake, that any Merchant, who has Bullion to sell, shall sell it for a great deal less Number of Shillings in Tale, to any one, who will contract to pay him in mill'd Money, than if he be paid in the current clipp'd Money.

Those who say Bullion is *Risen*, I desire to tell me; what they mean by *Risen*? Any Commodity, I think, is properly said to be *Risen*, when the same quantity will exchange for a greater quantity of another thing; but more particularly of that thing which is the Measure of Commerce in the Country. And thus Corn is said to be *Risen* amongst the *English* in *Virginia*, when a Bushel of it will sell, or exchange for more Pounds of Tobacco; amongst the *Indians*, when it will sell for more Yards of *Wampompeak*, which is their Money; and amongst the *English* here, when it will exchange for a greater quantity of Silver, than it would before. *Rising* and *Falling* of Commodities is always between several Commodities of distinct Worths. But no body can say that Tobacco (of the same Goodness) is risen in respect of it self. One Pound of the same Goodness will never exchange for a Pound and a Quarter of the same Goodness. And so it is in Silver: An Ounce of Silver will always be of equal Value to an Ounce of Silver; nor can it ever rise or fall in respect of it self: An Ounce of Standard Silver can never be worth an Ounce and a Quarter of Standard Silver; nor one Ounce of uncoin'd Silver, exchange for one Ounce and a Quarter of coin'd Silver: The Stamp cannot so much debase its Value. Indeed the Stamp hindring its free Exportation, may make the Goldsmith (who profits by the return of Money) give one hundred and twentieth, or one sixtieth or perhaps sometimes one thirtieth more (that is 5*s.* 2*d.* $\frac{1}{2}$. 5*s.* 3*d.* or 5*s.* 4*d.* the Ounce of coin'd Silver for uncoin'd, when there is need of sending Silver beyond Seas; as there always is when the balance of Trade will not supply our Wants, and pay our Debts there. But much beyond this, the Goldsmith will never give for Bullion; since he can make it out of coin'd Money at a cheaper Rate.

'Tis said Bullion is risen to 6*s.* 5*d.* the Ounce, *i. e.* that an Ounce of uncoin'd Silver will exchange for an Ounce and a Quarter of coin'd Silver. If any one can believe this, I will put this short Case to him. He has of Bullion or Standard uncoin'd Silver, two round Plates, each of an exact Size and Weight of a *Crown* Piece: He has besides, of the same Bullion, a round Plate of the Weight and Size of a *Shilling*, and another yet less, of the exact Weight and Size of a *Three-Pence*. The two great Plates being of equal Weight and Fineness, I suppose he will allow to be of equal Value, and that the two less, joyn'd to either of them, make

make it one fifth more worth than the other is by it self, they having all three together one fifth more Silver in them. Let us suppose then, one of the greater, and the two less Plates to have received the next Moment; (by Miracle, or by the Mill, it matters not how) the Mark or Stamp of our *Crown*, our *Shilling*, and our *Threepence*: Can any body say, that now they have got the Stamp of our Mint upon them, they are so fallen in Value, or the other unstamp'd Piece so *Risen*, that that unstamp'd Piece which a Moment before was worth only one of the other Pieces, is now worth them all three? Which is to say, that an Ounce of uncoin'd Silver is worth an Ounce and a Quarter of coin'd. This is what Men would persuade us, when they say, that Bullion is raised to 6 s. 5 d. [of lawful Money] the Ounce, which I say is utterly impossible. Let us consider this a little farther in another Instance. The present mill'd *Crown-Piece*, say they, will not exchange for an Ounce of Bullion, without the Addition of a *Shilling* and a *Three-pence* of weighty Coin added to it. Coin but that *Crown-Piece* into 6 s. 3 d. and then they say it will buy an Ounce of Bullion, or else they give up their Reason and Measure of raising the Money. Do that which is allow'd to be equivalent to coining of a present mill'd *Crown-Piece* into 6 s. 3 d. (*viz.*) call it 75 Pence, and then also it must by this Rule of *raising* buy an Ounce of Bullion. If this be so, the self-same mill'd *Crown-Piece* will and will not exchange for an Ounce of Bullion. Call it 60 Pence, and it will not: The very next Moment call it 75 Pence, and it will. I am afraid no body can think change of Denomination has such Power.

Mr Lowndes supports this his first Reason with these Words, p. 68. *This Reason which I humbly conceive will appear irrefragable, is grounded upon a Truth so apparent, that it may well be compared to an Axiom, even in Mathematical reasoning; to wit, that Whensoever the intrinsic Value of Silver in the Coin, hath been, or shall be less than the Price of Silver in Bullion, the Coin hath and will be melted down.*

This I think, tho' it be allowed Mr. Lowndes for as *apparent a Truth*, and as certain a *Maxim* as he could wish, yet serves not at all to his Purpose of lessening the Coin. For when the Coin, is as it should be, according to the Standard (let the Standard be what it will) weighty and unclipp'd, it is impossible that the Value of coin'd Silver should be less than the Value or Price of uncoin'd; because, as I have shewn, the Value and Quantity of Silver are the same: And where the Quantities are equal, the Values are equal; excepting only the odds that may be between Bullion that may be freely exported, and coin'd Silver that may not; the odds whereof scarce ever amounts to above 2 d. per Ounce, and rarely to above a Penny or an Half-penny. And this odds (whatever it be) will equally belong to his raised mill'd Money, which cannot be exported, as it will to our present mill'd Money, which cannot be exported, as I shall have occasion to shew more particularly hereafter. All this disorder, and a thousand others, comes from light and unlawful Money being current. For then it is no wonder that Bullion should be kept up to the Value of your clipp'd Money; that is, that Bullion should not be sold by the Ounce for less than 6 s. 5 d. when that 6 s. 5 d. clipp'd Money paid for it, does not Weigh above an Ounce. This Instance therefore of the present Price of Bullion, proves nothing but that the Quantity of Silver in Money governs the Value of it, and not the Denomination; as appears when clipp'd Money is brought to buy Bullion. This is a fair Tryal: Silver is set against Silver, and by that is seen whether clipp'd Money be of the same Value with weighty of the same Denomination, or whether it be not the Quantity of Silver in it that regulates its Value.

I cannot but wonder that Mr. Lowndes, a Man so well skill'd in the Law, especially of the Mint, the Exchequer, and of our Money, should all along in this Argument speak of clipp'd Money, as if it were the lawful Money of England; and should propose by that (which is in effect by the Clippers Sheers) to regulate a new sort of Coin to be introduced into England. And if he will stand to that Measure, and lessen the new Coin to the rate of Bullion sold in exchange for present current clipp'd Money, to prevent its being melted down; he must make it yet much lighter than he proposes, so that raising it, or to give it its due Name, that lessening of it one fifth will not serve the Turn: For I will be bold to say, that Bullion now in England is no where to be bought by the

Ounce for 6 s. 5 d. of our present current clipp'd Money. So that if his Rule be true, and nothing can save the weighty Coin from melting down, but reducing it to the Weight that clipp'd Money is brought to, he must lessen the Money in his new Coin much more than one fifth; for an Ounce of Standard Bullion will always be worth an Ounce of clipp'd Money, whether that in Tale amount to 6 s. 5 d. 6 s. 6 d. 10 s. or any other Number of Shillings, or Pence of the nick-named clipp'd Money. For a piece of Silver that was coin'd for a Shilling, but has half the Silver clipp'd off, in the Law and in Propriety of Speech is no more a Shilling than a piece of Wood, which was once a sealed Yard, is still a Yard when one half of it is broke off.

Let us consider this Maxim a little farther; which out of the Language of the Mint in plain English, I think, amounts to thus much, *viz.* That when an Ounce of Standard Bullion costs a greater number of Pence in tale, than an Ounce of that Bullion can be coin'd into by the Standard of the Mint, the Coin will be melted down. I grant it, if Bullion should rise to 15 Pence the Ounce above 5 s. 2 d. as is now pretended; which is to say, that an Ounce of Bullion cannot be bought for less than an Ounce and a Quarter of the like Silver coin'd. But that, as I have shew'd, is impossible to be: And every one would be convinced of the contrary, if we had none now but lawful Money current. But 'tis no Wonder if the Price and Value of things be confounded and uncertain, when the Measure it self is lost. For we have now no lawful Silver Money current among us: And therefore cannot talk nor judge right, by our present uncertain clipp'd Money, of the Value and Price of things, in reference to our lawful regular Coin, adjusted and kept to the unvarying Standard of the Mint. The Price of Silver in Bullion above the Value of Silver in Coin, when clipping has not defac'd our current Cash (for then the odds is very rarely above a Penny or two Pence the Ounce) is so far from being a Cause of melting down our Coin, that this Price given above the Value of the Silver in our Coin, is given only to preserve our Coin from being melted down: For no body buys Bullion at above 5 s. 2 d. the Ounce, (which is just the Value) for any other Reason, but to avoid the Crime and Hazard of melting down our Coin.

I think it will be agreed on all Hands, that no body will melt down our Money, but for Profit. Now Profit can be made by melting down our Money, but only in two Cases.

First, When the current Pieces of the same Denomination are unequal, and of different Weights; some heavier, some lighter: For then the Traders in Money cull out the heavier, and melt them down with Profit. This is the ordinary Fault of coining by the Hammer, wherein it usually sufficed, That a Bar of Silver was cut into as many Half Crowns, or Shillings, as answer'd its whole weight; without being very exact in making each particular Piece of its due weight, whereby some pieces came to be heavier, and some lighter, than by the Standard they should. And then the heavier pieces were cull'd out, and there was Profit to be made (as one easily perceives) in melting them down. But this Cause of melting down our Money is easily prevented, by the exacter way of Coining by the Mill, in which each single piece is brought to its just weight. This Inequality of Pieces of the same Denomination, is to be found in our Money, more than ever, since clipping has been in fashion: And therefore 'tis no wonder, that in this irregular State of our Money, one Complaint is, that the heavy Money is melted down. But this also the making clipp'd Money go at present for its Weight, (which is a sudden reducing it to the Standard) and then, by degrees, recoinning it into mill'd Money (which is the ultimate and more compleat reducing it to the Standard) perfectly cures.

The other Case wherein our Money comes to be melted down, is a losing Trade; or, which is the same thing in other Words, an over-great Consumption of foreign Commodities. Whenever the over-balance of foreign Trade makes it difficult for our Merchants to get Bills of Exchange, the Exchange presently rises, and the Returns of Money raise them in Proportion to the want of Money *Englishmen* have in any parts beyond Seas. They who thus furnish them with Bills, not being able to satisfy their Correspondents on whom those Bills are drawn, with the Product of our Commodities there, must send Silver from hence to reimburse them, and repay the Money they have drawn out of their Hands. Whilst Bullion

lion may be had for a small price more than the weight of our current Cash, these Exchangers generally choose rather to buy Bullion, than run the risque of melting down our Coin, which is criminal by the Law. And thus the Matter for the most part went, whilst mill'd and clipt Money passed promiscuously in Payment: For so long a clipt Half Crown was as good here as a mill'd one, since one passed, and could be had as freely as the other. But as soon as there began to be a Distinction between clipt and unclipt Money, and weighty Money could no longer be had for the light, Bullion (as was natural) rose; and it would fall again to morrow to the price it was at before, if there were none but weighty Money to pay for it. In short, whenever the whole of our foreign Trade and Consumption exceeds our Exportation of Commodities, our Money must go to pay our Debts so contracted, whether melted or not melted down. If the Law makes the Exportation of our Coin penal, it will be melted down; if it leaves the Exportation of our Coin free, as in *Holland*, it will be carried out in Specie. One way or other go it must, as we see in *Spain*; but whether melted down or not melted down it matters little: Our Coin and Treasure will be both ways equally diminished, and can be restor'd only by an over-balance of our whole Exportation, to our whole Importation of consumable Commodities. Laws made against Exportation of Money or Bullion will be all in vain. Restraint, or Liberty in that Matter, makes no Country rich or poor: As we see in *Holland*, which had Plenty of Money under the free Liberty of its Exportation; and *Spain*, in great want of Money under the severest Penalties against carrying of it out. But the coining, or not coining our Money, on the same foot it was before, or in bigger or less Pieces, and under whatsoever Denominations you please, contributes nothing to, or against its melting down or Exportation, so our Money be all kept, each Species in its full weight of Silver, according to the Standard: For if some be heavier, and some lighter, allow'd to be current, so under the same Denomination the heavier will be melted down, where the Temptation of Profit is considerable, which in well regulated Coin kept to the Standard, cannot be. But this melting down carries not away one Grain of our Treasure out of *England*. The coming and going of that depends wholly upon the Balance of our Trade; and therefore it is a wrong Conclusion which we find, p. 71. *That continuing either old or new Coins on the present foot, will be nothing else but furnishing a Species to melt down at an extravagant Profit, and will encourage a violent Exportation of our Silver for sake of the Gain only; till we shall have little or none left.* For Example: Let us suppose all our light Money new coin'd, upon the foot that this Gentleman would have it, and all our old mill'd Crowns going for 75 Pence as he proposes, and the rest of the old mill'd Money proportionably; I desire it to be shewed how this would hinder the Exportation of one Ounce of Silver, whilst our Affairs are in the present Posture. Again, on the other side, supposing all our Money were now mill'd Coin upon the present foot, and our Balance of Trade changing, our Exportation of Commodities, were a Million more than our Importation, and like to continue so yearly; whereof one half was to *Holland*, and the other to *Flanders*, there being an equal Balance between *England* and all other parts of the World we trade to; I ask, what possible Gain could any *Englishman* make, by melting down and carrying out our Money to *Holland* and *Flanders*, when a Million was to come thence hither, and *Englishmen* had more there already than they knew how to use there, and could not get home without paying dear there for Bills of Exchange? If that were the Case of our Trade, the Exchange would presently fall here, and rise there beyond the Par of their Money to ours, i. e. an *English* Merchant must give in *Holland* more Silver for the Bills he bought there, than he should receive upon those Bills here, if the two Sums were weigh'd one against the other; or run the risque of bringing it home in Specie. And what then could any *Englishman* get by exporting of our Money or Silver thither?

These are the only two Cases, wherein our Coin can be melted down with Profit; and I challenge any one living to shew me any other. The one of them is removed only by a regular just Coin kept equal to the Standard; be that what it will, it matters not, as to the point of melting down of the Money. The other is to be removed only by the Balance of our Trade kept from running us behind-hand, and contracting Debts in foreign Countries by an Over-consumption of their Commodities.

To those who say that the Exportation of our Money, whether melted down, or not melted down, depends wholly upon our Consumption of foreign Commodities, and not at all upon the Sizes of the several Species of our Money, which will be equally exported, or not exported, whether coin'd upon the old, or the proposed new Foot: Mr. Lowndes replies,

1. That the necessity of foreign Expence and Exportation to answer the Balance of Trade, may be diminished, but cannot in any sense be augmented by raising the Value of our Money.

I beg his Pardon if I cannot assent to this. Because the necessity of our Exportation of Money depending wholly upon the Debts which we contract in foreign Parts, beyond what our Commodities exported can pay; the coining our Money in bigger or less pieces under the same or different Denominations, or on the present or proposed Foot, in itself neither increasing those Debts, nor the Expences that makethem, can neither augment nor diminish the Exportation of our Money.

2. He replies, p. 72. That Melters of the Coin will have less Profit by fourteen Pence Halfpenny in the Crown, when the Money is coined upon the new Foot.

To this I take liberty to say, that there will not be a farthing more profit in melting down the Money, if it were all new mill'd Money upon the present Foot, than if it were all new coin'd, as is proposed one fifth lighter. For whence should the Profit arise more in the one, than the other? But Mr. Lowndes goes upon this Supposition; That Standard Bullion is now worth Six Shillings and five Pence an Ounce, of mill'd Money, and would continue to sell for Six Shillings five Pence the Ounce, if our Money were all weighty mill'd Money: Both which I take to be Mistakes, and think I have proved them to be so.

3. He says, 'Tis hoped that the Exchange to Holland may be kept at a stand, or at least from falling much lower. I hope so too. But how that concerns this Argument, or the coining of the Money upon a new Foot, I do not see.

4. He says, p. 73. There is a great difference with regard to the Service and disservice of the Publick, between carrying out Bullion or Coin, for necessary Uses, or for prohibited Commodities. The Gain to the Exporters, which is that which makes them melt it down and export it, is the same in both Cases. And the necessity of exporting it is the same. For 'tis to pay Debts, which there is an equal necessity of paying, when once contracted, though for useless things. They are the Goldsmiths and Dealers in Silver that usually export what Silver is sent beyond Sea, to pay the Debts they have contracted by their Bills of Exchange. But those Dealers in Exchange seldom know, or consider, how they to whom they give their Bills, have or will employ the Money they receive upon those Bills. Prohibited Commodities, 'tis true, should be kept out, and useless ones impoverish us by being brought in. But that is the fault of our Importation: And there the Mischief should be cured, by Laws, and our way of Living. For the Exportation of our Treasure is not the cause of their Importation, but the Consequence. Vanity and Luxury spends them: That gives them Vent here: That Vent causes their Importation: And when our Merchants have brought them, if our Commodities will not be enough, our Money must go to pay for them. But what this Paragraph has in it against continuing our Coin upon the present Foot, or for making our Coin lighter, I confess here again, I do not see.

'Tis true what Mr. Lowndes observes here, the Importation of Gold, and the going of Guineas at 30 s. has been a great prejudice and loss to the Kingdom. But that has been wholly owing to our clipp'd Money, and not at all to our Money being coin'd at five Shillings two Pence the Ounce; nor is the coining our Money lighter, the cure of it. The only remedy for that mischief, as well as a great many others, is the putting an end to the passing of clipp'd Money by Tale, as if it were lawful Coin.

5. His fifth Head, p. 74. is to answer those, who hold, that by the lessening our Money one fifth, all People who are to receive Money upon Contracts already made, will be defrauded of twenty per Cent. of their Due: And thus all Men will lose one fifth of their settled Revenues, and all Men that have lent Money one fifth of their Principal and Use. To remove this Objection, Mr. Lowndes says, that Silver in England is grown scarce, and consequently dearer, and so is of higher price. Let us grant for the present, it is of higher Price (which how he makes out I shall examine by and by.) This, if it were so, ought not to an-

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nor any Man's Bargain, nor make him receive less in quantity than he lent. He was to receive again the same Sum, and the Publick Authority was Guarantee that the same Sum should have the same quantity of Silver under the same Denomination. And the reason is plain, why in justice he ought to have the same quantity of Silver again, notwithstanding any pretended rise of its Value. For if Silver had grown more plentiful, and by consequence (by our Author's Rule) cheaper, his Debtor wou'd not have been compelled by the Publick Authority to have paid him, in consideration of its cheapness, a greater quantity of Silver than they contracted for. Cacao Nuts were the Money of a part of *America*, when we first came thither. Suppose then you had lent me last Year 300, or fiftenscore Cacao Nuts, to be repaid this Year, Wou'd you be satisfied and think your self paid your due, if I shou'd tell you, Cacao Nuts were scarce this Year, and that fourscore were of as much value this year as an hundred the last; and that therefore you were well and fully paid if I restored to you only 240 for the 300 I borrow'd? Would you not think your self defrauded of two thirds of your Right by such a payment? nor would it make any amends for this to Justice, or Reparation to you, that the Publick had (after your Contract, which was made for fifteen Score) alter'd the Denomination of *Score*, and apply'd it to sixteen instead of twenty. Examine it, and you will find this just the Case, and the Loss proportionable in them both: That is, a real Loss of twenty *per Cent*. As to Mr. Lowndes's proofs, that Silver is now one fifth more value than it was, and therefore a Man has right done him, if he receive one fifth less than his Contract, I fear none of them will reach Mr. Lowndes's point. He saith p. 77. *By daily experience nineteen penny Weight, and three tenths of a penny weight of Sterling Silver, which is just the weight of a Crown piece, will purchase more coin'd Money than five unclipp'd Shillings.* I wish he had told us where this daily experience he speaks of is to be found: For I dare say no body hath seen a Sum of unclipp'd Shillings paid for Bullion any where this twelve Months, to go no further back.

In the next place, I wish he had told us how much *more* than five lawful mill'd Shillings, Bullion of the weight of a Crown piece will purchase. If he had said it would purchase six Shillings and three Pence weighty Money, he had proved the matter in question. And whoever has the weight of a Crown in Silver paid him in Mr. Lowndes's new Coin, instead of six Shillings and three Pence of our present Money, has no injury done him, if it will certainly purchase him six Shillings and three Pence all unclipp'd of our present Money. But every one at first sight perceives this to be impossible, as I have already proved it. And I have in this the concurrence of Mr. Lowndes's new Scheme, to prove it to be so. For, p. 62. he proposes that his *Silver Unite* having the weight and fineness of a present unclipp'd Crown piece, should go for 75 Pence; and that the present Shilling should go for 15 Pence; by which establishment there will be 75 Pence in his *Unite*, and 93 Pence three Farthings in six Shillings three Pence, weighty Money of the present Coin; which is an undeniable Confession, that it is as impossible for his *Silver Unite*, (having no more Silver in it than a present unclipp'd Crown) to be worth, and so to purchase six unclipp'd Shillings and three Pence, of our present Money, as it is for 75 Pence to be worth 93 of the same Pence, or 75 to be equal to 93.

If he means by *more*, that his Sterling Silver of the weight of a Crown piece will purchase a Penny, or two Pence more than five unclipp'd Shillings, which is the most, and which is but accidental too; What is this rise of its value to 15 Pence? And what amends will one sixtieth (a little more or less) rise in Value, make for one fifth diminished in weight, and lost in the Quantity? which is all one as to say, that a Penny, or thereabouts, shall make amends for fifteen Pence taken away.

Another way to recommend his new Coin, to those who shall receive it instead of the present weightier Coin, he tells them, p. 77. it will pay as much Debt, and purchase as much Commodities as our present Money, which is one fifth heavier: What he says of Debts is true. But yet I would have it well considered by our English Gentlemen, that tho' Creditors will lose one fifth of their Principal and Use, and Landlords will lose one fifth of their Income, yet the Debtors and Tenants will not get it. It will be asked, Who then will get it? Those I say, and those only who have great Sums of weighty Money (whereof one sees not a piece

piece now in Payments) hoarded up by them, will get by it. To those by the proposed change of our Money will be an increase of one fifth added to their Riches, paid out of the Pockets of the rest of the Nation. For what these Men received for four Shillings, they will pay again for five. This weighty Money hoarded up, Mr. Lowndes, p. 105 computes at one Million and six hundred thousand Pounds. So that by raising our Money one fifth, there will three hundred and twenty thousand Pound be given to those who have hoarded up our weighty Money; which hoarding up of Money is thought by many to have no other merit in it than the prejudicing our Trade and publick Affairs, and increasing our Necessities, by keeping so great a part of our Money from coming Abroad, at a time when there was so great need of it. If the Sum of unclipp'd Money in the Nation, be as some suppose, much greater; then there will by this contrivance of the raising our Coin, be given to these rich Hoarders, much above the aforesaid Sum of three hundred and twenty thousand Pounds of our present Money. No body else, but these Hoarders, can get a Farthing by this proposed change of our Coin; unless Men in Debt have Plate by them, which they will Coin to pay their Debts. Those too, I must confess, will get one fifth by all the Plate of their Own, which they shall coin and pay Debts with, valuing their Plate at Bullion: But if they shall consider the fashion of their Plate, what that cost when they bought it, and the fashion that new Plate will cost them, if they intend ever to have Plate again, they will find this one fifth seeming present profit in coining their Plate to pay their Debts, amount to little or nothing at all. No body then but the Hoarders will get by this twenty *per Cent.* And I challenge any one to shew how any body else (but that little in the case of Plate coin'd to pay Debts) shall get a Farthing by it. It seems to promise fairest to the Debtors; but to them too it will amount to nothing. For he that takes up Money to pay his Debts, will receive this new Money, and pay it again at the same rate he received it, just as he does now our present Coin, without any profit at all. And though Commodities (as is natural) shall be raised in proportion to the lessening of the Money, no body will get by that, any more than they do now, when all things are grown dearer. Only he that is bound up by contract to receive any Sum under such a Denomination of Pounds, Shillings and Pence, will find his loss sensibly when he goes to buy Commodities, and make new Bargains. The Markets and the Shops will soon convince him, that his Money, which is one fifth lighter, is also one fifth worse; when he must pay twenty *per Cent.* more for all the Commodities he buys with the Money of the new Foot, than if he bought it with the present Coin.

This Mr. Lowndes himself will not deny, when he calls to mind what he himself, speaking of the inconveniences we suffer by our clipp'd Money, says, p. 115. *Persons before they conclude in any Bargains, are necessitated first to settle the price or value of the very Money they are to receive for their Goods; and if it be in clipp'd or bad Money, they set the price of their Goods accordingly: Which I think has been one great cause of raising the price, not only of Merchandizes, but even of Edibles, and other necessaries for the Sustenance of the common People, to their great Grievance.* That every one who receives Money after the raising our Money, on Contracts made before the change, must lose twenty *per Cent.* in all he shall buy, is Demonstration, by Mr. Lowndes's own Scheme. Mr. Lowndes proposes that there should be Shillings coin'd upon the new Foot one fifth lighter than our present Shillings, which should go for twelve Pence a piece; and that the unclipp'd Shillings of the present coin should go for fifteen Pence a piece, and the Crown for seventy-five Pence. A Man who has a Debt of an hundred Pounds owing him, upon Bond or Lease, receives it in these new Shillings, instead of lawful Money of the present Standard: He goes to Market with twenty Shillings in one Pocket of this new Money, which are valued at 240 Pence; and in the other Pocket with four mill'd Crown pieces, (or twenty mill'd Shillings of the present Coin) which are valued at three hundred Pence, which is one fifth more: 'Tis Demonstration then that he loses one fifth, or twenty *per Cent.* in all that he buys, by the receipt of this new Money, for the present Coin, which was his Due; unless those he deals with will take four for five Pence, or four Shillings for five Shillings. He buys, for Example, a Quart of Oyl for fifteen Pence: If he pay for it with the old Money in one Pocket, one Shilling will do it; if with the new Money in the other, he must add three Pence to it, or a quarter of another Shilling; and so of all the rest that he pays for, with

with either the old Money which he should have received his Debts in, or with the New, which he was forced to receive for it. Thus far it's Demonstration he loses twenty *per Cent.* by receiving his Debt in a new Money thus raised, when he uses it to buy any thing. But to make him amends, Mr. Lowndes tells him, Silver is now dearer; and all things consequently will be bought cheaper twenty *per Cent.* And yet at the same time he tells them in the passage above cited out of p. 115. that all other things are grown dearer. I am sure there is no Demonstration that they will be sold twenty *per Cent.* cheaper. And if I may credit House-keepers and substantial Tradesmen, all sorts of Provisions and Commodities are lately risen excessively; and notwithstanding the scarcity of Silver, begin to come up to the true value of our clipp'd Money, every one selling their Commodities so as to make themselves amends in the Number of light Pieces for what they want in Weight. A Creditor ought to think the new light Money equivalent to the present heavier, because it will buy as much Commodities. But what if it should fail, as 'tis ten to one but it will, what Security has he for it? He is told so, and he must be satisfied. The Salt, Wine, Oyl, Silk, Naval-Stores, and all foreign Commodities, will none of them be sold us by foreigners for a less quantity of Silver than before, because we have given the name of more Pence to it, is I think Demonstration. All our Names (if they are any more to us) are to them but bare Sounds; and our Coin, as theirs to us, but meer Bullion, valued only by its Weight. And a Swede will no more sell you his Hemp and Pitch, or a Spaniard his Oyl, for less Silver; because you tell him Silver is scarcer now in England, and therefore risen in value one fifth, than a Tradesman of London will sell his Commodity cheaper to the *Ile of Man* because they are grown poorer, and Money is scarce there.

All foreign Commodities must be shut out of the Number of those that will fall, to comply with our raising our Money. Corn also, 'tis evident, does not rise or fall by the differences of more or less plenty of Money, but by the plenty and scarcity that God gives. For our Money, in appearance, remaining the same, the Price of Corn is double one Year to what it was the precedent; and therefore we must certainly make account that since the Money is one fifth lighter, it will buy one fifth less Corn *Communibus annis*. And this being the great Expence of the Poor, that takes up almost all their Earnings; if Corn be *Communibus annis* sold for one fifth more Money in Tale, than before the change of our Money, they too must have one fifth more in Tale of the new Money for their Wages, than they have now; and the Day-Labourer must have, not only Twelve, but fifteen Pence of the new Money a Day, which is the present Shilling, that he has now, or else he cannot Live. So that all foreign Commodities, with Corn and Labour keeping up their value to the quantity of Silver, they sell for now, and not complying in the fall of their real price with the nominal raising of our Money; there is not much left wherein Landlords and Creditors are to expect the recompence of twenty *per Cent.* abatement of price in Commodities to make up their loss in the lightness of our Money they are paid their Rents and Debts in. 'Twould be easie to shew the same thing concerning our other native Commodities, and make it clear, that we have no reason to expect they should abate of their present Price, any more than Corn and Labour. But this is enough, and any one, who has a mind to it, may trace the rest at his leisure.

And thus I fear the hopes of cheaper Penny-worths, which might beguile some Men into a belief, that Landlords and Creditors would receive no less by the proposed new Money, is quite vanished. But if the promise of better Penny-worths and a fall of all Commodities twenty *per Cent.* should hold true, this would not at all relieve Creditors and Landlords, and set them on equal terms with their Neighbours: Because the cheap Penny-worths will not be for them alone; but every body else, as well as they, will share in that advantage; so that their Silver being diminished one fifth in their Rents and Debts, which are paid them, they would still be twenty *per Cent.* greater losers than their unhoarding Neighbours, and forty *per Cent.* greater losers than the Hoarders of Money; Who will certainly get twenty *per Cent.* in the Money, whatever happens in the price of Things; and twenty *per Cent.* more in the cheapness of Commodities, if that promised recompence be made good to Creditors and Landlords. For the Hoarders of Money (if the price of things falls) will buy as cheap as they. So that whatever is said of

the cheapness of Commodities, 'tis Demonstration, (whether that proves true or no) that Creditors, and Landlords, and all those who are to receive Money upon Bargains made before the proposed change of our Coin, will unavoidably lose twenty per Cent.

One thing Mr. Lowndes says in this Paragraph very remarkable, which I think decides the Question. His words p. 78. are these, *That if the value of the Silver in the Coins (by an extrinsec Denomination) be raised above the value or Market price of the same Silver reduced to Bullion, the Subject would be proportionably injured and defrauded as they were formerly in the case of base Moneys coin'd by publick Authority.* It remains therefore only to shew, that the Market price of Standard Bullion is not one fifth above our coin that is to be raised, and then we have Mr. Lowndes of our side too against its raising. I think it is abundantly proved already, that Standard Bullion neither is, nor can be worth one fifth more than our Lawful weighty Money: And if it be not, by Mr. Lowndes's Confession, there is no need of raising our present legal mill'd Money to that degree; and 'tis only our clip'd Money that wants amendment: And when that is recoin'd and reduced all to mill'd and lawful Money, that then too will have no need of raising. This I shall now prove out of Mr. Lowndes's own words here.

Mr. Lowndes in the forecited words compares the value of Silver in our Coin, to the value of the same Silver reduced to Bullion; which he supposing to be as four to five, makes that the measure of the raising our Money. If this be the difference of value between Silver in Bullion, and Silver in Coin; and it be true, that four Ounces of Standard Bullion be worth five Ounces of the same Silver coin'd? Or, which is the same Thing, that Bullion will sell by the Ounce for six Shillings and five Pence unclipp'd Money; I will take the boldness to advise His Majesty to Buy, or to borrow any where so much Bullion, or rather than be without it, melt down so much Plate, as is equal in weight to twelve hundred pounds Sterling of our present mill'd Money. This let him sell for mill'd Money. And according to our Author's Rule, it will yield fifteen hundred pounds. Let that fifteen hundred pounds be reduc'd into Bullion, and sold again, and it will produce eighteen hundred and sixty Pounds: Which eighteen hundred and sixty pounds of weighty Money being reduc'd to Bullion, will still produce one fifth more in weight of Silver, being sold for weighty Money. And thus His Majesty may get at least three hundred and twenty thousand pounds by selling of Bullion for weighty Money, and melting that down into Bullion, as fast as he receives it; till he has brought into his hands the Million and six hundred thousand Pounds, which Mr. Lowndes computes there is of weighty Money left in England.

I doubt not but every one who reads it, will think this a very ridiculous Proposition. But he must think it ridiculous for no other reason, but because he sees 'tis impossible, that Bullion should sell for one fifth above its weight of the same Silver coin'd, that is, that an Ounce of Standard Silver should sell for six Shillings five Pence of our present weighty Money. For if it will, 'tis no ridiculous thing that the King should melt down, and make that profit of his Money.

If our Author's Rule, (p. 78. where he says, *That the only just and reasonable Foot upon which the coins should be current, is the very price of the Silver thereof, in case it be molten in the same place where coins are made current*) be to be observed; our Money is to be raised but an Half-penny, or at most a Penny in five Shillings; for that was the ordinary odds in the price between Bullion and coin'd Silver, before Clipping had deprived us, in Commerce, of all our mill'd and weighty Money. And Silver in Standard Bullion would not be in value one jot above the same Silver in Coin, if clipp'd Money were not current by Tale, and coin'd Silver (as Mr. Lowndes proposes, p. 73.) as well as Bullion, had the liberty of Exportation. For when we have no clipp'd Money, but all our current coin is Weight, according to the Standard, all the odds of value that Silver in Bullion has to Silver in Coin, is only owing to the Prohibition of its Exportation in Money; and never rises, nor can rise, above what the Goldsmith shall estimate the risque and trouble of melting it down; which is so little, that the Importers of Silver could never raise it to above a penny an Ounce, but at such times as the East-India Company, or some foreign Sale, calling for a great quantity of Silver at a time, made the Goldsmiths scramble for it; and so the Importers of Bullion raise its price upon them, according to the present need of great quantities of Silver, which

which every Goldsmith (eager to ingross to himself as much as he could) was content to pay high for, rather than go without: His present gains from those whom he furnish'd, and whom otherwise he could not furnish, making him amends.

The natural value then between Silver in Bullion, and in Coin, is (I say) every where equal; bating the charge of Coinage, which gives the advantage to the side of the Coin. The ordinary odds here in *England*, between Silver in Bullion, and the same in our Coin, is by reason that the Stamp hinders its free Exportation about a penny in the Crown. The accidental difference, by reason of sudden occasions, is sometimes (but rarely) two pence in five Shillings, or somewhat more in great urgencies. And since the ordinary rate of things is to be taken as the measure of their Price, and Mr. Lowndes tells us, p. 78. That if the value of the Silver in the coins should be raised above the Value, or Market Price, of the same Silver reduced to Bullion, the Subject would be proportionably injured and defrauded; I leave him to make the Inference, what will be the consequence in *England*, if our coin be raised here one fifth, or twenty per Cent.

Mr. Lowndes says farther, p. 80. That Silver has a Price. I answer; Silver to Silver can have no other Price, but Quantity for Quantity. If there be any other difference in Value, it is or can be nothing but one of these two: First, Either the value of the labour employ'd about one parcel of Silver more than another, makes a difference in their Price; and thus fashion'd Plate sells for more than its weight of the same Silver; and in Countries where the Owners pay for the Coinage, Silver in coin is more worth than its weight in Bullion; but here, where the Publick pays the Coinage, they are of very near equal Value, when there is no need of Exportation: For then there is no more odds than the trouble of carrying the Bullion to the Mint, and fetching again, is worth; or the charge of refining so much of it, as will bring it to Standard, if it be worse than Standard.

Or Secondly, Some Privilege belonging to one parcel of Silver which is denied to another, viz. Here in *England* a liberty of Exportation allowed to Silver in Bullion, denied to Silver stamp'd. This, when there is need of Exportation of Silver, gives some small advantage of value to uncoin'd Silver here, above coin'd; but that is ordinarily very inconsiderable; and can never reach to one fifth, nor half one fifth, as has been already shewn. And this I think will answer all that is said about the price of Silver in that place.

'Tis true what Mr. Lowndes says in the next words, p. 81. That five Shillings coin'd upon the Foot proposed, will actually contain more real and intrinsic value of Silver by a great deal, than is in the current Money now commonly applied to the Payment of the said Rents, Revenues and Debts. But will he hence conclude, because there is now lost in those Rents, Revenues and Debts, a great deal more than twenty per Cent. under the present irregularity of our Coin, and the Robbery in clipp'd Money, without any the least neglect or miscarriage in the Owner that intitled him to that loss, that therefore it is just that the loss of twenty per Cent. be establish'd on him by Law for the future, in the reforming of our Coin?

Mr. Lowndes's second reason for lessening our coin we have p. 82. in these words, The value of the Silver in the coin ought to be raised, to encourage the bringing of Bullion to the Mint to be coin'd. This raising of Money is in effect, as has been seen, nothing but giving a Denomination of more Pence to the same quantity of Silver, viz. That the same quantity of Silver shall hereafter be called seventy-five Pence, which is now called but sixty Pence. For that is all is done: As is manifest, when a Crown piece which now goes but for sixty Pence, shall be made to go for seventy five Pence; for 'tis plain, it contains nothing of Silver or worth in it, more than it did before. Let us suppose, that all our Silver Coin now in *England* were Six-pences, Shillings, Half-crowns and Crowns, all mill'd Money full weight according to the present Standard; and that it should be ordered, that for the future, the Crown-piece instead of going for sixty Pence, should go for seventy five Pence, and so proportionably of all the other Pieces, I ask then, how such a change of Denomination shall bring Bullion to the Mint to be coin'd, and from whence? I suppose this change of Names, or ascribing to it more imaginary parts of any Denomination, has no Charms in it to bring Bullion to the Mint to be Coin'd: For whether you call the piece coin'd twelve Pence, or fifteen Pence, or sixty or seventy five, a Crown or a Scepter, it will buy no more Silk, Salt or Bread than

it would before. That therefore cannot tempt People to bring it to the Mint. And if it will pay more Debt, that is perfect Defrauding, and ought not to be permitted. Next, I ask, from whence shall this raising fetch it? For Bullion cannot be brought hither to stay here, whilst the balance of our Trade requires all the Bullion we bring in, to be exported again, and more Silver out of our former Stock with it, to answer our exigencies beyond Seas. And whilst it is so, the Goldsmiths and returners of Money will give more for Bullion to export, than the Mint can give for it to coin; and so none of that will come to the Mint.

But says our Author, p. 83. *An Half-penny an Ounce Profit, which will be in the proposed Coin, above the present price of Sterling Bullion, will be an encouragement to those who have English Plate, to bring it in to be coin'd.* I doubt whether there will be any such Profit; for I imagine that Standard Bullion cannot now be bought per Ounce for six Shillings and five Pence of our clipp'd running Cash, which is the Measure whereby Mr. Lowndes determines of the price of Sterling Silver. But taking this Half-penny an Ounce profit for granted, it will not bring to the Mint any Plate, whose fashion is valued by the Owner at above an Half-penny per Ounce; and how much then it is like to bring to the Mint, is easie to guess.

The true and only good reason that brings Bullion to the Mint to be coin'd, is the same that brings it to *England* to stay there, viz. The gain we make by an over-balance of Trade. When our Merchants carry Commodities abroad, to a greater value than those they bring home, the over-plus comes to them in foreign Coin or Bullion, which will stay here, when we gain by the Balance of our whole Trade. For then we can have no Debts beyond Sea to be paid with it: In this thriving posture of our Trade, those to whose share this Bullion falls, not having any use of it whilst it is in Bullion, choose to carry it to the Mint to have it coin'd there, whereby it is of more use to them for all the business of Silver in Trade, or purchasing Land; the Mint having ascertained the weight and fineness of it: So that on any occasion, every one is ready to take it at its known Value, without any scruple; a convenience that is wanting in Bullion. But when our Trade runs on the other side, and our Exported Commodities will not pay for those foreign ones we consume, our Treasure must go; and then it is in vain to bestow the labour of coining on Bullion that must be exported again. To what purpose is it to make it pass through our Mint, when it will away? The less pains and charge it costs us, the better.

His third reason p. 83. is, that this raising our Coin by making it *more in tale* will make it more commensurate to the general need thereof, and thereby hinder the increase of hazardous Paper-credit, and the inconveniency of Bartering.

Just as the Boy cut his Leather into five Quarters (as he called them) to cover his Ball, when cut into four Quarters it fell short: But after all his pains, as much of his Ball lay bare as before, If the quantity of coin'd Silver employ'd in *England* falls short, the arbitrary denomination of a greater number of Pence given to it, or which is all one, to the several coin'd pieces of it, will not make it commensurate to the size of our Trade, or the greatness of our occasions. This is as certain, as that if the quantity of a Board which is to stop a Leak of a Ship fifteen Inches square, be but twelve Inches square, it will not be made to do it, by being measured by a Foot that is divided into fifteen Inches instead of Twelve, and so having a larger *Tale* or number of Inches in Denomination given to it.

This indeed would be a convincing Reason, if sounds would give weight to Silver, and the noise of a greater number of pence (less in quantity proportionably as they are more in number) were a larger supply of Money, which our Author p. 84. says our occasions require, and which he by an increase of the *Tale* of pence hopes to provide. But that Mistake is very visible, and shall be farther shewn in the business of Bartering.

The Necessity of Trust and Bartering is one of the many Inconveniencies springing from the want of Money. This Inconvenience, the multiplying arbitrary Denominations, will no more supply, nor any ways make our Scarcity of Coin commensurate to the need there is of it, than if the Cloth which was provided for clothing the Army, falling short, one should hope to make it commensurate to that need there is of it, by measuring it by a Yard one fifth shorter than the Standard, or changing the Standard of the Yard, and so getting the full Denomination of Yards, necessary according to the present Measure. For this is

all

all will be done by raising our Coin, as is proposed. All it amounts to, is no more but this, *viz.* That each Piece, and consequently our whole Stock of Money, should be measured and denominated by a Penny, one fifth less than the Standard.

Where there is not coin'd Silver in proportion to the Value of the Commodities that daily change Owners in Trade, there is a necessity of Trust, or Bartering; *i. e.* changing Commodities for Commodities, without the Intervention of Money. For Example, let us suppose in *Bermudas* but an hundred Pounds in ready Money, but that there is every Day there a transferring of Commodities from one Owner to another, to the Value of double as much. When the Money is all got into Hands that have already bought all that they have need of for that Day, whoever has need of any thing else that Day, must either go on tick, or barter for it; *i. e.* give the Commodities he can best spare for the Commodities he wants, *v. g.* Sugar for Bread, &c. Now 'tis evident here, that changing the Denomination of the Coin they already have in *Bermudas*, or Coining it over again under new Denominations, will not contribute in the least towards the removing this Necessity of Trust or Bartering. For the whole Silver they have in Coin, being but four hundred Ounces; and the Exchange of the Commodities made in a distance of time, wherein this Money is paid, not above once, being to the Value of eight hundred Ounces of Silver; 'tis plain that one half of the Commodities that shift Hands, must of Necessity be taken upon Credit, or exchanged by Barter; those who want them, having not Money to pay for them. Nor can any Alteration of the Coin, or Denomination of these four hundred Ounces of Silver, help this; because the Value of the Silver, in respect of other Commodities, will not thereby be at all increased; And the Commodities changed, being (as in the Case) double in Value to the four hundred Ounces of coin'd Silver to be laid out in them; nothing can supply this Want but a double Quantity, *i. e.* eight hundred Ounces of coin'd Silver; how denominated it matters not, so there be a fit Proportion of small Pieces to supply small Payments.

Suppose the Commodities passing every Day in *England*, in Markets and Fairs, between Strangers, or such as trust not one another, were to the Value of a Million of Ounces of Silver; and there was but half a Million of Ounces of coin'd Silver in the Hands of those who wanted those Commodities; 'tis Demonstration they must truck for them, or go without them. If then the coin'd Silver of *England* be not sufficient to answer the Value of Commodities moving in Trade amongst us, Credit or Barter must do it. Where the Credit and Money fail, Barter alone must do it: Which being introduced by the want of a greater Plenty of coin'd Silver, nothing but a greater Plenty of coin'd Silver can remove it. The Increase of Denomination does, or can do nothing in the case: For 'tis Silver by its Quantity, and not Denomination, that is the price of things, and measure of Commerce; and 'tis the Weight of Silver in it, and not the Name of the Piece that Men estimate Commodities by, and exchange them for.

If this be not so, when the Necessity of our Affairs abroad, or ill Husbandry at home, has carried away half our Treasure, and a Moiety of our Money is gone out of *England*; 'tis but to issue a Proclamation, That a Penny shall go for Twopence, Sixpence for a Shilling, Half a Crown for a Crown, &c. and immediately without any more ado we are as rich as before. And when half the Remainder is gone, 'tis but doing the same thing again, and raising the Denomination anew, and we are where we were, and so on: Where by supposing the Denomination raised $\frac{1}{5}$, every Man will be as rich with an Ounce of Silver in his Purse as he was before when he had sixteen Ounces there; and in as great Plenty of Money, able to carry on his Trade, without bartering; his Silver, by this short way of raising, being chang'd into the Value of Gold: For when Silver will buy sixteen times as much Wine, Oyl, and Bread, &c. to Day, as it would Yesterday, (all other things remaining the same but the Denomination) it hath the real worth of Gold.

This, I guess, every body sees cannot be so. And yet this must be so, if it be true, that raising the Denomination one fifth can supply the want, or one jot raise the Value of Silver in respect of other Commodities, *i. e.* make a less Quantity of it to Day, buy a greater Quantity of Corn, Oyl and Cloth, and all other Commodities, than it would Yesterday, and thereby remove the Necessity of Bartering.

tering. For if raising the Denomination can thus raise the Value of Coin in Exchange for other Commodities one fifth, by the same reason it can raise it two fifths, and afterwards three fifths, and again, if need be, four fifths, and as much farther as you please. So that by this admirable Contrivance of raising our Coin, we shall be as rich, and as well able to support the Charge of the Government, and carry on our Trade without Bartering, or any other Inconvenience, for want of Money, with sixty thousand Ounces of coin'd Silver in *England*, as if we had six or sixty Millions. If this be not so, I desire any one to shew me, why the same way of raising the Denomination, which can raise the Value of Money in respect of other Commodities, one fifth, cannot when you please raise it another fifth, and so on? I beg to be told where it must stop, and why at such a Degree, without being able to go farther.

It must be taken notice of, that the raising I speak of here, is the raising of the Value of our Coin in respect of other Commodities (as I call it all along) in Contradistinction to raising the Denomination. The confounding of these in Discourses concerning Money, is one great Cause, I suspect, that this Matter is so little understood, and so often talk'd of with so little Information of the Hearers.

A Penny is a Denomination no more belonging to eight than to eighty, or to one single Grain of Silver: And so it is not necessary that there should be sixty such Pence, no more nor less, in an Ounce of Silver, *i. e.* twelve in a piece call'd a Shilling, and sixty in a piece call'd a Crown; such like Divisions being only extrinsecal Denominations, are every where perfectly arbitrary. For here in *England* there might as well have been twelve Shillings in a Penny, as twelve Pence in a Shilling, *i. e.* the Denomination of the less piece might have been a Shilling, and of the bigger a Penny. Again, the Shilling might have been coined ten times as big as the Penny, and the Crown ten times as big as the Shilling; whereby the Shilling would have but ten Pence in it, and the Crown an hundred. But this, however order'd, alters not one jot the Value of the Ounce of Silver in respect of other things, any more than it does its Weight. This raising being but given of Names at pleasure to aliquot parts of any piece, *viz.* that now the sixtieth part of an Ounce of Silver shall be call'd a Penny, and to morrow that the seventy fifth part of an Ounce of Silver shall be call'd a Penny, may be done with what Increase you please. And thus it may be order'd by a Proclamation, That a Shilling shall go for twenty four Pence, an Halfcrown for sixty instead of thirty Pence, and so of the rest. But that an Halfcrown should be worth, or contain, sixty such Pence as the Pence were before this change of Denomination was made, that no Power on Earth can do. Nor can any Power (but that which can make the Plenty or Scarcity of Commodities) raise the Value of our Money thus double, in respect of other Commodities, and make that the same piece, or quantity of Silver, under a double Denomination, shall purchase double the quantity of Pepper, Wine or Lead, an instant after such Proclamation, to what it would do an instant before. If this could be, we might, as every one fees, raise Silver to the Value of Gold, and make our selves as rich as we pleased. But 'tis but going to Market with an Ounce of Silver of one hundred and twenty Pence, to be convinc'd that it will purchase no more than an Ounce of Silver of sixty Pence. And the ringing of the piece will as soon purchase more Commodities as its change of Denomination, and the multiply'd Name of Pence, when it is called sixscore instead of sixty.

'Tis propos'd, that the twelve Pence should be raised to fifteen Pence, and the Crown to seventy five Pence, and so proportionably of the rest: But yet that the Pound Sterling should not be raised. If there be any Advantage in raising, why should not that be raised too? And as the Crown-piece is raised from sixty to seventy five Pence, why should not the Pound Sterling be raised in the same proportion, from two hundred and forty Pence, to three hundred Pence?

Farther, If this raising our Coin can so stretch our Money, and enlarge our pared Remainder of it, as to make it more commensurate to the general need thereof, for carrying on the common Traffick and Commerce of the Nation, and to answer Occasions requiring a larger Supply of Money, as Mr. Lowndes tells us in his third Reason, p. 83. Why are we so niggardly to our selves in this time of Occasion, as to stop at one fifth? Why do we not raise it one full Moiety, and thereby double our Money? If Mr. Lowndes's Rule, p. 78. That if the Value of the Silver in the Coin, should

should be raised above the Market-price of the same Silver reduced to Bullion; the Subject would be proportionably injur'd and defrauded, must keep us from these Advantages, and the publick Care of Justice stop the raising of the Money at one fifth, because if our Money be raised beyond the Market-price of Bullion, it will be so much defrauding of the Subject: I then say it must not be raised one fifth, nor half one fifth, that is, it must not be raised fifteen Pence in the Crown; no nor five Pence. For I deny that the Market-price of Standard Bullion ever was, or ever can be five Shillings seven Pence, of lawful weighty Money, the Ounce: So that if our present mill'd Money be raised one fifth, the Subjects will, by Mr. Lowndes's Rule, be defrauded sixteen per Cent. nay, above eighteen per Cent. For the Market-price of Standard Bullion being ordinarily under five Shillings four Pence the Ounce, when sold for weighty Money (which is but one thirtieth) whatever our present mill'd Money is rais'd above one thirtieth, it is by Mr. Lowndes's Rule so much defrauding the Subject. For the Market-price of any thing, and so of Bullion, is to be taken from its ordinary rate all the Year round; and not from the extraordinary rise of two or three Market-days in a Year. And that the Market-price of Standard Silver was not found, nor pretended to be above five Shillings and four Pence the Ounce, before clipping had left none but light running Cash to pay for Bullion, or any thing else, is evident from a Paper then published, which I took the Liberty to examine in my *Consideration of the Consequences of raising the Value of Money*, &c. printed 1692. The Author of that Paper, 'tis manifest, was not ignorant of the price of Silver, nor had a design to lessen its rate, set down the highest price it then bore.

If then Mr. Lowndes's Rule of Justice, and Care of the Subject, be to regulate the rise of our mill'd Money, it must not be raised above one thirtieth part. If the Advantages he promises, of making our Money, by raising it one fifth, more commensurate to the general need thereof, be to be laid hold on, 'tis reasonable to raise it higher, to make it yet more commensurate to the general need there is of it. Which ever of the two Mr. Lowndes will prefer, either reason of State, or rule of Justice, one fifth must not be his Measure of raising our present mill'd Money. If the Advantage of making our Money more proportionate to our Trade, and other Necessities, be to govern its proposed raising, every one will cry out to Mr. Lowndes, If your way will do what you say, the raising it one half will be much better than one fifth, and therefore pray let an Halfcrown be raised to a Crown, and a Sixpence to a Shilling. If Equity, and the Consideration of the Subjects Property ought to govern in the Case, you must not raise our mill'd Crown to above five Shillings and four Pence.

If it here be said to me, that I do then allow that our Money may be raised one thirtieth, i. e. that the Crown-piece should be raised to five Shillings and two Pence, and so proportionably of the other Species of our Coin; I answer, he that infers so, makes his Inference a little too quick.

But let us for once allow the ordinary price of Standard Silver to be five Shillings four Pence the Ounce, to be paid for in weighty Coin (for that must always be remembered, when we talk of the rate of Bullion) and that the rate of Bullion is the just Measure of raising our Money. This I say is no reason for the raising our mill'd Crown now to five Shillings four Pence, and recoinning all our clipp'd Money upon that Foot; unless we intend, as soon as that is done, to new raise, and coin it again. For whilst our Trade and Affairs abroad require the Exportation of Silver, and the Exportation of our coin'd Silver is prohibited, and made penal by our Law, Standard Bullion will always be sold here for a little more than its weight of coin'd Silver. So that if we shall endeavour to equal our weighty coin'd Silver to Standard Bullion, by raising it, whilst there is a Necessity of the Exportation of Silver, we shall do no otherwise than a Child, who runs to overtake and get up to the top of his Shadow, which still advances at the same rate that he does. The Privilege that Bullion has, to be exported freely, will give it a little Advance in price above our Coin, let the Denomination of that be raised or fallen as you please, whilst there is need of its Exportation, and the Exportation of our Coin is prohibited by Law. But this Advance will be but little, and will always keep within the Bounds which the risque and trouble of melting down our Coin shall set to it in the estimate of the Exporter. He that will rather venture to throw an hundred Pound into his Melting-pot, when no body sees him, and reduce

reduce it to Bullion, than give an hundred and five Pounds for the same Weight of the like Bullion, will never give five Shillings and five Pence of mill'd Money for an Ounce of Standard Bullion; nor buy at that Price, what he can have near five *per Cent.* cheaper, without any risque, if he will not accuse himself. And I think it may be concluded, that very few, who have Furnaces, and other Conveniencies ready for melting Silver, will give one *per Cent.* for Standard Bullion, which is under five Shillings and three Pence *per Ounce*, who can only for the trouble of melting it, reduce our Coin to as good Bullion.

The odds of the price in Bullion to Coin on this Account (which is the only one, where the Coin is kept to the Standard) can never be a reason for raising our Coin to preserve it from melting down: Because this price above its weight is given for Bullion, only to avoid melting down our Coin; and so this Difference of price between Standard Bullion and our Coin, can be no cause of its melting down.

These three Reasons which I have examin'd, contain the great Advantages, which our Author supposes the propos'd raising of our Coin will produce. And therefore I have dwelt longer upon them. His remaining six Reasons being of less moment, and offering most of them, but some circumstantial Conveniencies, as to the Computation of our Money, &c. I shall more briefly pass over. Only before I proceed to them, I shall here set down the different Value of our Money, collected from our Author's History of the several Changes of our Coin, since *Edward the First's* Reign, quite down to this present time. A curious History indeed, for which I think my self and the World indebted to Mr. *Lowndes's* great Learning in this sort of Knowledge, and his great Exactness in relating the Particulars.

I shall remark only the Quantity of Silver was in a Shilling in each of those Changes; that so the Reader may at first sight, without farther trouble, compare the lessening, or Increase of the Quantity of Silver upon every Change. For in Propriety of Speech, the adding to the Quantity of Silver in our Coin, is the true raising of its Value; and the diminishing the Quantity of Silver in it, is the sinking of its Value; however they come to be transpos'd, and used in the quite contrary Sense.

If my Calculations, from the Weight and Fineness I find set down in Mr. *Lowndes's* Extract out of the Indentures of the Mint, have not misled me, the Quantity of Silver to a Grain, which was in a Shilling in every Change of our Money, is set down in the following Table.

One Shilling contain'd of fine Silver

			Grains.
28	Edw.	1	264
18	Edw.	3	236
27	Edw.	3	213
9	Hen.	5	176
1	Hen.	6	142
4	Hen.	6	176
49	Hen.	6	142
1	Hen.	8	118
34	Hen.	8	100
36	Hen.	8	60
37	Hen.	8	40
3	Edw.	6	40
5	Edw.	6	20
6	Edw.	6	88
2	Eliz.		89
43	Eliz.		86

And so it has remained from the 43d Year of Queen *Elizabeth* to this Day.

Mr. *Lowndes's* 69

Mr. *Lowndes* having given us the Fineness of the Standard Silver in every Reign, and the Number of Pieces a Pound *Troy* was coin'd into, closes this History with Words

Words to this purpose, p. 56. *By this Deduction it doth evidently appear, that it hath been a Policy constantly practised in the Mints of England, to raise the Value of the Coin in its extrinsick Denomination from time to time, as any Exigence or Occasion required, and more especially to encourage the bringing of Bullion into the Realm to be coin'd.* This indeed is roundly to conclude for his Hypothesis. But I could wish, that from the Histories of those Times, wherein the several Changes were made, he had shew'd us the Exigencies and Occasions that produced the raising of the Coin, and what Effects it had.

If I mistake not, Henry the VIIIth's several raisings of our Coin, brought little Increase of Silver into England. As the several Species of our Coin lessen'd in their respective Quantities of Silver; so the Treasure of the Realm decreased too: And he that found the Kingdom rich, did not, as I remember, by all his raising our Coin, leave it so.

Another thing, (that from this History) makes me suspect that the raising the Denomination was never found effectively to draw Silver into England, is the lowering the Denomination, or adding more Silver to the several Species of our Coin, as in Hen. VI's time, the Shilling was increased from one hundred forty two Grains of Silver, to one hundred seventy six. And in the sixth of Edw. VI. in whose time raising the Denomination seems to have been tried to the utmost, when a Shilling was brought to twenty Grains of Silver. And the great Alteration that was then quickly made on the other Hand, from twenty to eighty Grains at one leap, seems to shew that this lessening the Silver in our Coin, had proved highly prejudicial: For this is a greater Change in sinking of the Denomination in Proportion, than ever was made at once in raising it; a Shilling being made four times weightier in Silver the sixth, than it was in the fifth Year of Edw. VI's Reign.

Kingdoms are seldom found weary of the Riches they have, or averse to the Increase of their Treasure. If therefore the raising the Denomination did in reality bring Silver into the Realm, it cannot be thought that they would at any time sink the Denomination, which by the Rule of Contraries should be at least suspected to drive, or keep it out.

Since therefore we are not from Matter of Fact informed, what were the true Motives that caused those several Changes in the Coin; may we not with Reason suspect that they were owing to that Policy of the Mint, set down by our Author p. 83. in these Words, that the *proposed Advance is agreeable to the Policy that in past Ages hath been practised, not only in our Mint, but in the Mints of all Politick Governments; namely, to raise the Value of Silver in the Coin, to promote the Work of the Mint?* As I remember, suitable to this Policy of the Mint, there was, some two Years since, a Complaint of a worthy Gentleman, not ignorant of it, that the Mill in the Mint stood still; and therefore there was a Proposal offer'd for bringing Grist to the Mill.

The Business of Money, as in all times, even in this our quick-sighted Age, hath been thought a Mystery: Those employ'd in the Mint must, by their Places, be supposed to penetrate deepest into it. 'Tis no impossible thing then to imagine, that it was not hard, in the Ignorance of past Ages, when Money was little, and Skill in the turns of Trade less, for those versed in the Business and Policy of the Mint, to persuade a Prince, especially if Money were scarce, that the Fault was in the Standard of the Mint, and that the way to increase the Plenty of Money, was to raise (a well-sounding Word) the Value of the Coin. This could not but be willingly enough hearkned to; when, besides the Hopes of drawing an Increase of Silver into the Realm, it brought present Gain by the part which the King got of the Money, which was hereupon all coined anew, and the Mint Officers lost nothing, since it promoted the Work of the Mint.

This Opinion Mr. Lowndes himself gives sufficient ground for in his Book, particularly p. 29. where we read these Words, *Although the former Debasements of the Coins by publick Authority, especially those in the Reign of King Henry VIII. and King Edward VI. might be projected for the Profit of the Crown, and the Projectors might measure that Profit by the excessive Quantities of Alloy that were mixed with the Silver and the Gold (and let me add, or by the Quantity of Silver lessened in each Species, which is the same thing.) And though this was enterprized by a Prince, who could stretch his Prerogative very far upon his People; and was done in Times when the Nation had very little Commerce, inland or foreign, to be injured and prejudiced thereby; yet Ex-*

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perience presently shewed, that the Projectors were mistaken, and that it was absolutely necessary to have the base Money reformed. This at least they were not mistaken in, that they brought Work to the Mint, and a part of the Money coin'd to the Crown for Seigniorage; in both which there was Profit. Mr. Lowndes tells us, p. 44. That Henry VIII. had to the Value of fifty Shillings for every Pound Weight of Gold coin'd. I have met with it somewhere, that formerly the King might take what he pleased for Coinage. I know not too but the flattering Name of raising Money might prevail then as it does now; and impose so far on them, as to make them think, the raising, i. e. diminishing the Silver in their Coin, would bring it into the Realm, or stay it here when they found it going out. For if we may guess at the other, by Henry VIII's raising, it was probably when, by reason of Expence in foreign Wars, or ill managed Trade, they found Money begin to grow scarce.

The having the Species of our Coin one fifth bigger, or one fifth less than they are at present, would be neither good nor harm to England, if they had always been so. Our Standard has continued in Weight and Fineness just as it is now, for very near this hundred Years last past: And those who think the Denomination and Size of our Money have any Influence on the State of our Wealth, have no reason to change the present Standard of our Coin; since under that we have had a greater Increase, and longer Continuance of Plenty of Money, than perhaps any other Country can shew; I see no reason to think, that a little bigger or less Size of the pieces coin'd, is of any Moment one way or t'other. The Species of Money in any Country, of whatsoever Sizes, fit for Coining, if their Proportions to one another be suited to Arithmetick and Calculations, in whole Numbers, and the ways of Account in that Country; if they are adapted to small Payments, and carefully kept to their just Weight and Fineness, can have no Harm in them. The Harm comes by the Change, which unreasonably and unjustly gives away and transfers Mens Properties, disorders Trade, puzzles Accounts, and needs a new Arithmetick to cast up Reckonings, and keep Accounts in; besides a thousand other Inconveniencies; not to mention the Charge of re-coining the Money. For this may be depended on, that if our Money be raised as is proposed, it will enforce the re-coining of all our Money, both old and new, (except the new Shillings) to avoid the terrible Difficulty and Confusion there will be in keeping Accounts in Pounds, Shillings, and Pence, (as they must be) when the Species of our Money are so ordered, as not to answer those Denominations in round Numbers.

This Consideration leads me to Mr. Lowndes's fifth and sixth Reasons, p. 85. wherein he recommends the raising our Money in the Proportion proposed, for its Convenience, to our accounting by Pounds, Shillings, and Pence. And for obviating Perplexity among the common People, he proposes the present weighty Crown to go at six Shillings three Pence; and the new Scepter or Unite to be coin'd of the same weight, to go at the same rate; and Half-Crowns, Half-Scepters, or Half-Unites, of the weight of the present Half-Crown, to go for two Shillings seven Pence Half-Penny: By no Number of which Pieces can there be made an even Pound Sterling, or any Number of even Shillings under a Pound; but they always fall into Fractions of Pounds and Shillings, as may be seen by this following Table.

1	Half-Crown, Half-Scepter, or Half-Unite Piece	3	11½
1	Crown, Scepter, or Unite Piece	6	3
3	Half-Crown Pieces	9	4½
2	Crown Pieces	12	6
5	Half-Crown Pieces	15	7½
3	Crown Pieces	18	9
7	Half-Crown Pieces	21	10½
4	Crown Pieces	24	12

The present Shilling, and new Testoon, going for fifteen Pence, no Number of them make any Number of even Shillings, but five Shillings, ten Shillings, fifteen Shillings, and twenty Shillings; but in all the rest, they always fall into Fractions.

The like may be said of the present Six-Pences, and future half Testoons going for seven Pence Half-Penny; the quarter Testoons, which are to go for three Pence

three Farthings; and the Gross and Groats, which are to go for five Pence; the half Gross or Groat, which is to go for two Pence Halfpenny; and the Prime, which is to go for a Penny Farthing: Out of any tale of each of which Species there can no just Number of Shillings be made, as I think, but five Shillings, ten Shillings, fifteen Shillings, and twenty Shillings; but they always fall into Fractions. The new intended Shilling alone seems to be suited to our accounting in Pounds, Shillings and Pence. The great Pieces, as Scepters, and Half-Scepters, which are made to serve for the Payment of greater Sums, and are for dispatch in Tale, will not in Tale fall into even Pounds. And I fear it will puzzle a better Arithmetician, than most Country-men are, to tell, without Pen and Ink, how many of the lesser pieces (except the Shillings) however combined, will make just sixteen or seventeen Shillings. And I imagine there is not one Country-man of three, but may have it for his Pains, if he can tell an hundred Pounds made up of a promiscuous Mixture of the Species of this new raised Money (excluding the Shillings) in a days time. And that which will help to confound him, and every body else, will be the old Crowns, Half-crowns, Shillings, and Six-pences current for new numbers of Pence. So that I take it for granted, that if our coin be raised, as is proposed, not only all our clipp'd, but all our weighty and mill'd Money must of necessity be recoin'd too; if you would not have Trade disturbed, and People more diseased with new Money, which they cannot tell, nor keep Accounts in, than with light and clipp'd Money, which they are cheated with. And what a Charge the new coining of all our Money will be to the Nation, I have computed in another place.

* That I think is of some Consideration in our present Circumstances, though the Confusion that this new raised Money, I fear, is like to introduce; and the want of Money, and stop of Trade, when the clipp'd is called in, and the weighty is to be recoin'd; be of much greater.

* Vid. short Observations on a Paper entitled, For encouraging Coining, &c. p. 8.

His Fourth, Eighth, and Ninth Reasons, p. 84. and 86. are taken from the favouring our present mill'd Money from being cut and recoin'd. The End I confess to be good. 'Tis very reasonable, that so much excellent Coin, as good as ever was in the World, should not be destroyed. But there is, I think, a surer and easier way to preserve it, than what Mr. Lowndes proposes. 'Tis past doubt, it will be in no danger of recoining, if our Money be kept upon the present Foot: But if it be raised, as Mr. Lowndes proposes, all the present mill'd Money will be in danger, and the difficulty of counting it upon the new proposed Foot will inforce it to be recoin'd into new pieces of Crowns, Half-Crowns, Shillings, and six pences, that may pass for the same Number of Pence the present do, viz. 60. 30. 12. and 6. as I have above shewn. He says in his Fourth Reason, that if pieces having the same Bigness, should have different Values, it might be difficult for the common People (especially those not skill'd in Arithmetick) to compute how many of one kind will be equal to the Sum of another. Such Difficulties and Confusion, in counting Money, I agree with him, ought carefully to be avoided. And therefore, since if pieces having the same Bigness and Stamp, which the People are acquainted with, shall have new Values different from those which People are accustomed to; and these new Values shall in Numbers of Pence not answer our way of accounting by Pounds, and Shillings; it will be difficult for the common People (especially those not skill'd in Arithmetick) to compute how many of any one kind will make any Sum they are to pay or receive; especially when the Numbers of any one kind of pieces will be brought into so few even Sums of Pounds, and Shillings. And thus Mr. Lowndes's Argument here turns upon himself, and is against raising our Coin, to the value proposed by him, from the Confusion it will produce.

His 8th Reason, p. 86. we have in these Words, It is difficult to conceive how any Design of amending the clipp'd Money, can be compassed without raising the Value of the Silver remaining in them, because of the great Deficiency of the Silver clipp'd away (which upon recoining) must necessarily be defraid and born one way or other.

'Tis no Difficulty to conceive, that clipp'd Money, being not lawful Money, should be prohibited to pass for more than its Weight. Next, it is no Difficulty to conceive, that clipp'd Money, passing for no more than its Weight, and so being in the state of Standard Bullion, which cannot be exported, should be brought to the Mint, and there exchanged for weighty Money. By this way, it is no Difficulty to conceive how the amending the clipp'd Money may be compassed; because this way the Deficiency of the Silver clipp'd away, will certainly be defraid and born one way or other.

And thus I have gone over all Mr. Lowndes's Reasons for raising our Coin: Wherein, though I seem to differ from him, yet I flatter my self, it is not altogether so much as at first sight may appear; since by what I find in another Part of his Book, I have reason to judge he is a great deal of my Mind. For he has five very good Arguments for continuing the present Standard of Fineness, each of which is as strong for continuing also the present Standard of Weight; i. e. continuing a Penny of the same Weight of Standard Silver, which at present it has. He that has a mind to be satisfied of this, may read Mr. Lowndes's first five Reasons for continuing the present Standard of Fineness, which he will find in his 29, 30, 31, 32. Pages of his Report. And when Mr. Lowndes himself has again considered what there is of Weight in them, and how far it reaches, he will at least not think it strange if they appear to me and others, good Arguments against putting less Silver into our coin of the same Denominations, let that Diminution be made what way it will.

What Mr. Lowndes says about Gold Coins, p. 88. &c. appears to me highly rational, and I perfectly agree with him; excepting only that I do not think Gold is in regard of Silver risen one third in England; which I think may be thus made out, a Guinea weighing five Penny Weight and nine Grains, or one hundred and twenty nine Grains; and a Pound Sterling weighing one thousand eight hundred and sixty Grains; a Guinea at twenty Shillings is as one hundred and twenty nine to one thousand eight hundred and sixty; that is, as one to fourteen and an half. A Guinea at two and twenty Shillings, is as one hundred and twenty nine, to two thousand forty two, i. e. as one to sixteen.

A Guinea at thirty Shillings, is as one hundred twenty nine to two thousand seven hundred eighty four, i. e. as one to twenty one and an half, near.

He therefore that receives twenty Shillings mill'd Money for a Guinea, receives one thousand eight hundred and sixty Grains Standard Silver, for one hundred twenty nine Grains of Standard Gold, i. e. fourteen and an half for one.

He who receives two and twenty Shillings mill'd Money for a Guinea, has two thousand forty two Grains Standard Silver, for one hundred twenty nine Grains Standard Gold, i. e. sixteen for one.

He who receives thirty Shillings mill'd Money for a Guinea, has two thousand seven hundred eighty four Grains Standard Silver, for one hundred twenty nine Grains of Gold, i. e. twenty one and an half for one.

But the current Cash being (upon Tryals made about Midsummer last) computed by Mr. Lowndes p. 108. to want half its Standard weight, and not being mended since, it is evident he who receives thirty Shillings of our present clipp'd Money, for a Guinea, has but one thousand three hundred ninety two Grains of Standard Silver, for one hundred twenty nine Grains of Gold, i. e. has but ten and three quarters of Silver for one of Gold.

I have left out the utmost precisions of fractions in these Computations, as not necessary in the present Case, these whole Numbers shewing well enough the difference of the value of Guineas at those several Rates.

If it be true what I here assert, viz. That he who receives thirty Shillings in our current clipp'd Money for a Guinea, receives not eleven Grains of Silver for one of Gold; whereas the value of Gold to Silver in all our Neighbouring Countries is about fifteen to one, which is about a third part more; it will probably be demanded, how comes it to pass that Foreigners, or others, import Gold; when they do not receive as much Silver for it here, as they may have in all other Countries? The reason whereof is visibly this, that they exchange it not here for Silver, but for our Commodities; And our Bargains for Commodities as well as all other Contracts being made in Pounds Shillings and Pence, our clipp'd Money retains amongst the People (who know not how to count but by current Money) a part of its legal Value, whilst it passes for the satisfaction of legal Contracts, as if it were Lawful Money. As long as the King receives it for his Taxes, and the Landlord for his Rent, 'tis no wonder the Farmer and Tenant should receive it for his Commodities. And this perhaps would do well enough, if our Money and Trade were to Circulate only amongst our Selves, and we had no Commerce with the rest of the World, and needed it not. But here lies the Loss, when foreigners shall bring over Gold hither, and with that pay for our Commodities at the rate of thirty Shillings the Guinea, when the same quantity of Gold that is

In a Guinea is not beyond Sea worth more Silver than is in twenty, or one and twenty and six Pence of our mill'd and lawful Money: By which Way of paying for our Commodities *England* loses near One third of the Value of all the Commodities it thus sells. And 'tis all one as if Foreigners paid for them in Money coin'd and clipp'd beyond Sea, wherein was One third less Silver than there ought to be. And thus we lose near One third in all our Exportation, whilst foreign Gold imported is received in Payment for Thirty Shillings a Guinea. To make this appear, we need but trace this way of Commerce a little, and there can be no doubt of the Loss we suffer by it.

Let us suppose, for Example, a Bale of Holland Linnen worth there, One hundred and eighty Ounces of our Standard Silver; and a Bale of Serge here worth also the same Weight of One hundred eighty Ounces of the same Standard Silver: 'Tis evident, these two Bales are exactly of the same Value. Mr. Lowndes tells us, p. 88. *That at this Time the Gold that is in a Guinea (if it were carried to Spain, Italy, Barbary, and some other places,) would not purchase so much Silver there, as is equal to the Standard of twenty of our Shillings, i. e. would be in Value there to Silver scarce as one to fourteen and an half: And I think, I may say, that Gold in Holland is, or lately was, as one to fifteen, or not much above. Taking then Standard Gold in Holland to be in Proportion to Standard Silver, as one to about fifteen, or a little more; twelve Ounces of our Standard Gold, or as much Gold as is in Forty four Guineas and an half, must be given for that Bale of Holland Linen, if any one will pay for it there in Gold: But if he buys that Bale of Serge here for One hundred and eighty Ounces of Silver, which is Forty eight Pounds Sterling, if he pays for it in Gold at Thirty Shillings the Guinea, two and Thirty Guineas will pay for it. So that in all the Goods that we sell beyond Seas for Gold imported, and coin'd into Guineas, unless the Owners raise them One third above what they would sell them for in mill'd Money, we lose twelve in forty four and an half, which is very near One third.*

This Loss is wholly owing to the permitting clipp'd Money in Payment. And this Loss we must unavoidably suffer whilst clipp'd Money is current amongst us. And this robbing of *England* of near One third of the Value of the Commodities we sell out, will continue whilst People had rather receive Guineas at thirty Shillings, than Silver Coin (no other being to be had) that is not worth half what they take it for. And yet this clipp'd Money, as bad as it is, and however unwilling People are to be charged with it, will always have Credit enough to pass, whilst the Goldsmiths and Bankers receive it; and they will always receive it; whilst they can pass it over again to the King with Advantage, and can have hopes to prevail, that at last when it can be born no longer, but must be call'd in, no part of the Loss of light Money, which shall be found in their hands shall fall upon them, though they have for many Years dealt in it, and by reason of its being clipp'd have had all the running Cash of the Kingdom in their Hands, and made profit of it. I say, clipp'd Money, however bad it be, will always pass whilst the King's Receivers, the Bankers of any kind, and at last the Exchequer takes it. For who will not receive clipp'd Money, rather than have none for his necessary Occasions, whilst he sees the great Receipt of the Exchequer admits it, and the Bank and Goldsmiths will take it of him, and give him Credit for it, so that he needs keep no more of it by him than he pleases. In this State, whilst the Exchequer receives clipp'd Money, I do not see how it can be stop'd from passing. A clipp'd Half-Crown that goes at the Exchequer, will not be refused by any one who has hopes by his own or others hands to convey it thither, and who, unless he take it, cannot Trade, or shall not be paid. Whilst therefore the Exchequer is open to clipp'd Money, it will pass, and whilst clipp'd Money passes, Clippers will certainly be at Work; and what a Gap this leaves to Foreigners, if they will make use of it to pour in clipp'd Money upon us (as its Neighbours did into *Portugal*) as long as we have either Goods or weighty Money left to be carried away at fifty *per Cent.* or greater Profit, its easie to see.

I will suppose the King receives clipp'd Money in the Exchequer, and at half or three Quarters Loss coins it into mill'd Money. For if he receives all, how much soever clipp'd, I suppose the Clippers Sheers are not so squeamish as not to pare away above half. 'Twill be a wonderful Conscienciousness in them, no where, that I know to be parallel'd, if they will content themselves with less

Profit

Profit than they can make, and will leave seven Penny worth of Silver in an Half-Crown, if six Penny worth and the Stamp be enough to make it pass for Half a Crown. When his Majesty hath coin'd this into mill'd Money of Standard Weight and paid it out again to the Bankers, Goldsmiths or others, what shall then become of it? either they will lay it up to get rid of their clipp'd Money, for no body will part with heavy Money, whilst he has any light; nor will any heavy Money come abroad whilst there is light left; for whoever has clipp'd Money by him, will sell good Bargains, or borrow at any Rate of those who are willing to part with any weighty, to keep that by him, rather than the clipp'd Money he has in his hands. So that as far as this reaches, no mill'd Money, how much soever be coin'd will appear abroad, or if it does, will it long scape the Coiners and Clippers hands, who will be at Work presently upon it to furnish the Exchequer with more clipp'd Money at fifty, sixty, seventy, or I know not what Advantage? Though this be enough to cut off the Hopes of mill'd Money appearing in Payments whilst any clipp'd is current; yet to this we may add, that Gold imported at an over-value will sweep it away as fast as it is coin'd whilst clipp'd Money keeps up the rate of Guineas above their former Value. This will be the Circulation of our Money, whilst clipp'd is permitted any way to be current. And if store enough of clipp'd Money from at home or abroad, can be but provided (as 'tis more than probable it may now the Trade is so universal, and has been so long practis'd with great Advantage, and no great Danger, as appears by the few have suffer'd in regard of the great Number 'tis evident are engaged in the Trade, and the Vent of it here in *England* is so known and sure) I do not see how in a little while we shall have any Money or Goods at all left in *England*, if clipping be not immediately stopp'd. And how clipping can be stopp'd, but by an immediate positive Prohibition, whereby all clipp'd Money shall be forbid to pass in any Payment whatsoever, or to pass for more than its Weight, I would be glad to learn. Clipping is the great Leak, which for some time past has contributed more to sink us, than all the Force of our Enemies could do. 'Tis like a Breach in the Sea-bank, which widens every Moment till it be stopp'd. And my tremendous Temper must be pardon'd if I am frighted with the Thoughts of clipp'd Money being current one moment longer, at any other Value but of warranted Standard Bullion. And therefore there can be nothing more true and reasonable, nor that deserves better to be consider'd, than what Mr Lowndes say in his Corollary p. 90.

Whoever desires to know the different ways of coining Money by the Hammer and by the Mill, may inform himself in the exact Account Mr. Lowndes has given of both, under his second general Head: Where he may also see the probablest Guess that has been made of the Quantity of our clipp'd Money, and the Silver deficient in it; and an Account of what Silver Money was coin'd in the Reigns of Q. Elizabeth, K. James 1st. and Charles 1st. more exact than is to be had any where else. There is only one thing which I shall mention, since Mr. Lowndes does it here again under this Head p. 100. and that is, melting down our Coin; concerning which I shall venture humbly to propose these following Questions.

1. Whether Bullion be any thing but Silver, whose Workmanship has no Value?
2. Whether that Workmanship, which can be had for nothing, has or can have any Value?
3. Whether, whilst the Money in our Mint is coin'd for the Owners, without any cost to them, our Coin can ever have any Value above any Standard Bullion?
4. Whether, whilst our Coin is not of Value above Standard Bullion, Goldsmiths and others, who have need of Standard Silver, will not take what is by the free Labour of the Mint ready essay'd and adjusted to their Use, and melt that down, than be at the trouble of melting mixing and essaying of Silver for the Uses they have?
5. Whether the only Cure for this wanton, though criminal melting down our Coin, be not, that the Owners should pay one Moiety of the Sixteen-pence Half-penny, which is paid per Pound Troy for Coinage of Silver, which the King now pays all?
6. Whether by this means Standard Silver in Coin will not be more worth than Standard Silver in Bullion, and so be preserved from this wanton melting down, as soon as an overbalance of our Trade shall bring us Silver to stay here?

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for till then it is in vain to think of preserving our Coin from melting down, and therefore to no Purpose till then to change that Law.

7. Whether any Laws, or any Penalties can keep our Coin from being carried out, when Debts contracted beyond Seas call for it?

8. Whether it be any odds to *England*, whether it be carried out, melted down into Bullion, or in Specie?

9. Whether, whilst the Exigences of our Occasions and Trade call for it abroad it will not always be melted down for the conveniency of Exportation, so long as the Law prohibits its Exportation in Specie?

10. Whether Standard Silver in Coin and in Bullion, will not immediately be of the same Value as soon as the Prohibition of carrying out Money in Specie is taken off?

11. Whether an Ounce of Silver the more would be carried out in a Year, if that Prohibition were taken off?

12. Whether Silver in our Coin will not always, during the Prohibition of its Exportation, be a little less worth than Silver in Bullion, whilst the Consumption of foreign Commodities beyond what ours pay for, makes the Exportation of Silver necessary? And so, during such a State, Raise your Money as much and as you will, Silver in the Coin will never fetch as much as the Silver in Bullion, as Mr. Lowndes expresses it, p. 110.

As to the Inconveniencies and Damages we sustain by clipp'd Money passing by tale, as if it were lawful, nothing can be more true, more judicious, nor more weighty, than what Mr. Lowndes says under his third General Head; wherein I perfectly agree with him, excepting only where he builds any thing upon the proposed raising our Coin one fifth. And to what he says, p. 114. concerning our being deprived of the use of our heavy Money, by Mens hoarding it, in prospect that the Silver contained in those weighty Pieces will turn more to their Profit, than lending it at Interest, Purchasing or Trading therewith, I crave leave to add, That those Hoarders of Money, a great many of them, drive no less, but rather a greater Trade, by hoarding the weighty Money, than if they let it go abroad. For, by that means all the current Cash being light, clipp'd, and hazardous Money, 'tis all tumbled into their Hands, which gives Credit to their Bills, and furnishes them to trade for as much as they please, whilst every body else scarce trades at all, (but just as Necessity forces) and is ready to stand still.

Where he says, p. 114. 'Tis not likely the weighty Monies will soon appear abroad without raising their Value, and recoining the clipp'd Monies: I should agree with him, if it ran thus: Without recoining the clipp'd, and in the mean time making it go for its weight. For that will, I humbly conceive, bring out the heavy Money without raising its Value, as effectually and sooner; for it will do it immediately: His will take up some time. And I fear, if clipp'd Money be not stopt all at once, and presently from passing any way in tale, the Damage it will bring will be irreparable.

Mr. Lowndes's Fourth General Head is, to propose the means that must be observed, and the proper Methods to be used in, and for the Re-establishment of the Silver Coins.

The first is, That the Work should be finished in as little time as may be; not only to obviate a farther Damage by clipping in the interim, but also that the needful Advantages of the new Money may be the sooner obtained for the Service of the Nation.

These, I agree with him, are very good and necessary Ends; but they are both to be attain'd, I conceive, much sooner by making clipp'd Money go for its weight, than by the Method Mr. Lowndes proposes. For this immediately puts an End to Clipping, and obviates all farther Damage thereby. Next, it immediately brings out all the hoarded weighty Money, and so that Advantage will be sooner obtain'd for the Service of the Nation, than it can any other way besides. Next, it preserves the use of clipp'd Money for the Service of the Nation in the interim, till it can be recoin'd all at the Tower.

His Second Proposition is, That the loss, or the greatest part of it, ought to be born by the Publick, and not by Particulars, who being very numerous will be prejudiced against a Reformation for the publick Benefit, if it be to be effected at the Cost of particular Men.

A Tax given to make good the Defect of Silver in clipp'd Money, will be paid by Particulars; and so the Loss will be born by particular Men: And whether these Particulars be not more numerous, or at least a greater Number of innocent Men of

of them more sensibly burden'd that way, than if it takes its Chance in the Hands of those Men, who have profited by the having it in their Hand, will be worth considering. And I wish it were well weigh'd, which of the two ways the greater Number of Men would be most dangerously prejudic'd against this Reformation. But as Mr. Lowndes orders the Matter, every body will, I fear, be prejudic'd against this Reformation, when (as he divides it, p. 133, 134.) the Owners will bear near one half of the Loss in the Price of his clipp'd Money, and every body else his part of the Remainder, in a Tax levy'd on them for it. I wish a Remedy could be found without any body's Loss. Most of those ways I have heard propos'd to make Reparation to every particular Man, for the clipp'd Money shall be found in his Hands, do so delay the Remedy, if not entail Clipping upon us, that I fear such a Care of Particulars endangers the whole. And if that suffer, it will go but ill with Particulars. I am not for hindring those who have clipp'd Money, from any Recompence which can be provided and made them. The Question here, is not whether the honest Countryman shall bear the Loss of his clipp'd Money without any more ado, or pay a Tax to recompence himself. That which I humbly conceive the Nation is most concerned in, is, that Clipping should be finally stopp'd, and that the Money which remains should go according to its true Value, for the carrying on of Commerce, and the present Supply of Peoples Exigencies, till that part of it which is defac'd, can by the Mint be brought to its legal and due Form. And therefore I think it will be the rational Desire of all Particulars, that the shortest and surest Way, not interfering with Law or Equity, should be taken to put an effectual end to an Evil, which every Moment it continues works powerfully toward a general Ruin.

His fourth Proposition is, *That no room must be left for Jealousie*; I acknowledge to be a good one, if there can be a way found to attain it.

I cannot but wonder to find these words, p. 124 *That no Person whatsoever shall hereafter be oblig'd to accept in legal Payments any Money whatsoever, that is already clipp'd or may hereafter be clipp'd or diminish'd; and that no Person shall tender or receive any such Money in Payment, under some small Penalty to be made easily recoverable, &c.*

As if any Man now were oblig'd to receive clipp'd Money in legal Payment, and there were not already a Law with severe Penalties against those who tendered clipp'd Money in Payment?

'Tis a doubt to me, whether the Warden, Master-Worker, &c. of the Mint at the Tower, could find fit and skilful Persons enough to set nine other Mints at Work in other parts of England in a quarter of a Year, as Mr. Lowndes proposes p. 127. Besides, Mr. Lowndes tells us p. 96 that the *Engines which put the Letters upon the Edges of the larger Silver Pieces, and mark the Edges of the rest with a Graining, are wrought secretly*. And indeed this is so great a Guard against counterfeiting as well as clipping our Money, that it deserves well to be kept a Secret, as it has been hitherto. But how that can be, if Money be to be coin'd in nine other Mints, set up in several Parts, is hard to conceive. And lastly, perhaps some may apprehend it may be of ill Consequence to have so many Men instructed and employ'd in the Art of coining, only for a short Job, and then turn'd loose again to shift for themselves by their own Skill and Industry, as they can.

The Provision made in his fourth Rule, p. 136. to prevent the Gain of *subtle Dealers* by culling out the heaviest of the clipp'd Pieces, though it be the Product of great Sagacity and Foresight, exactly calculated, and as well contrived as in that case it can be; yet I fear is too subtle for the Apprehension and Practice of country Men, who many of them, with their little Quickness in such Matters, have also but small Sums of Money by them, and so neither having Arithmetick, nor Choice of clipp'd Money to adjust it to the Weight there required, will be hardly made to understand it. But I think the Clippers have, or will take care that there will not be any great need of it.

To conclude, I confess my self not to see the least Reason why our present mill'd Money should be at all altered in Fineness, Weight, or Value. I look upon it to be the best and safest from counterfeiting, adulterating, or any Ways being fraudulently diminished, of any that ever was coined. It is adjusted to our legal Payments, Reckonings and Accounts, to which our Money must be reduced: The raising its Denomination will neither add to its Worth, nor make the Stock

we have, more proportionate to our Occasions, nor bring one Grain of Silver the more into *England*, or one Farthing Advantage to the publick : It will only serve to defraud the King, and a great Number of his Subjects, and perplex all, and put the Kingdom to a needless Charge of recoinning all, both mill'd as well as clipp'd Money.

If I might take upon me to offer any thing new, I would humbly propose, that since Market and retail Trade requires less Divisions than *six Pences*, a sufficient Quantity of *Four penny*, *Four penny half penny*, and *Five penny Pieces* should be coined. These in change will answer all the Fractions between *Sixpence* and a *Farthing*, and thereby supply the Want of small Monies, whereof I believe no body ever saw enough common to answer the Necessity of small Payments; whether, either because there was never a sufficient Quantity of such Pieces coin'd, or whether because of their Smallness they are apter to be lost out of any Hands, or because they oftner falling into Childrens Hands, they lose them, or lay them up; so it is, there is always a visible Want of them, to supply which without the Inconveniencies attending very small Coin, the proposed Pieces, I humbly conceive, will serve.

If it be thought fit for this end to have *Four pence*, *Four pence half penny*, and *Five penny Pieces*, coined, it will, I suppose, be convenient that they should be distinguished from *six pences*, and from one another, by a deep and very large plain Difference in the Stamp on both sides, to prevent Mistakes, and Loss of Time in telling of Money. The *Four pence half penny*, has already the Harp for a known Distinction, which may be fit to be continued : The *Five pence* may have the Feathers, and the *Four pence* this Mark IV. of four on the Reverse, and on the other side they may each have the King's Head with a Crown on it, to shew on that Side too, that the Piece so coined is one of those under a Six pence; and with that they may each on that Side also have some Marks of Distinction one from another, as the *Five penny Piece* this Mark of V. the *Four penny half penny* a little Harp, and the *Four pence* nothing.

These, or any other better Distinctions, which his Majesty shall order, will in Tale readily discover them, if by chance any of them fall into larger Payments, for which they are not designed.

And thus I have, with as much Brevity and Clearness as I could, complied with what Mr. Lowndes professes to be the end of printing his Report in these Words, viz. *That any Persons who have considered an Affair of this nature, may (if they please) communicate their Thoughts for rendering the Design here aimed at, more perfect, or more agreeable to the publick Service.* It must be confessed that my Considerations have led me to Thoughts in some Parts of this Affair, quite opposite to Mr. Lowndes's : But how far this has been from any Desire to oppose him, or to have a Dispute with a Man, no otherwise known to me but by his Civilities, and whom I have a very great esteem for, will appear by what I printed about raising the Value of Money, above three Years since. All that I have said here in answer to him, being nothing but the applying the Principles, I then went on, particularly now to Mr. Lowndes's Arguments, as they came in my Way; that so thereby others might judge what will, or will not be the Consequences of such a Change of our Coin, as he proposes, the only Way, I think, of rendering his Design more agreeable to the publick Services.



One Shilling contained
of fine Silver.

The finess increa-
sed but the weight
lessen'd.

		Gr.			
28	Edw. 1	264	3	Ed. 6	40
18	Edw. 3	236	5	Ed. 6	20
27	Edw. 3	213	6	Ed. 6	88
9	Hen. 5	176	2	Eliz. ---	89
1	Hen. 6	142	43	Eliz. ---	86
4	Hen. 6	176			
49	Hen. 6	142			
1	Hen. 8	118			
34	Hen. 8	100			
36	Hen. 8	60			
37	Hen. 8	40			

i. e. 7½ Gr. in

a Penny

Wm. III. d.

1 l. Troy of Sterling

Silver is coin'd in 62

Shillings: The remedy

over or under is 2½

pwt. or 6 d. ½ which is

the 124 part ferè v.

pl. 8 Aug. 99.

Species,	Weight,			Finess,		Value.	
	oz.	pwt. gr.		Oz.	Pwt.	Sh.	Pence.
Mexico Real	—	17 12	Just Stl.	—	—	4	4½
Duckatoon of Flanders	1	— 22	better	—	4½	5	4
Sevil Real	—	17 12	—	—	1	4	4½
Holland Dollar	—	18 5	—	—	10	4	4
Lyon Dollar	—	17 18½	worse	—	2 3	3	4½
Rix Dollar of the Empire	—	18 15	—	—	7½	4	5½
Old Cardecu	—	6 3½	—	—	1	1	6½
French Lewis	—	17 11	—	—	½	4	4½
Double milrez of Portugal	—	14 4	—	—	1½	3	6½
Single milrez of Portugal	—	7 2	—	—	1	1	9
St. Mark of Venice	—	10 4	—	—	1½	2	6
Double Dutch Styver	—	1	—	—	4 6	—	1½
Crofs Dollar	—	18 —	—	—	12	4	2½
Zeeland Dollar	—	13 —	—	—	2	2	3
Old Philip Dollar	1	2 —	—	—	1	5	—
Ferdinando Dollar 1623	—	18 6	—	—	12½	4	3
Pr. of Orange Dollar 1624	—	18 6	—	—	10½	4	3½
Leopoldus Dollar 1624	—	18 2	—	—	9½	4	3¼
Rodolphus Dollar 1607	—	18 7	—	—	10	4	4
Maximilian Dollar 1616	—	18 2	—	—	4½	4	4½
Danish Dollar 1620	—	13 —	—	—	13	2	11¼
Portugal Testoon	—	5 —	—	—	1	1	2¼
The quarter of a new } French Lewis.	—	4 9	—	—	½	1	1

A pound weight of Troy of Standard Gold is cut into Guineas
44½. One Guinea Weighs Gr. 129 ; i. e 5 p. w. 9. Gr. ½.

TWO
TREATISES
OF

The false PRINCIPLES and FOUNDATION of
Sir ROBERT FILMER, and his FOLLOWERS
Are Detected and Overthrown.

ESSAY

True ORIGINAL, EXTENT, and END of
CIVIL-GOVERNMENT.

N 2

Stacy's Laundry

O W T

GOVERNMENT.
OF
TREASURES

In the former,

The title page of the manuscript is written in the following order:

Sir Robert Filmer and his Followers



The latter is an

Y A S S E

Conducting the

The Original, Extent, and End of

CIVIL-GOVERNMENT.

24

II. 10V



The P R E F A C E.

R E A D E R,



THOU hast here the Beginning and End of a Discourse concerning Government; what Fate has otherwise disposed of the Papers that should have filled up the middle, and were more than all the rest, 'tis not worth while to tell thee. These, which remain, I hope are sufficient to establish the Throne of our great Restorer, Our present King William; to make good his Title, in the Consent of the People, which being the only one of all lawful Governments, he has more fully and clearly, than any Prince in Christendom; and to justify to the World the People of England, whose love of their just and natural Rights, with their Resolution to preserve them, saved the Nation when it was on the very brink of Slavery and Ruin. If these Papers have that evidence, I flatter my self, is to be found in them, there will be no great miss of those which are lost, and my Reader may be satisfied without them. For I imagine, I shall have neither the time, nor Inclination to repeat my Pains, and fill up the wanting part of my Answer, by tracing Sir Robert again, through all the Windings and Obscurities, which are to be met with in the several Branches of his wonderful System. The King, and Body of the Nation, have since so thoroughly confuted his Hypothesis, that, I suppose, nobody hereafter will have either the Confidence to appear against our common Safety, and be again an Advocate for Slavery; or the Weakness to be deceived with Contradictions dressed up in a popular Style, and well turned Periods. For if any one will be at the Pains, himself, in those Parts, which are here untouched, to strip Sir Robert's Discourses of the flourish of doubtful Expressions, and endeavour to reduce his Words to direct, positive, intelligible Propositions, and then compare them one with another, he will quickly be satisfied, there was never so much glib Nonsense put together in well sounding English. If he think it not worth while to examine his Works all through, let him make an Experiment in that part, where he treats of Usurpation; and let him try, whether he can, with all his Skill, make Sir Robert intelligible, and consistent with himself, or common sense, I should not speak so plainly of a Gentleman, long since past answering, had not the Pulpit, of late Years, publickly owned his Doctrine, and made it the current Divinity of the Times. 'Tis necessary those Men, who taking on them to be Teachers, have so dangerously misled others, should be openly shewed of what Authority this their Patriarch is, whom they have so blindly followed, that so they may either retract, what upon so ill Grounds they have vented, and cannot be maintain'd; or else justify those Principles which they preach'd up for Gospel though they had no better an Author than an English Courtier. For I should not have writ against Sir Robert, or taken the pains to shew his Mistakes, Inconsistencies, and want of (what he so much boasts of, and pretends wholly to build on) Scripture-proofs, were there not Men amongst us, who, by crying up his Books, and espousing his Doctrine, save me from the Reproach of writing against a dead Adversary. They have been so zealous in this Point, that, if I have done him any wrong, I cannot hope they should spare me. I wish, where they have done the Truth, and the Publick wrong, to redress it: And allow its just Weight to this Reflection, that there cannot be done a greater Mischief to Prince and People, than the Propagating wrong Notions concerning Government, that so at last all Times might not have reason to complain of the Drum Ecclesiastick. If any one, concerned really for Truth, undertake the Confutation of my Hypothesis, I promise him either to recant my Mistake, upon fair Conviction; or to answer his Difficulties. But he must remember two Things.

First, That cavilling here and there, at some Expression, or little incident of my Discourse, is not an Answer to my Book.

Secondly, That I shall not take railing for Arguments, nor think either of these worth my Notice, Though I shall always look on my self as bound to give Satisfaction to any one, who shall appear to be conscientiously scrupulous in the Point, and shall shew any just Grounds for his Scruples.

I have nothing more, but to advertise the Reader, that

A stands for our Author.

O for his Observations on Hobbs, Milton, &c.

And that a bare Quotation of Pages always means Pages of his Patriarcha.

Edit. 1680.

O F

OF GOVERNMENT.

BOOK I.

CHAP. I.

S. 1. **S**lavery is so vile and miserable an Estate of Man, and so directly opposite to the generous Temper and Courage of our Nation; that 'tis hardly to be conceived, that an *Englishman*, much less a *Gentleman*, should plead for't. And truly I should have taken Sir *Robert Filmer's Patriarcha*, as any other Treatise, which would persuade all Men, that they are Slaves, and ought to be so, for such another Exercise of Wit, as was his, who writ the Encomium of *Nero*; rather than for a serious Discourse meant in earnest, had not the Gravity of the Title and Epistle, the Picture in the Front of the Book, and the Applause that followed it, required me to believe, that the Author and Publisher were both in earnest. I therefore took it into my Hands with all the Expectation, and read it through with all the Attention due to a Treatise that made such a Noise at its coming abroad, and cannot but confess my self mightily surpris'd, that in a Book, which was to provide Chains for all Mankind, I should find nothing but a Rope of Sand, useful perhaps to such, whose Skill and Business it is to raise a Dust, and would blind the People, the better to mislead them; but in truth not of any Force to draw those into Bondage, who have their Eyes open, and so much Sense about them, as to consider, that Chains are but an ill wearing, how much Care soever hath been taken to file and polish them.

S. 2. If any one think I take too much liberty in speaking so freely of a Man, who is the great Champion of absolute Power, and the Idol of those who worship it; I beseech him to make this small Allowance for once, to one, who, even after the reading of Sir *Robert's* Book, cannot but think himself, as the Laws allow him, a Freeman: And I know no Fault it is to do so, unless any one better skill'd in the Fate of it, than I, should have it revealed to him, that this Treatise, which has lain dormant so long, was, when it appeared in the World, to carry, by strength of its Arguments, all Liberty out of it; and that from thenceforth our Author's short Model was to be the Pattern in the Mount, and the perfect Standard of Politics for the future. His System lies in a little compass, 'tis no more but this,

That all Government is absolute Monarchy.
And the Ground he builds on, is this,

That no Man is born free.

3. In this last Age a Generation of Men has sprung up amongst us, that would flatter Princes with an Opinion, that they have a Divine Right to absolute Power, let the Laws by which they are constituted, and are to govern, and the Conditions under which they enter upon their Authority, be what they will, and their Engagements to observe them never so well satisfied by solemn Oaths and Promises.

mises. To make way for this Doctrine, they have denied Mankind a Right to natural Freedom; whereby they have not only, as much as in them lies, exposed all Subjects to the utmost Misery of Tyranny and Oppression, but have also unfettled the Titles, and shaken the Thrones of Princes: (For they too, by these Mens System, except only one, are all born Slaves, and by Divine Right, are Subjects to Adam's right Heir;) As if they had design'd to make War upon all Government, and subvert the very Foundations of Human Society, to serve their present Turn.

4. However we must believe them upon their own bare Words, when they tell us, We are all born Slaves, and must continue so, there is no Remedy for it; Life and Thralldom we enter'd into together, and can never be quit of the one, till we part with the other. Scripture or Reason I am sure do not any where say so, notwithstanding the noise of Divine Right, as if Divine Authority hath subjected us to the unlimited Will of another. An admirable State of Mankind, and that which they have not had Wit enough to find out till this latter Age. For however Sir Robert Filmer seems to condemn the Novelty of the contrary Opinion, *Patr. p. 3.* yet I believe it will be hard for him to find any other Age, or Country of the World, but this, which has asserted Monarchy to be *Jure Divino*. And he confesses, *Patr. p. 4.* That Heyward, Blackwood, Barclay, and others, that have bravely vindicated the Right of Kings in most Points, never thought of this, but with one Consent admitted the Natural Liberty and Equality of Mankind.

5. By whom this Doctrine came at first to be broach'd, and brought in fashion amongst us, and what sad Effects it gave rise to, I leave to *Historians* to relate, or to the Memory of those, who were Contemporaries with *Sibthorp* and *Manning* to recollect. My Business at present is only to consider what Sir R. F., who is allowed to have carried this Argument farthest, and is supposed to have brought it to Perfection, has said in it; for from him every one, who would be as fashionable as *French* was at Court, has learned, and runs away with this short System of Politics, viz. *Men are not born free, and therefore could never have the Liberty to choose either Governors, or Forms of Government.* Princes have their Power absolute, and by Divine Right; for Slaves could never have a Right to compact or consent. Adam was an absolute Monarch, and so are all Princes ever since.

CHAP. II.

Of Paternal and Regal Power.

6. SIR R. F.'s great Position is, that *Men are not naturally free.* This is the Foundation on which his absolute Monarchy stands, and from which it erects it self to an height, that its Power is above every Power, *Caput inter nubes*, so high above all earthly and human Things, that Thought can scarce reach it; that Promises and Oaths, which tie the infinite Deity, cannot confine it. But if this Foundation fails, all his Fabric falls with it, and Governments must be left again to the old way of being made by Contrivance, and the Consent of Men (*Ἀνθρώπων κρίσις*) making use of their Reason to unite together into Society. To prove this grand Position of his, he tells us, p. 12. *Men are born in subjection to their Parents*, and therefore cannot be free. And this Authority of Parents, he calls *Royal Authority*, p. 12, 14. *Fatherly Authority, Right of Fatherhood*, p. 12, 20. One would have thought he would, in the beginning of such a Work as this, on which was to depend the Authority of Princes, and the Obedience of Subjects, have told us expressly, what that fatherly Authority is, have defined it, though not limited it, because in some other Treatises of his he tells us, 'tis unlimited, and *unlimitable; he should at least have given us such an Account of it, that we might have had an entire Notion of this *Fatherhood*, or *Fatherly Authority*, whenever it came in our way in his Writings: This I expected to have found in the first Chapter of his *Patriarcha*. But instead thereof, having, 1. *En Pas-*

* In Grants and Gifts that have their Original from God or Nature, as the Power of the Father hath, no inferior Power of Man can limit, nor make any Law of Prescription against them, O. 158.
The Scripture teaches, that Supreme Power was originally the Father, without any Limitation, O. 245.

fant, Made his Obeysance to the *Arcana Imperii*, p. 5. 2. Made his Compliment to the *Rights and Liberties of this, or any other Nation*, p. 6. which he is going presently to null and destroy; And, 3. Made his Leg to those learned Men, who did not see so far into the Matter as himself, p. 7. He comes to fall on *Bellarmino*, p. 8. and, by a Victory over him, establishes his *Fatherly Authority* beyond any question. *Bellarmino* being routed by his own Confession, p. 11. the Day is clear got, and there is no more need of any Forces: For having done that, I observe not that he states the Question, or rallies up any Arguments to make good his Opinion, but rather tells us the Story, as he thinks fit, of this strange kind of domineering Phantom, called the *Fatherhood*, which whoever could catch, presently got Empire, and unlimited absolute Power. He assures us how this *Fatherhood* began in *Adam*, continued its Course, and kept the World in order all the time of the *Patriarchs* till the Flood, got out of the Ark with *Noah* and his Sons, made and supported all the Kings of the Earth till the Captivity of the *Israelites* in *Egypt*, and then the poor *Fatherhood* was under Hatches, till God by giving the *Israelites* Kings, re-established the ancient and prime Right of the lineal Succession in *Paternal Government*. This is his Business from p. 12. to 19. And then obviating an Objection, and clearing a Difficulty or two with one half Reason, p. 23. to confirm the *Natural Right of Regal Power*, he ends the first Chapter. I hope 'tis no Injury to call an half Quotation an half Reason; for God says, *Honour thy Father and Mother*; but our Author contents himself with half, leaves out *thy Mother* quite, as little serviceable to his Purpose. But of that more in another Place.

7. I do not think our Author so little skill'd in the way of writing Discourses of this Nature, nor so careless of the Point in Hand, that he by over-sight commits the Fault, that he himself, in his *Anarchy of a mix'd Monarchy*, p. 239. objects to Mr. *Hunton* in these Words: *Where first I charge the A. that he hath not given us any Definition, or Description of Monarchy in general; for by the Rules of Method, he should have first defin'd.* And by the like Rule of Method Sir *Robert* should have told us, what his *Fatherhood* or *Fatherly Authority* is, before he had told us, in whom it was to be found, and talked so much of it. But perhaps Sir *Robert* found, that this *Fatherly Authority*, this Power of Fathers, and of Kings, for he makes them both the same, p. 24. would make a very odd and frightful Figure, and very disagreeing, with what either Children imagine of their Parents, or Subjects of their Kings, if he should have given us the whole Draught together in that gigantic Form, he had painted it in his own Phancy; and therefore, like a wary Physician, when he would have his Patient swallow some harsh or corrosive Liquor, he mingles it with a large Quantity of that which may dilute it; that the scatter'd Parts may go down with less feeling, and cause less Aversion.

8. Let us then endeavour to find what Account he gives us of this *Fatherly Authority*, as it lies scatter'd in the several Parts of his Writings. And first, as it was vested in *Adam*, he says, *Not only Adam, but the succeeding Patriarchs, had by Right of Fatherhood Royal Authority over their Children*, p. 12. *This Lordship which Adam by Command had over the whole World, and by Right descending from him the Patriarchs did enjoy, was as large and ample as the absolute Dominion of any Monarch, which hath been since the Creation*, p. 13. *Dominion of Life and Death, making War, and concluding Peace*, p. 13. *Adam and the Patriarchs had absolute Power of Life and Death*, p. 35. *Kings, in the Right of Parents, succeed to the Exercise of supreme Jurisdiction*, p. 19. *As Kingly Power is by the Law of God, so it hath no inferior Law to limit it, Adam was Lord of all*, p. 40. *The Father of a Family governs by no other Law, than by his own Will*, p. 78. *The Superiority of Princes is above Laws*, p. 79. *The unlimited Jurisdiction of Kings is so amply described by Samuel*, p. 80. *Kings are above the Laws*, p. 93. And to this purpose see a great deal more which our A. delivers in *Bodin's* Words: *It is certain, that all Laws, Privileges, and Grants of Princes, have no Force, but during their Life; if they be not ratified by the express Consent, or by sufferance of the Prince following, especially Privileges*, O. p. 279. *The Reason why Laws have been also made by Kings, was this; When Kings were either busied with Wars, or distracted with public Cares, so that every private Man could not have Access to their Persons, to learn their Wills and Pleasure, then were Laws of Necessity invented, that so every particular Subject might find his principal Pleasure decypher'd unto him in the Tables of his Laws*, p. 92. *In a Monarchy, the King must by necessity be above the Laws*, p. 100. *A perfect Kingdom is that, wherein the King rules all things according to his own Will,*

Will, p. 100. Neither Common nor Statute Laws are, or can be, any Diminution of that general Power, which Kings have over their People by Right of Fatherhood, p. 115. Adam was the Father, King, and Lord over his Family; a Son, a Subject, and a Servant or Slave, were one and the same thing at first. The Father had Power to dispose or sell his Children or Servants; whence we find, that the first reckoning up of Goods in Scripture, the Man-Servant and the Maid-Servant, are numbred among the Possessions and Substance of the Owner, as other Goods were, O. Pref. God also hath given to the Father a Right or Liberty, to alien his Power over his Children to any other; whence we find the Sale and Gift of Children to have much been in use in the Beginning of the World, when Men had their Servants for a Possession and an Inheritance, as well as other Goods; whereupon we find the Power of Castrating and making Eunuchs much in use in old times; O. p. 155. Law is nothing else but the Will of him that hath the Power of the Supream Father, O. p. 223. It was God's Ordinance that the Supremacy should be unlimited in Adam, and as large as all the Acts of his Will; and as in him so in all others that have Supream Power, O. p. 245.

9. I have been fain to trouble my Reader with these several Quotations in our A.'s own Words, that in them might be seen his own Description of his Fatherly Authority, as it lies scatter'd up and down in his Writings, which he supposes was first vested in Adam, and by Right belongs to all Princes ever since. This Fatherly Authority then, or Right of Fatherhood, in our A.'s Sense, is a Divine unalterable Right of Sovereignty, whereby a Father or a Prince hath an absolute, arbitrary, unlimited, and unlimitable Power, over the Lives, Liberties, and Estates of his Children and Subjects; so that he may take or alienate their Estates, sell, castrate, or use their Persons as he pleases, they being all his Slaves, and he Lord or Proprietor of every thing, and his unbounded Will their Law.

10. Our A. having placed such a mighty Power in Adam, and upon that Supposition, founded all Government, and all Power of Princes, it is reasonable to expect, that he should have proved this with Arguments clear and evident, suitable to the Weightiness of the Cause. That since Men had nothing else left them, they might in Slavery have such undeniable Proofs of its Necessity, that their Consciences might be convinced, and oblige them to submit peaceably to that absolute Dominion, which their Governors had a Right to exercise over them. Without this, what Good could our A. do, or pretend to do, by erecting such an unlimited Power, but flatter the natural Vanity and Ambition of Men, too apt of itself to grow and encrease with the Possession of any Power? And by persuading those, who, by the Consent of their Fellow-Men, are advanced to great, but limited, Degrees of it, that by that part which is given them, they have a Right to all, that was not so; and therefore may do what they please, because they have Authority to do more than others, and so tempt them to do, what is neither for their own, nor the good of those under their Care; whereby great Mischiefs cannot but follow.

11. The Sovereignty of Adam, being that on which, as a sure Basis, our A. builds his mighty absolute Monarchy, I expected, that, in his *Patriarcha*, this his main Supposition would have been proved, and established with all that Evidence of Arguments, that such a fundamental Tenet required; and that this, on which the great Strefs of the Business depends, would have been made out with Reasons sufficient to justify the Confidence with which it was assumed. But in all that Treatise, I could find very little tending that way: The thing is there so taken for granted, without Proof, that I could scarce believe my self, when upon attentive reading that Treatise, I found there so mighty a Structure rais'd, upon the bare Supposition of this Foundation. For it is scarce credible, that in a Discourse, where he pretends to confute the *Erroneous Principle* of Man's Natural Freedom, he should do it by a bare Supposition of Adam's Authority, without offering any Proof for that Authority. Indeed he confidently says, that Adam had Royal Authority, p. 12, and 13. Absolute Lordship and Dominion of Life and Death, p. 13. An Universal Monarchy, p. 33. Absolute Power of Life and Death, p. 35. He is very frequent in such Assertions, but, what is strange, in all his whole *Patriarcha* I find not one Pretence of a Reason to establish this his great Foundation of Government; not any thing that looks like an Argument, but these

Words: To confirm this Natural Right of Regal Power, we find in the Decalogue, that the Law which enjoyns Obedience to Kings, is delivered in the Terms, Honour thy Father, as if all Power were originally in the Father. And why may I not add as well, That in the Decalogue, the Law that enjoyns Obedience to Queens, is delivered in the Terms of Honour thy Mother, as if all Power were originally in the Mother? The Argument, as Sir Robert puts it, will hold as well for one as t'other: But of this, more in its due Place.

12. All that I take notice of here, is, that this is all our A. says in this first, or any of the following Chapters, to prove the *Absolute Power* of Adam, which is his great Principle: And yet, as if he had there settled it upon sure Demonstration, he begins his second Chapter with these Words, *By conferring these Proofs and Reasons, drawn from the Authority of the Scripture.* Where those Proofs and Reasons for Adam's Sovereignty are, bating that of Honour thy Father, above-mentioned I confess, I cannot find; unless what he says, p. 11. *In these Words we have an evident Confession, viz. of Bellarmine, that Creation made Man Prince of his Posterity,* must be taken for Proofs and Reasons drawn from Scripture, or for any sort of Proof at all: though from thence by a new way of Inference, in the Words immediately following, he concludes, *the Royal Authority of Adam, sufficiently settled in him.*

13. If he has in that Chapter, or any where in the whole Treatise, given any other Proofs of Adam's Royal Authority, other than by often repeating it, which, among some Men, goes for Argument, I desire any body for him to shew me the Place and Page, that I may be convinced of my Mistake, and acknowledge my Oversight. If no such Arguments are to be found, I beseech those Men, who have so much cryed up this Book, to consider, whether they do not give the World cause to suspect, that it's not the Force of Reason and Argument, that makes them for Absolute Monarchy, but some other By Interest, and therefore are resolved to applaud any Author, that writes in Favour of this Doctrine, whether he support it with reason or no. But I hope they do not expect, that rational and indifferent Men should be brought over to their Opinion, because this their great Dr. of it, in a discourse made on purpose, to set up the *Absolute Monarchical Power of Adam*, in opposition to the *Natural Freedom* of Mankind, has said so little to prove it, from whence it is rather naturally to be concluded, that there is little to be said.

14. But, that I might omit no care to inform myself in our A.'s full Sense, I consulted his *Observations on Aristotle, Hobs, &c.* To see whether in disputing with others he made use of any Arguments, for this his darling Tenet of Adam's Sovereignty; since in his Treatise of the *Natural Power of Kings*, he hath been so sparing of them. In his *Observations on Mr. Hobs's Leviathan*, I think he has put, in short, all those Arguments for it together, which in his Writings I find him any where to make use of; his Words are these, *If God created only Adam, and of a piece of him made the Woman, and if by Generation from them Two, as parts of them all Mankind be propagated: If also God gave to Adam not only the Dominion over the Woman and the Children that should issue from them, but also over the whole Earth to subdue it, and over all the Creatures on it, so that as long as Adam lived, no Man could claim or enjoy any thing but by Donation, Assignment or Permission from him, I wonder, &c. O. 165.* Here we have the Sum of all his Arguments, for Adam's Sovereignty, and against *Natural Freedom*, which I find up and down in his other Treatises: And they are these following; *Gods Creation of Adam, the Dominion he gave him over Eve: And the Dominion he had as Father over his Children, all which I shall particularly consider.*

CHAP. III.

Of Adam's Title to Sovereignty by Creation.

15. SIR Robert in his Preface to his *Observations on Aristotle's Politics*, tells us, *A Natural Freedom of Mankind cannot be supposed without the denial of the Creation of Adam: But how Adam's being Created, which was nothing but his receiving a Being immediately from Omnipotency and the hand of God, gave Adam a*
Sovereignty

Sovereignty over any thing, I cannot see, nor consequently understand, how a *Supposition of Natural Freedom* is a denial of Adam's Creation, and would be glad any body else (since our A. did not vouchsafe us the favour) would make it out for him. For I find no difficulty to suppose the *Freedom of Mankind*, though I have always believed the *Creation of Adam*. He was Created, or began to exist, by God's immediate Power, without the Intervention of Parents or the pre-existence of any of the same Species to beget him, when it pleased God he should; and so did the Lyon, the King of Beasts, before him, by the same Creating Power of God; And if bare existence by that Power, and in that way, will give Dominion, without any more ado, our A. by this Argument, will make the Lyon have as good a Title to it, as he, and certainly the Antienter. No! for Adam had his Title by the Appointment of God, says our A. in another place. Then bare Creation gave him not Dominion, and one might have supposed Mankind Free without the denying the Creation of Adam, since 'twas God's Appointment made him Monarch.

16. But let us see, how he puts his Creation and this Appointment together. By the Appointment of God, says Sir Robert, as soon as Adam was Created, he was Monarch of the World, though he had no Subjects; for though there could not be actual Government till there were Subjects, yet by the Right of Nature it was due to Adam to be Governor of his Posterity, though not in Act, yet at least in habit, Adam was a King from his Creation. I wish he had told us here, what he meant by God's Appointment. For whatsoever Providence orders, or the Law of Nature directs, or positive Revelation declares, may be said to be by God's Appointment: But I suppose it cannot be meant here in the first Sense, i. e. by Providence; because that would be to say no more, but that as soon as Adam was Created he was *de facto* Monarch, because by right of Nature it was due to Adam, to be Governor of his Posterity. But he could not *de facto* be by providence Constituted the Governor of the World, at a Time, when there was actually no Government, no Subjects to be governed, which our A. here Confesses. Monarch of the World is also differently used by our Author, for sometimes he means by it a Proprietor of all the World exclusive of the rest of Mankind, and thus he does in the same page of his Preface before cited, Adam, says he, being Commanded to Multiply and People the Earth and to subdue it, and having Dominion given him over all Creatures, was thereby the Monarch of the whole World, none of his Posterity had any Right to possess any thing but by his Grant or Permission, or by Succession from him. 2. Let us understand then by Monarch Proprietor of the World, and by Appointment God's actual Donation, and revealed positive Grant made to Adam, 1 Gen. 28. as we see Sir Robert himself does in this parallel place, and then his Argument will stand thus, by the positive Grant of God: As soon as Adam was Created, he was Proprietor of the World, because by the Right of Nature it was due to Adam to be Governor of his Posterity. In which way of arguing there are two manifest Falsehoods. First, It is false, that God made that Grant to Adam, as soon as he was Created, since though it stands in the Text immediately after his Creation, yet it is plain it could not be spoken to Adam, till after Eve was made and brought to him, and how then could he be Monarch by Appointment as soon as Created, especially since he calls, if I mistake not, that which God says to Eve, 3 Gen. 16. The original Grant of Government, which not being till after the Fall, when Adam was somewhat, at least in time and very much, distant in condition from his Creation, I cannot see, how our A. can say in this Sense, that by God's Appointment, as soon as Adam was Created he was Monarch of the World. Secondly, were it true that God's actual Donation appointed Adam Monarch of the World as soon as he was Created, yet the Reason here given for it would not prove it, but it would always be a false Inference, that God, by a positive Donation appointed Adam Monarch of the World, because by Right of Nature it was due to Adam to be Governor of his Posterity: For having given him the Right of Government by Nature, there was no need of a positive Donation, at least it will never be a proof of such a Donation.

17. On the other side the matter will not be much mended, if we understand by God's appointment the Law of Nature, (though it be a pretty harsh Expression for it in this place) and by Monarch of the World, Sovereign Ruler of Mankind: For then the Sentence under Consideration must run thus: By the Law of Nature, as soon as Adam was Created he was Governor of Mankind, for by Right of Nature it was

due to Adam to be Governor of his Posterity, which amounts to this, He was Governor by Right of Nature, because he was Governor by Right of Nature: But supposing we should grant, that a Man is by Nature Governor of his Children, Adam could not hereby be Monarch as soon as Created: For this Right of Nature being founded in his being their Father, how Adam could have a Natural Right to be Governor, before he was a Father, when by being a Father only he had that Right, is, methinks, hard to conceive, unless he will have him to be a Father before he was a Father, and to have a Title before he had it.

18. To this foreseen Objection, our A. answers very Logically, *He was Governor in Habit, and not in Act*: A very pretty way of being a Governor without Government, a Father without Children, and a King without Subjects. And thus Sir Robert was an Author before he writ his Book, not in Act 'tis true, but in Habit, for when he had once Publish'd it, it was due to him by the Right of Nature, to be an Author, as much as it was to Adam to be Governor of his Children, when he had begot them: And if to be such a Monarch of the World, an absolute Monarch in Habit, but not in Act, will serve the turn, I should not much envy it to any of Sir Robert's Friends, that he thought fit graciously to bestow it upon, though even this of Act and Habit, if it signified any thing but our A.'s skill in distinctions, be not to his purpose in this place. For the Question is not here about Adam's actual Exercise of Government, but actually having a Title to be Governor: Government, says our A. was due to Adam by the Right of Nature: What is this Right of Nature? A Right Fathers have over their Children by begetting them; *Generatio jure acquiritur parentibus in liberos*, says our A. out of *Grotius*, O. 223. The Right then follows the begetting as arising from it, so that according to this way of reasoning or distinguishing of our A. Adam, as soon as he was created, had a Title only in Habit, and not in Act, which in plain English is, He had actually no Title at all.

19. To speak less Learnedly, and more Intelligibly, one may say of Adam, he was in a possibility of being Governor, since it was possible he might beget Children, and thereby acquire that Right of Nature, be it what it will, to govern them, that accrues from thence: But what Connection has this with Adam's Creation, to make him say, that as soon as he was Created, he was Monarch of the World? for it may be as well said of Noah, that as soon as he was born, he was Monarch of the World, since he was in possibility (which in our A.'s Sense is enough to make a Monarch, a Monarch in Habit,) to out live all Mankind, but his own Posterity. What such necessary Connection there is betwixt Adam's Creation and his Right to Government; so that a Natural Freedom of Mankind cannot be supposed without the denial of the Creation of Adam, I confess for my part I do not see; nor how those Words, by the Appointment, &c. O. 254. how ever explain'd, can be put together, to make any tolerable Sense, at least to establish this Position, with which they end, viz. Adam was a King from his Creation; a King, says our A. not in Act, but in Habit, i. e. actually no King at all.

20. I fear I have tired my Reader's Patience, by dwelling longer on this Passage, than the weightiness of any Argument in it, seems to require: But I have unavoidably been engaged in it by our A.'s way of Writing, who, huddling several Suppositions together, and that in doubtful and general Terms, makes such a medly and Confusion, that it is impossible to shew his Mistakes, without examining the several Senses, wherein his Words may be taken, and without seeing how, in any of these various Meanings, they will consist together, and have any Truth in them: For in this present Passage before us, how can any one argue against this Position of his, that Adam was a King from his Creation, unless one examine, whether the Words, from his Creation, be to be taken, as they may, for the time of the Commencement of his Government, as the foregoing words import, as soon as he was Created he was Monarch; or, for the cause of it, as he says, p. 11. Creation made Man Prince of his Posterity: How farther can one judge of the truth of his being thus King, till one has examined, whether King be to be taken, as the words in the beginning of this passage would perswade, on supposition of his Private Dominion, which was by God's positive Grant, Monarch of the World by Appointment; or King on supposition of his Fatherly Power over his Off-spring, which was by Nature, due by the Right of Nature, whether, I say, King be to be taken in both, or one only of these two Senses, or in neither of them, but only this, that Creation made

made him Prince, in a way different from both the other? For tho' this Assertion, that *Adam was King from his Creation*, be true in no Sense, yet it stands here as an evident conclusion drawn from the preceding Words, though in truth it be but a bare Assertion joyn'd to other Assertions of the same kind, which confidently put together in words of undetermined and dubious meaning, look like a sort of arguing, when there is indeed neither Proof nor Connection: A way very familiar with our A. of which having given the Reader a taste here, I shall, as much as the Argument will permit me, avoid touching on hereafter; and should not have done it here, were it not to let the World see, how Incoherences, in Matter, and Suppositions without Proofs put handsomely together in good Words and a plausible Stile, are apt to pass for strong Reason and good Sense, till they come to be look'd into with Attention.

C H A P. IV.

Of Adam's Title to Sovereignty by Donation, Gen. 1. 28.

21. **H**AVING at last got through the foregoing Passage, where we have been so long detain'd, not by the Force of Arguments and Opposition, but the Intricacy of the Words, and the Doubtfulness of the Meaning; Let us go on to his next Argument, for *Adam's Sovereignty*. Our A. tells us in the Words of Mr. Selden, that *Adam by Donation from God, Gen. 1. 28. was made the general Lord of all Things, not without such a private Dominion to himself, as without his Grant did exclude his Children.* This Determination of Mr. Selden, says our A. is consonant to the History of the Bible, and natural Reason, O. 210. And in his Pref. to his Obs. on Arist. he says thus, *The first Government in the World was Monarchical in the Father of all Flesh, Adam being commanded to multiply and people the Earth, and to subdue it, and having Dominion given him over all Creatures, was thereby the Monarch of the whole World, none of his Posterity had any Right to possess any thing, but by his Grant or Permission, or by Succession from him: The Earth, saith the Psalmist, hath he given to the Children of Men, which shew the Title comes from Fatherhood.*

22. Before I examine this Argument, and the Text on which it is founded, it is necessary to desire the Reader to observe, that our A. according to his usual Method, begins in one Sense, and concludes in another; he begins here with *Adam's Propriety, or private Dominion, by Donation*; and his conclusion is, *which shew the Title comes from Fatherhood.*

23. But let us see the Argument. The words of the Text are these; *And God blessed them, and God said unto them, be Fruitful and Multiply and Replenish the Earth and subdue it, and have Dominion over the Fish of the Sea, and over the Fowl of the Air, and over every living thing that moveth upon the Earth,* 1 Gen. 28. from whence our A. concludes, that *Adam, having here Dominion given him over all Creatures, was thereby the Monarch of the whole World*: Whereby must be meant, that either this Grant of God gave *Adam* Property, or as our A. calls it, *Private Dominion* over the Earth, and all inferior or irrational Creatures, and so consequently that he was thereby *Monarch*; or 2^o, that it gave him Rule and Dominion over all Earthly Creatures whatsoever, and thereby over his Children, and so he was *Monarch*; for, as Mr. Selden has properly worded it, *Adam was made General Lord of all things*, one may very clearly understand him, that he means nothing to be granted to *Adam* here but Property, and therefore he says not one word of *Adam's Monarchy*. But our A. says, *Adam was hereby Monarch of the World*, which properly speaking, signifies Sovereign Ruler of all the Men in the World; and so *Adam*, by this Grant, must be constituted such a Ruler. If our A. means otherwise, he might, with much Clearness have said, that *Adam was hereby Proprietor of the whole World*. But he begs your Pardon in that point, clear distinct speaking not serving every where to his Purpose, you must not expect it in him, as in Mr. Selden, or other such Writers.

24. In opposition therefore to our A.'s Doctrine, that *Adam was Monarch of the whole World*, founded on this Place, I shall shew.

i. That

1. That by this Grant, 1 Gen. 28. God gave no immediate Power to Adam over Men, over his Children, over those of his own Species; and so he was not made Ruler, or Monarch by this Charter.

2. That by this Grant God gave him not Private Dominion over the inferior Creatures, but right in common with all Mankind; so neither was he Monarch, upon the account of the Property here given him.

25. 1. That this Donation. 1 Gen. 28. gave Adam no power over Men, will appear if we consider the Words of it. For since all Positive Grants convey no more, than the express Words, they are made in, will carry, let us see which of them here will comprehend Mankind, or Adam's Posterity; and those, I imagine, if any, must be these, *every living thing that moveth*, the Words in Hebrew are, *חיה חרמשת* i. e. *Bestiam Reptantem*, of which Words the Scripture it self is the best interpreter: God having created the Fishes and Fowls the 5th day, the beginning of the 6th, he creates the Irrational Inhabitants of the dry Land, which, v. 24. are described in these Words, *let the Earth bring forth the living Creature after his kind; Cattle and creeping things, and beasts of the Earth, after his kind, and v. 2. and God made the Beasts of the Earth after his kind, and Cattle after their kind, and every thing that creepeth on the Earth after his kind*: Here in the Creation of the brute Inhabitants of the Earth, he first speaks of them all under one General Name, of *Living Creatures*, and then afterwards divides them into three ranks, 1. *Cattle*, or such Creatures as were or might be tame, and so be the private Possession of particular Men; 2. *חיה* which ver. 24. and 25. in our Bible, is Translated *beasts*, and by the *Septuagint* *Wild Beasts*, and is the same Word, that here in our Text, ver. 28. where we have this great Charter to Adam, is Translated *Living thing*, and is also the same Word used, Gen. 9. 2. where this Grant is renew'd to Noah, and there likewise Translated *Beast*; 3. The third Rank were the creeping Animals, which ver. 24. and 25. are comprised under the Word, *חרמשת*, the same that is used here ver. 28. and is Translated *moving*, but in the former Verses *Creeping*, and by the *Septuagint* in all these Places, *serpens*, or *Reptils*; from whence it appears, that the Words which we Translate here in God's Donation, ver. 28. *Living Creatures moving* are the same, which in the History of the Creation, ver. 24. 25. signifie two, Ranks of terrestrial Creatures, viz. *Wild Beasts* and *Reptils*, and are so understood by the *Septuagint*.

26. When God had made the Irrational Animals of the World, divided into three kinds, from the places of their Habitation, viz. *Fishes of the Sea*, *Fowls of the Air*, and living Creatures of the Earth, and these again into *Cattle*, *Wild Beasts*, and *Reptils*, he considers of making Man, and the Dominion he should have over the Terrestrial World, ver. 26. and then he reckons up the Inhabitants of these three Kingdoms: But in the terrestrial leaves out the second Rank *חיה*, or *wild Beasts*: But here, ver. 28. where he actually exercises this Design, and gives him this Dominion, the Text mentions the *Fishes of the Sea*, and *Fowls of the Air*, and the *Terrestrial Creatures* in the Words that signifie the *Wild Beasts* and *Reptils*, though Translated *Living thing that moveth*, leaving out *Cattle*: In both which Places, though the Word that signifies *Wild Beasts* be omitted in one, and that which signifies *Cattle* in the other, yet, since God certainly executed in one place, what he declares he designed in the other, we cannot but understand the same in both places, and have here only an Account, how the terrestrial irrational Animals, which were already created and reckon'd up at their Creation, in three distinct Ranks of *Cattle*, *Wild Beasts*, and *Reptils*, were here, ver. 28. actually put under the Dominion of Man, as they were designed ver. 26. nor do these Words contain in them the least Appearance of any thing, that can be wrested, to signifie God's giving to one Man Dominion over another, to Adam over his Posterity.

27. And this further appears from Gen. 9. 2. where God renewing this Charter to Noah and his Sons, he gives them Dominion over the *Fowls of the Air*, and the *Fishes of the Sea*, and the *Terrestrial Creatures*, expressed by *חיה* and *חרמשת* *Wild Beasts* and *Reptils*, the same Words that in the Text before us 1 Gen. 28. are Translated *every moving thing, that moveth on the Earth*, which by no means can comprehend Man, the Grant being made to Noah and his Sons, all the Men then living, and not to one part of Men over another: Which is yet more evident from the very next Words ver. 3. where God gives every *שרץ*, *every moving thing*,

thing, the very words used, *Ch. 1. 28.* to them for Food. By all which it is plain that God's Donation to *Adam, Ch. 1. 28.* and his designation, *v. 26.* and his Grant again to *Noah* and his Sons, refer to and contain in them neither more nor less, than the Works of the Creation the 5th day, and the Beginning of the 6th, as they are set down from the 20th, to 26th, *ver.* inclusively of the 1st *Ch.* and so comprehend all the Species of irrational Animals of the *Terraqueous Globe*, though all the Words whereby they are expressed in the History of their Creation, are no where used in any of the following Grants, but some of them omitted in one, and some in another. From whence I think it is past all doubt, that Man cannot be comprehended in this Grant, nor any Dominion over those of his own Species be convey'd to *Adam*. All the Terrestrial irrational Creatures are enumerated at their Creation, *ver. 25.* under the Names *Beasts of the Earth, Cattle and creeping things*; but Man being not then Created, was not contain'd under any of those Names; and therefore, whether we understand the *Hebrew* Words right or no, they cannot be supposed to comprehend Man, in the very same History, and the very next Verses following, especially since that *Hebrew* Word *אדם* which if any in this Donation to *Adam, Ch. 1. 28.* must comprehend Man, is so plainly used in contradistinction to him, as *Gen. 6. 20. 7. 14. 21. 23. Gen. 8. 17, 19.* And if God made all Mankind slaves to *Adam* and his Heirs by giving *Adam* Dominion over every living thing that moveth on the Earth, *Ch. 1. 28.* as our A. would have it, methinks Sir Robert should have carried his Monarchical Power one step higher, and satisfied the World, that Princes might eat their Subjects too, since God gave as full Power to *Noah* and his Heirs, *Ch. 9. 2.* to eat every living thing that moveth, as he did to *Adam* to have Dominion over them, the *Hebrew* Words in both places being the same.

28. *David*, who might be supposed to understand the Donation of God in this Text, and the right of Kings too, as well as our A. in his Comment on this place, as the Learned and judicious *Ainsworth* calls it, in the 8th *Psalms*, finds here no such Charter of Monarchical Power, his Words are, *Thou hast made him, i. e. Man the Son of Man, a little lower than the Angels, thou mad'st him to have Dominion over the Works of thy hands, thou hast put all things under his Feet, all Sheep and Oxen and the Beasts of the Field, and the Fowls of the Air, and Fish of the Sea, and whatsoever passeth through the Paths of the Sea.* In which words, if any one can find out, that there is meant any Monarchical Power of one Man over another, but only the Dominion of the whole Species of Mankind, over the inferior Species of Creatures, he may, for ought I know, deserve to be one of Sir Rob's *Monarchs in habit*, for the rareness of the discovery. And by this time, I hope it is evident, that he that gave Dominion over every Living thing that moveth on the Earth, gave *Adam* no Monarchical Power over those of his own Species, which will yet appear more fully in the next thing I am to shew.

29. 2. Whatever God gave by the Words of this Grant, *1 Gen. 28.* it was not to *Adam* in particular, exclusive of all other Men: whatever Dominion he had thereby, it was not a private Dominion, but a Dominion in common with the rest of Mankind. That this Donation was not made in particular to *Adam*, appears evidently from the Words of the Text, it being made to more than one, for it was spoken in the Plural Number, God blessed them, and said unto them, Have Dominion. God says unto *Adam* and *Eve*, have Dominion; thereby, says our A. *Adam* was Monarch of the World: But the Grant being to them, i. e. spoke to *Eve* also, as many Interpreters think with reason, that these Words were not spoken till *Adam* had his Wife, must not she thereby be Lady, as well as he Lord of the World? If it be said, that *Eve* was subjected to *Adam*, it seems she was not so subjected to him, as to hinder her Dominion over the Creatures, or Property in them; for shall we say that God ever made a joint Grant to two, and one only was to have the Benefit of it?

30. But perhaps 'twill be said, *Eve* was not made till afterward, grant it so, what Advantage will our A. get by it? The Text will be only the more directly against him, and shew that God, in this Donation, gave the World to Mankind in common, and not to *Adam* in particular. The Word *Them* in the Text must include the Species of Man, for 'tis certain *Them* can by no means signify *Adam* alone. In the 26th Verse, where God declares his Intention to give this Dominion, it is plain he meant, that he would make a Species of Creatures, that should

should have Dominion over the other Species of this Terrestrial Globe: The Words are, *And God said, Let us make Man in our Image, after our Likeness, and let them have Dominion over the Fish, &c.* They then were to have Dominion. Who? even those who were to have the Image of God, the individuals of that Species of Man; that he was going to make, for that *Them* should signifie *Adam* singly, exclusive of the rest, that should be in the World with him, is against both Scripture and all Reason: And it cannot possibly be made Sense, if *Man* in the former part of the *Vers*e do not signifie the same with *Them* in the latter, only *Man* there, as is usual, is taken for the Species, and *them* the individuals of that Species; and we have a Reason in the very Text. God makes him in his own Image after his own Likeness, makes him an intellectual Creature, and so capable of Dominion: For wherein soever else the Image of God consisted, the intellectual Nature was certainly a part of it, and belong'd to the whole Species, and enabled them to have Dominion over the inferior Creatures; and therefore David says in the 8th Psalm above cited, *Thou hast made him little lower than the Angels, thou hast made him to have Dominion.* 'Tis not of Adam King David speaks here, for Verse 4. 'tis plain, 'tis of Man, and the Son of Man, of the Species of Mankind.

31. And that this Grant spoken to Adam was made to him, and the whole Species of Man, is clear from our A.'s own Proof out of the Psalmist. The Earth, saith the Psalmist, *hath he given to the Children of Men; which shews the Title comes from Fatherhood.* These are Sir Robert's Words in the Preface before cited, and a strange Inference it is he makes; *God hath given the Earth to the Children of Men, ergo the Title comes from Fatherhood.* 'Tis pity the Propriety of the Hebrew Tongue had not us'd *Fathers of Men*, instead of *Children of Men*, to express Mankind; then indeed our A. might have had the Countenance of the Sound of the Words, to have placed the Title in the Fatherhood. But to conclude, that the Fatherhood had the Right to the Earth, because God gave it to the Children of Men, is a Way of arguing peculiar to our A.: And a Man must have a great mind to go contrary to the Sound as well as Sense of the Words, before he could light on it. But the Sense is yet harder, and more remote from our A.'s purpose: For as it stands in his Preface, it is to prove Adam's being Monarch, and his reasoning is thus, *God gave the Earth to the Children of Men, ergo Adam was Monarch of the World.* I desire any Man to make a more pleasant Conclusion than this, which cannot be excus'd from the most obvious Absurdity, till it can be shewn, that by *Children of Men*, he who had no Father, Adam alone is signified; but whatever our A. does, the Scripture speaks not Nonsense.

32. To maintain this Property and Private Dominion of Adam, our A. labours in the following Page to destroy the Community granted to Noah and his Sons, in that parallel Place, 9 Gen. 1, 2, 3. and he endeavours to do it two Ways.

1. Sir Rob. would perswade us against the express Words of the Scripture, that what was here granted to Noah, was not granted to his Sons in common with him. His Words are; *As for the general Community between Noah and his Sons, which Mr. Selden will have to be granted to them, 9 Gen. 2. the Text doth not warrant it.* What Warrant our A. would have, when the plain express Words of Scripture, not capable of another meaning, will not satisfy him, who pretends to build wholly on Scripture, is not easie to imagine. The Text says, *God blessed Noah and his Sons, and said unto them, i. e. as our A. would have it, unto him: For, saith he, although the Sons are there mentioned with Noah in the Blessing, yet it may best be understood, with a Subordination or Benediction in Succession, O. 211.* That indeed is best, for our A. to be understood, which best serves to his Purpose, but that truly may best be understood by any body else, which best agrees with the plain construction of the Words, and arises from the obvious meaning of the place; and then with Subordination and in Succession, will not be best understood, in a Grant of God, where he himself put them not, nor mentions any such Limitation. But yet, our A. has reasons, why it may best be understood so. The Blessing, says he in the following words, *might truly be fulfilled, if the Sons either under or after their Father, enjoy'd a Private Dominion, O. 211.* which is to say, that a Grant, whose express Words give a joint Title in present (for the Text says, into your Hands they are delivered) may best be understood with a Subordination or in Succession: Because 'tis possible, that in Subordination, or in Succession it be may enjoy'd. Which is all one as to say, that a Grant of any thing in present possession, may best be understood of Reversion:

Reversion: Because 'tis possible one may live to enjoy it in Reversion. If the Grant be indeed to a Father and to his Sons after him, who is so kind as to let his Children enjoy it presently in common with him, one may truly say, as to the event one will be as good as the other; but it can never be true, that what the express word grant in possession, and in common, *may best be understood*, to be in Reversion. The sum of all his reasoning amounts to this: God did not give to the Sons of Noah the World in common with their Father, because 'twas possible they might enjoy it under, or after him. A very good sort of Argument, against an express Text of Scripture: But God must not be believed, though he speaks it himself, when he says, does any thing, which will not consist with Sir Robert's Hypothesis.

33. For 'tis plain, however he would exclude them, That part of this *Benediction*, as he would have it in *Succession*, must needs be meant to the Sons, and not to Noah himself at all, *Be Fruitful, and Multiply, and Replenish the Earth*, says God, in this Blessing. This part of the *Benediction*, as appears by the sequel, concerned not Noah himself at all; for we read not of any Children he had after the Flood, and in the following Chapter, where his Posterity is reckon'd up, there is no mention of any, and so this *Benediction in Succession*, was not to take place till 350 Years after, and to save our A's imaginary *Monarchy*, the Peopling of the World must be deferr'd 350 Years; for this part of the *Benediction* cannot be understood with *Subordination*, unless our A. will say, that they must ask leave of their Father Noah to lie with their Wives. But in this one point our A. is constant to himself in all his Discourses, he takes great care there should be Monarchs in the World, but very little that there should be People; and indeed his way of Government is not the way to People the World. For how much Absolute Monarchy helps to fulfil this great and primary Blessing of God Almighty, *Be Fruitful, and Multiply, and replenish the Earth*, which contains in it the improvement too of Arts and Sciences, and the conveniences of Life, may be seen in those large and rich Countries, which are happy under the *Turkish Government*, where are not now to be found $\frac{1}{10}$, nay in many, if not most parts of them $\frac{1}{10}$, perhaps I might say not $\frac{1}{10}$ of the People, that were formerly, as will easily appear to any one, who will compare the Accounts we have of it at this time, with Antient History. But this by the by.

34. The other Parts of this *Benediction* or *Grant*, are so expressed, that they must needs be understood to belong equally to them all; as much to Noah's Sons as to Noah himself, and not to his Sons with a *Subordination* or in *Succession*. *The Fear of you, and the dread of you*, says God, *shall be upon every Beast, &c.* Will any Body but our A. say, that the Creatures feared and stood in awe of Noah only, and not of his Sons without his leave, or till after his death? And the following Words, *into your hands they are delivered*, are they to be understood as our A. says, if your Father please, or they shall be deliver'd into your hands hereafter. If this be to argue from Scripture, I know not what may not be proved by it, and I can scarce see how much this differs from that *Fiction and Phansie*; or how much a surer Foundation it will prove, than the opinions of *Philosophers and Poets*, which our A. so much condemns in his Preface.

35. But our A. goes on to prove, that it may best be understood with a *Subordination* or a *Benediction in Succession*, for, says he, it is not probable that the private Dominion which God gave to Adam, and by his Donation, Assignment or Cession to his Children, was Abrogated, and a Community of all things instituted between Noah and his Sons-----Noah was left the sole Heir of the World, why should it be thought that God would disinherit him of his Birth-right, and make him of all Men in the World the only Tenant in Common with his Children, O. 211.

36. The Prejudices of our own ill grounded Opinions, however by us called probable, cannot authorize us to understand Scripture contrary to the direct and plain Meaning of the Words. I grant, 'tis not probable, that Adam's private Dominion was here Abrogated: Because it is more than improbable, (for it will never be proved) that ever Adam had any such private Dominion: And since parallel Places of Scripture are most probable to make us know, how they may best be understood. there needs but the comparing this Blessing here to Noah and his Sons after the Flood, with that to Adam after the Creation, 1 Gen. 28. to assure any one that God gave Adam no such private Dominion. 'Tis probable, I confess, that Noah should

have the same Title, the same Property and Dominion after the Flood, that *Adam* had before it: But since *private Dominion* cannot consist with the Blessing and Grant God gave to him and his Sons in Common, 'tis a sufficient Reason to conclude, that *Adam* had none, especially since in the Donation made to him, there is no Words that express it, or do in the least favour it; and then let my Reader judge whether it may best be understood; when in the one place there is not one Word for it, not to say what has been above proved, that that Text itself proves the contrary; and in the other, the Words and Sense are directly against it.

37. But our A. says, *Noah was the sole Heir of the World*, why should it be thought that God would disinherit him of his Birth-right: *Heir*, indeed, in *England*, signifies the Eldest Son, who is by the Law of *England* to have all his Father's Land, but where God ever appointed any such *Heir of the World*, our A. would have done well to have shewed us; and how God disinherited him of his Birth-right, or what harm was done him if God gave his Sons a Right to make use of a part of the Earth for the support of themselves and Families, when the whole was not only more than *Noah* himself, but infinitely more than they all could make use of, and the Possessions of one could not at all Prejudice, or, as to any use, streighten that of the other.

38. Our A. probably foreseeing he might not be very successful in persuading People out of their Senses, and say what he could, Men would be apt to believe the plain Words of Scripture, and think, as they saw, that the Grant was spoken to *Noah* and his Sons jointly. He endeavours to insinuate, as if this Grant to *Noah*, conveyed no Property, no Dominion; because, *Subduing the Earth and Dominion over the Creatures are therein omitted, nor the Earth once named*. And therefore, says he, there is a considerable Difference between these two Texts, the first Blessing gave *Adam* a Dominion over the Earth and all Creatures, the latter allows *Noah* liberty to use the living Creatures for Food, here is no Alteration or Diminishing of his Title, to a Property of all Things, but an Enlargement only of his Commons, O. 211. So that in our A.'s Sense, all that was said here to *Noah* and his Sons, gave them no Dominion, no Property, but only Enlarged the Commons; their Commons, I should say since, God says, to you are they given, though our A. says his, for as for *Noah's* Sons, they it seems by Sir Robert's Appointment, during their Father's Life-time, were to keep fasting Days.

39. Any one but our A. would be mightily suspected, to be blinded with Prejudice, that in all this Blessing to *Noah* and his Sons, could see nothing but only an Enlargement of Commons. For as to Dominion which our A. thinks omitted, the Fear of you, and the Dread of you, says God, shall be upon every Beast, which I suppose, expresses the Dominion, or Superiority was designed Man over the living Creatures, as fully as may be, for in that Fear and Dread, seems chiefly to consist what was given to *Adam*, over the inferior Animals; who as absolute a Monarch as he was, could not make bold with a Lark or Rabbit to satisfy his hunger, and had the Herbs but in common with the Beasts, as is plain from 1 Gen. 2.9. and 30. In the next place, 'tis manifest that in this Blessing to *Noah* and his Sons; Property is not only given in clear Words, but in a larger Extent than it was to *Adam*. Into your Hands they are given, says God, to *Noah* and his Sons; which Words, if they give not Property, nay, Property in Possession, 'twill be hard to find Words that can; since there is not a way to express a Man's being possessed of any thing more natural, nor more certain, than to say, it is delivered into his Hands. And, ver. 3. to shew, that they had then given them the utmost Property Man is capable of, which is to have a right to destroy any thing by using it; Every moving thing that liveth, saith God, shall be Meat for you, which was not allowed to *Adam* in his Charter. This our A. calls, a Liberty of using them for Food, and only an Enlargement of Commons, but no alteration of Property, O. 211. What other Property Man can have in the Creatures, but the Liberty of using them, is hard to be understood: So that if the first Blessing, as our A. says, gave *Adam* Dominion over the Creatures, and the Blessing to *Noah* and his Sons, gave them such a Liberty to use them, as *Adam* had not; it must needs give them something that *Adam* with his Sovereignty wanted, something that one would be apt to take for a greater Property; for certainly he has no absolute Dominion over even the brutal part of the Creatures, and the Property he has in them is very narrow and scanty, who cannot

not make that use of them, which is permitted to another. Should any one, who is absolute Lord of a Country, have bidden our A. *subdue the Earth*, and given him Dominion over the Creatures in it, but not have permitted him to have taken a Kid or a Lamb out of the Flock, to satisfy his Hunger, I guess, he would scarce have thought himself Lord or Proprietor of that Land, or the Cattle on it; but would have found the difference between *having Dominion*, which a Shepherd may have, and having full Property as an Owner. So that, had it been his own *Case*, Sir Rob. I believe, would have thought here was an *Alteration*, nay, an enlarging of Property; and that Noah and his Children had by this Grant, not only Property given them, but such a Property given them in the Creatures, as Adam had not: For however, in respect of one another, Men may be allowed to have propriety in their distinct Portions of the Creatures; yet in respect of God the Maker of Heaven and Earth, who is sole Lord and Proprietor of the whole World: Mans Propriety in the Creatures is nothing but that *Liberty to use them*, which God has permitted, and so Man's property may be altered and enlarged, as we see it was here, after the Flood, when other uses of them are allowed, which before were not. From all which I suppose, it is clear, that neither Adam nor Noah, had any *Private Dominion*, any Property in the Creatures, exclusive of his Posterity, as they should successively grow up into need of them, and come to be able to make use of them.

40. Thus we have examined our A.'s Argument for *Adam's Monarchy*, founded on the Blessing pronounced, 1 Gen. 28 Wherein I think 'tis impossible for any sober Reader, to find any other but the setting of Mankind above the other kinds of Creatures, in this habitable Earth of ours. 'Tis nothing but the giving to Man, the whole Species of Man, as the chief Inhabitant, who is the Image of his Maker, the Dominion over the other Creatures. This lies so obvious in the plain Words, that any one but our A. would have thought it necessary to have shewn, how these words that seem'd to say the quite contrary, gave *Adam Monarchical absolute Power* over other Men, or the *Sole Property* in all the Creatures; and methinks in a business of this Moment, and that whereon he Builds all that follows, he should have done something more than barely cite Words, which apparently make against him; for I confess, I cannot see any thing in them, tending to *Adam's Monarchy*, or *Private Dominion*, but quite the contrary. And I the less deplore the dulness of my apprehension herein, since I find the Apostle seems to have as little notion of any such *Private Dominion of Adam* as I, when he says, *God gives us all things richly to enjoy*, which he could not do, if it were all given away already, to Monarch Adam, and the Monarchs his Heirs and Successors. To conclude, this Text is so far from proving Adam sole Proprietor, that on the contrary, it is a Confirmation of the Original Community of all things amongst the Sons of Men, which appearing from this Donation of God, as well as other places of Scripture, the Sovereignty of Adam, built upon his *Private Dominion*, must fall, not having any Foundation to support it.

41. But yet if after all, any one will needs have it so, that by this Donation of God, Adam was made sole Proprietor of the whole Earth, what will this be to his Sovereignty? and how will it appear, that Propriety in Land gives a Man Power over the Life of another? or how will the possession even of the whole Earth, give any one a Sovereign Arbitrary Authority over the persons of Men? The most specious thing to be said, is, that he that is Proprietor of the whole World, may deny all the rest of Mankind Food, and so at his pleasure starve them, if they will not acknowledge his Sovereignty, and obey his Will. If this were true, it would be a good Argument to prove, that there was never any such Property, that God never gave any such *Private Dominion*; since it is more reasonable to think, that God who bid Mankind increase and multiply, should rather himself give them all a Right, to make use of the Food and Rayment, and other Conveniences of Life, the Materials whereof he had so plentifully provided for them, than to make them depend upon the Will of a Man for their Subsistence, who should have Power to destroy them all when he pleased, and who being no better than other Men, was in Succession likelier by want and the dependance of a scanty Fortune, to tie them to hard Service, than by liberal Allowance of the Conveniences of Life, promote the great Design of God, *Increase and Multiply*: He that doubts this, let him look into the Absolute Monarchies of the

World, and see what becomes of the Conveniences of Life, and the Multitudes of People.

42. But we know God hath not left one Man so to the Mercy of another, that he may starve him if he please: God the Lord and Father of all has given no one of his Children such a Property in his peculiar portion of the things of this World, but that he has given his needy Brother a Right in the Surplusage of his Goods, so that it cannot justly be denied him, when his pressing wants call for it. And therefore no Man could ever have a just Power over the Life of another by Right of property in Land or Possessions, since 'twould always be a Sin in any Man of Estate, to let his Brother perish for want of affording him Relief out of his Plenty. As *Justice* gives every Man a Title to the product of his honest Industry, and the fair Acquisitions of his Ancestors descended to him; so *Charity* gives every Man a Title to so much out of another's Plenty, as will keep him from extream Want, where he has no means to subsist otherwise: and a Man can no more justly make use of another's Necessity, to force him to become his Vassal, by with-holding that Relief, God requires him to afford to the wants of his Brother, than he that has more strength can seize upon a weaker, master him to his Obedience, and with a Dagger at his Throat offer him Death or Slavery.

43. Should any one make so perverse an use of God's Blessings poured on him with a liberal Hand; should any one be Cruel and Uncharitable to that extremity, yet all this would not prove that Propriety in Land, even in this Case, gave any Authority over the Persons of Men, but only that Compact might; since the Authority of the Rich Proprietor, and the Subjection of the needy Beggar began not from the possession of the Lord, but the Consent of the poor Man, who prefer'd being his Subject to starving. And the Man he thus submits to, can pretend to no more Power over him, than he has consented to, upon Compact. Upon this ground a Man's having his Stores filled in a time of Scarcity, having Money in his Pocket, being in a Vessel at Sea, being able to Swim, &c. May as well be the Foundation of Rule and Dominion, as being Possessor of all the Land in the World; any of these being sufficient to enable me to save a Man's Life, who would perish if such Assistance were denied him; and any thing by this Rule, that may be an occasion of working upon another's Necessity, to save his Life, or any thing dear to him, at the rate of his Freedom, may be made a Foundation of Sovereignty, as well as Property. From all which it is clear, that tho' God should have given *Adam Private Dominion*, yet that *Private Dominion* could give him no *Sovereignty*; But we have already sufficiently proved, that God gave him no *Private Dominion*.

CHAP. V.

Of Adam's Title to Sovereignty by the Subjection of Eve.

44. **T**H E next place of Scripture we find our A. builds his Monarchy of Adam on, is 3 Gen. 26. *And thy desire shall be to thy Husband, and he shall rule over thee.* Here we have (says he) the Original Grant of Government, from whence he concludes, in the following part of the Page, O. 244. *That the Supream Power is settled in the Fatherhood, and limited to one kind of Government, that is to Monarchy:* For let his premises be what they will, this is always the conclusion; let Rule in any Text, be but once named, and presently *Absolute Monarchy* is by Divine Right Establish'd. If any one will but carefully read our A.'s own reasoning from these Words, O. 244. and consider among other things, the Line and Posterity of Adam, as he there brings them in, he will find some difficulty, to make Sense of what he says; but we will allow this at present, to his peculiar way of Writing, and consider the Force of the Text in hand. The Words are the Curse of God upon the Woman, for having been the first and forwardest in the Disobedience, and if we will consider the occasion of what God says here to our first Parents, that he was denouncing Judgment, and declaring his Wrath against them both, for their Disobedience, we cannot suppose that this was the time, wherein God was granting *Adam Prerogatives and Privileges*, investing him with

with Dignity and Authority, Elevating him to Dominion and Monarchy: For though as a helper in the Temptation, *Eve* was laid below him, and so he had accidentally a Superiority over her, for her greater Punishment; yet he too had his share in the fall, as well as the Sin, and was laid lower, as may be seen in the following Verses; and 'twould be hard to imagine, that God, in the same Breath, should make him Universal Monarch over all Mankind, and a Day-Labourer for his Life; turn him out of *Paradise to till the ground*, ver. 23. and at the same time, advance him to a Throne, and all the Privileges and Ease of Absolute Power.

45. This was not a Time, when *Adam* could expect any Favours, any Grant of Privileges, from his offended Maker. If this be the *Original Grant of Government*, as our A. tells us, and *Adam* was now made Monarch, whatever Sir Robert would have him, 'tis plain, God made him but a very poor Monarch, such an one, as our A. himself would have counted it no great Privilege to be. God sets him to work for his Living, and seems rather to give him a Spade into his hand, to subdue the Earth, than a Scepter to rule over its Inhabitants. *In the Sweat of thy Face thou shalt eat thy Bread*, says God to him, ver. 19. This was unavoidable, may it perhaps be answered, because he was yet without Subjects, and had no body to work for him, but afterwards living as he did above 900 Years, he might have People enough, whom he might Command, to work for him; no, says God, not only whilst thou art without other help, save thy Wife, but as long as thou livest, shalt thou live by thy Labour. *In the Sweat of thy Face, shalt thou eat thy Bread, till thou return unto the Ground, for out of it wast thou taken, for dust thou art, and unto dust shalt thou return*, v. 19. It will perhaps be answered again, in Favour of our A. that these words are not spoken personally to *Adam*, but in him, as their Representative to all Mankind, this being a Curse upon Mankind, because of the fall.

46. God I believe, speaks differently from Men, because he speaks with more Truth, more Certainty: But when he vouchsafes to speak to Men, I do not think, he speaks differently from them, in crossing the rules of Language in use amongst them: This would not be to condescend to their Capacities, when he humbles himself to speak to them, but to lose his design in speaking, what thus spoken, they could not understand. And yet thus must we think of God, if the Interpretations of Scripture, necessary to maintain our A.'s Doctrine, must be received for good. For by the ordinary Rules of Language, it will be very hard to understand, what God says; If what he speaks here, in the singular Number to *Adam*, must be understood to be spoken to all Mankind, and what he says in the Plural Number, 1 *Gen.* 26. and 28. must be understood of *Adam* alone, exclusive of all others, and what he says to *Noah* and his Sons jointly, must be understood to be meant to *Noah* alone, *Gen.* 9.

47. Farther it is to be noted, that these Words here of 3 *Gen.* 16. which our A. calls the *Original Grant of Government*, were not spoken to *Adam*, neither indeed was there any Grant in them made to *Adam*, but a punishment laid upon *Eve*: And if we will take them as they were directed in particular to her, or in her, as their representative, to all other Women, they will at most concern the Female Sex only, and import no more, but that Subjection they should ordinarily be in to their Husbands: But there is here no more Law to oblige a Woman to such a Subjection, if the Circumstances either of her Condition, or Contract with her Husband should exempt her from it, than there is, that she should bring forth her Children in Sorrow and Pain, if there could be found a Remedy for it, which is also a part of the same Curse upon her: For the whole Verse runs thus, *Unto the Woman he said, I will greatly multiply thy Sorrow and thy Conception; in sorrow thou shalt bring forth Children, and thy desire shall be to thy Husband, and he shall rule over Thee.* 'Twould, I think, have been a hard matter for any Body, but our A. to have found out a Grant of Monarchical Government to *Adam* in these Words, which were neither spoke to, nor of him: neither will any one, I suppose by these Words, think the weaker Sex, as by a Law, so subjected to the Curse contained in them, that 'tis their duty not to endeavour to avoid it. And will any one say, that *Eve*, or any other Woman, sinn'd, if she were brought to Bed without those multiplied Pains God threatens her here with? Or that either of our Queens *Mary* or *Elizabeth*, had they Married any of their Subjects, had been by this Text put into a Political Subjection to him? or that he thereby should have

had *Monarchical Rule* over her? God, in this Text, gives not, that I see, any Authority to *Adam* over *Eve*, or to Men over their Wives, but only foretels what should be the Woman's Lot, how by his Providence he would order it so, that she should be subject to her Husband, as we see that generally the Laws of Mankind and Customs of Nations have ordered it so; and there is, I grant, a Foundation in Nature for it.

48. Thus when God says of *Jacob* and *Esau*, That the Elder should serve the Younger, 25 Gen. 23. no body supposes that God hereby made *Jacob* *Esau's* Sovereign, but foretold what should *de facto* come to pass.

But if these words here spoke to *Eve* must needs be understood as a Law to bind her and all other Women to Subjection, it can be no other Subjection, than what every Wife owes her Husband, and then if this be the *Original Grant of Government* and the *Foundation of Monarchical Power*, there will be as many Monarchs as there are Husbands: If therefore these words give any Power to *Adam*, it can be only a Conjugal Power, not Political; the Power that every Husband hath to order the things of private Concernment in his Family, as Proprietor of the Goods and Land there, and to have his Will take place before that of his Wife in all things of their common Concernment: But not a Political Power of Life and Death over her, much less over any body else.

49. This I am sure: If our A. will have this Text to be a *Grant, the Original Grant of Government*, Political Government, he ought to have proved it by some better Arguments than by barely saying, That *thy desire shall be unto thy Husband* was a Law, whereby *Eve*, and all that should come of her, were subjected to the absolute Monarchical Power of *Adam* and his Heirs. *Thy desire shall be to thy Husband*, is too doubtful an Expression, of whose signification Interpreters are not agreed, to build so confidently on, and in a matter of such Moment, and so great and general Concernment: But our A. according to his way of Writing, having once named the Text, concludes presently without any more ado, that the meaning is, as he would have it. Let the words *Rule* and *Subject* be but found in the Text or Margent, and it immediately signifies the Duty of a Subject to his Prince; the Relation is changed, and though God says *Husband*, Sir Robert will have it *King*; *Adam* has presently *Absolute Monarchical Power* over *Eve*, and not only over *Eve*, but all that should come of her, though the Scripture says not a word of it, nor our A. a word to prove it. But *Adam* must for all that be an Absolute Monarch, and so down to the end of the Chapter. And here I leave my Reader to consider, whether my bare saying, without offering any Reasons to evince it, that this Text gave not *Adam* that *Absolute Monarchical Power*, our A. supposes, be not as sufficient to destroy that Power, as his bare Assertion is to Establish it, since the Text mentions neither *Prince* nor *People*, speaks nothing of *Absolute* or *Monarchical Power*, but the Subjection of *Eve* to *Adam*, a Wife to her Husband. And he that would trace our A. so all through, would make a short and sufficient answer to the greatest part of the Grounds he proceeds on, and abundantly confute them by barely denying; It being a sufficient answer to Assertions without Proof, to deny them without giving a Reason. And therefore should I have said nothing but barely deny'd, that by this Text the *Supream Power* was settled and founded by God himself, in the Fatherhood, Limited to Monarchy, and that to *Adam's* Person and Heirs, all which our A. notably concludes from these words, as may be seen in the same Page, O. 244. it had been a sufficient answer; should I have desired any sober Man only to have read the Text, and considered to whom, and on what occasion it was spoken, he would no doubt have wondered how our A. found out *Monarchical Absolute Power* in it, had he not had an exceeding good Faculty to find it himself, where he could not shew it others. And thus we have examined the two places of Scripture, all that I remember our A. brings to prove *Adam's* Sovereignty, that Supremacy, which he says, it was *God's Ordinance* should be unlimited in *Adam*, and as large as all the Acts of his Will, O. 254. viz. 1 Gen. 28. and 3 Gen. 16. one whereof signifies only the Subjection of the Inferior Ranks of Creatures to Mankind, and the other the Subjection that is due from a Wife to her Husband, both far enough from that which Subjects owe the Governors of Political Societies.

C H A P. VI.

Of Adam's Title to Sovereignty by Fatherhood.

50. **T**H E R E is one thing more, and then I think I have given you all that our A. brings for proof of *Adam's* Sovereignty, and that is a Supposition of a natural Right of Dominion over his Children, by being their Father: And this Title of *Fatherhood* he is so pleased with, that you will find it brought in almost in every Page; particularly he says, *Not only Adam, but the succeeding Patriarchs had by Right of Fatherhood Royal Authority over their Children*, p. 12. And in the same Page, *This Subjection of Children being the Fountain of all Regal Authority*, &c. This being as one would think by his so frequent mentioning it, the main Basis of all his Frame, we may well expect clear and evident Reason for it, since he lays it down as a Position necessary to his purpose, *That every Man that is born is so far from being Free, that by his very Birth he becomes a Subject of him that begets him*, O. 156. So that *Adam* being the only Man Created, and all ever since being Begotten, no body has been born free. If we ask how *Adam* comes by this Power over his Children, he tells us here 'tis by begetting them: And so again, O. 223. *This Natural Dominion of Adam*, says he, *may be proved out of Grotius himself, who teacheth, That generatio jure acquiritur parentibus in liberos*. And indeed the Act of begetting being that which makes a Man a Father, his Right of a Father over his Children can naturally arise from nothing else.

51. *Grotius* tells us not here how far this *jus in liberos*, this Power of Parents over their Children extends; but our A. always very clear in the point, assures us, 'tis *Supream Power*, and like that of Absolute Monarchs over their Slaves, Absolute Power of Life and Death. He that should demand of him, how, or for what Reason it is, that begetting a Child gives the Father such an Absolute Power over him, will find him answer nothing: We are to take his word for this, as well as several other things, and by that the Laws of Nature and the Constitutions of Government must stand or fall: Had he been an Absolute Monarch, this way of talking might have suited well enough; *pro ratione voluntas* might have been of force in his Mouth; but in the way of Proof or Argument is very unbecoming, and will little advantage his plea for Absolute Monarchy. Sir Robert has too much lessen'd a Subjects Authority to leave himself the hopes of establishing any thing by his bare Saying it; one Slave's Opinion without proof is not of weight enough to dispose of the Liberty and Fortunes of all Mankind. If all Men are not, as I think they are, naturally equal, I'm sure all Slaves are; and then I may without presumption oppose my single Opinion to his; and be confident that my Saying, *That Begetting of Children makes them not Slaves to their Fathers*, as certainly sets all Mankind Free, as his affirming the contrary makes them all Slaves. But that this Position, which is the Foundation of all their Doctrine, who would have Monarchy to be *Jure Divino*, may have all fair play, let us hear what Reasons others gave for it, since our A. offers none.

52. The Argument, I have heard others make use of, to prove that Fathers, by begetting them, come by an Absolute Power over their Children, is this; *That Fathers have a Power over the Lives of their Children, because they give them Life and Being*, which is the only proof it is capable of: Since there can be no Reason, why naturally one Man should have any claim or pretence of Right over that in another, which was never his, which he bestowed not, but was received from the bounty of another. 1. I answer, That every one who gives another any Thing, has not always thereby a Right to take it away again. But, 2. They who say the Father gives Life to his Children, are so dazzled with the thoughts of Monarchy, that they do not, as they ought, remember God, who is the Author and Giver of Life: 'Tis in him alone we live, move, and have our Being. How can he be thought to give Life to another, that knows not wherein his own Life consists? Philosophers are at a loss about it after their most diligent enquiries; and Anatomists, after their whole Lives and Studies spent in Dissections, and diligent examining the Bodies of Men, confess their Ignorance in the Structure and Use of many parts of Man's Body, and in that Operation wherein Life consists in
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the whole. And doth the rude Plough-Man, or the more ignorant Voluptuary frame or fashion such an admirable Engine as this is, and then put Life and Sense into it? Can any Man say, He formed the parts that are necessary to the Life of his Child? Or can he suppose himself to give the Life, and yet not know what Subject is fit to receive it, nor what Actions or Organs are necessary for its Reception or Preservation?

53. To give Life to that which has yet no Being, is to frame and make a living Creature, fashion the parts, and mould and suit them to their uses, and having proportion'd and fitted them together, to put into them a living Soul. He that could do this, might indeed have some pretence to destroy his own Workmanship. But is there any one so bold, that dares thus far Arrogate to himself the Incomprehensible Works of the Almighty? Who alone did at first, and continues still to make a living Soul, He alone can breathe in the Breath of Life. If any one thinks himself an Artist at this, let him number up the parts of his Child's Body, which he hath made, tell me their Uses and Operations, and when the living and rational Soul began to inhabit this curious Structure, when Sense began, and how this Engine which he has framed, Thinks and Reasons: If he made it, let him, when it is out of order mend it, at least tell wherein the defects lie. *Shall he that made the Eye not see?* says the Psalmist, *Psalms 94. 9.* See these Mens Vanities? The Structure of that one part is sufficient to convince us of an All-wise Contriver, and he has so visible a claim to us as his Workmanship, that one of the ordinary Appellations of God in Scripture is, *God our Maker*, and *the Lord our Maker*. And therefore though our A. for the magnifying his Fatherhood, be pleased to say, *O. 159. That even the Power which God himself exerciseth over Mankind is by Right of Fatherhood*, yet this Fatherhood is such an one as utterly excludes all pretence of Title in Earthly Parents; for he is *King*, because he is indeed Maker of us all, which no Parents can pretend to be of their Children.

54. But had Men Skill and Power to make their Children, 'tis not so slight a piece a Workmanship, that it can be imagined, they could make them without designing it. What Father of a Thousand, when he begets a Child, thinks farther than the satisfying his present Appetite. God in his infinite Wisdom has put strong desires of Copulation into the Constitution of Men, thereby to continue the race of Mankind, which he doth most commonly without the intention, and often against the Consent and Will of the Begetter. And indeed those who desire and design Children, are but the occasions of their Being, and when they design and wish to beget them, do little more towards their making, than *Deucalion* and his Wife in the Fable did towards the making of Mankind, by throwing Pebbles over their Heads.

55. But grant that the Parents made their Children, gave them Life and Being, and that hence there followed an Absolute Power. This would give the Father but a joynt Dominion with the Mother over them. For no body can deny but that the Woman hath an equal share, if not the greater, as nourishing the Child a long time in her own Body out of her own Substance; There it is fashion'd, and from her it receives the Materials and Principles of its Constitution: And it is so hard to imagine the rational Soul should presently Inhabit the yet unformed Embrio, as soon as the Father has done his part in the Act of Generation, that if it must be supposed to derive any thing from the Parents, it must certainly owe most to the Mother. But be that as it will, the Mother cannot be denied an equal share in begetting of the Child, and so the Absolute Authority of the Father will not arise from hence. Our A. indeed is of another Mind; for he says, *We know that God at the Creation gave the Sovereignty to the Man over the Woman, as being the Nobler and Principal Agent in Generation, O. 172.* I remember not this in my Bible, and when the place is brought where God at the Creation gave the Sovereignty to Man over the Woman, and that for this Reason, because *he is the Nobler and Principal Agent in Generation*, it will be time enough to consider, and answer it. But it is no new thing for our A. to tell us his own Fancies for certain and Divine Truths, though there be often a great deal of difference between his and Divine Revelations; for God in the Scripture says, *his Father and his Mother that begot him.*

56. They

56. They who allege the Practice of Mankind, for *exposing or selling* their Children, as a Proof of their Power over them, are with Sir Robert happy Arguers; and cannot but recommend their Opinion, by founding it on the most shameful Action, and most unnatural Murder, human Nature is capable of. The Dens of Lions and Nurseries of Wolves know no such Cruelty as this: These Savage Inhabitants of the Desert obey God and Nature in being tender and careful of their Off-spring: They will Hunt, Watch, Fight and almost Starve for the Preservation of their Young; never part with them; never forsake them, till they are able to shift for themselves. And is it the Privilege of Man alone to act more contrary to Nature than the Wild and most Untamed Part of the Creation? doth God forbid us under the severest Penalty, that of Death, to take away the Life of any Man, a Stranger, and upon Provocation? and does he permit us to destroy those, he has given us the Charge and Care of; and by the dictates of Nature and Reason, as well as his Reveal'd Command, requires us to preserve. He has in all the parts of the Creation taken a peculiar care to propagate and continue the several Species of Creatures, and makes the Individuals act so strongly to this end, that they sometimes neglect their own private good for it; and seem to forget that general Rule, which Nature teaches all things of self Preservation; and the Preservation of their Young, as the strongest Principle in them, over-rules the Constitution of their particular Natures. Thus we see when their Young stand in need of it, the timorous become Valiant, the fierce and savage Kind, and the ravenous Tender and Liberal.

57. But if the Example, of what hath been done, be the Rule of what ought to be, History would have furnish'd our A. with instances of this *Absolute Fatherly Power* in its height and perfection, and he might have shew'd us in Peru, People that begot Children purpose Fatten and eat them. The Story is so remarkable, that I cannot but set it down in the A.'s Words. 'In some Provinces, *says he*, they were so liquorish after Man's Flesh, that they would not have the patience to stay till the Breath was out of the Body, but would suck the Blood as it ran from the Wounds of the dying Man; they had publick Sham-bles of Man's Flesh, and their Madnefs herein was to that degree, that they spared not their own Children which they had begot on Strangers, taken in War: For they made their Captives their Mistresses and choicely nourished the Children they had by them, till about thirteen Years Old they Butcher'd and Eat them; and they served the Mothers after the same fashion, when they grew past Child bearing, and ceased to bring them any more Roasters, *Garcilasso de la Vega hist. des Incas de Peru, L. I. c. 12.*

58. Thus far can the busie mind of Man carry him to a Brutality below the level of Beasts, when he quits his Reason, which places him almost equal to Angels. Nor can it be otherwise in a Creature, whose thoughts are more than the Sands, and wider than the Ocean, where Fancy and Passion must needs run him into strange Courses, if reason, which is his only Star and Compass, be not that he steers by. The Imagination is always restless and suggests variety of Thoughts, and the Will, Reason being laid aside, is ready for every extravagant Project; and in this State, he that goes farthest out of the Way, is thought fittest to lead, and is sure of most Followers: And when Fashion hath once established what Folly or Craft began, Custom makes it sacred, and 'twill be thought Impudence or Madnefs, to contradict or question it. He that will impartially survey the Nations of the World, will find so much of their Religions, Governments and Manners, brought in and continued amongst them by these Means, that he will have but little Reverence for the Practices which are in Use and Credit amongst Men; and will have Reason to think, that the Woods and Forests, where the irrational untaught Inhabitants keep right by following Nature, are fitter to give us Rules, than Cities and Palaces, where those that call themselves civil and rational, go out of their Way, by the Authority of Example. If precedents are sufficient to establish a Rule, in this Case our A. might have found in holy Writ Children sacrificed by their Parents, and this amongst the People of God themselves: The Psalmist tells us, *Psal. CVI. 38. They shed innocent Blood, even the Blood of their Sons and of their Daughters, whom they sacrificed unto the Idols of Canaan.* But God judg'd not of this by our A.'s rule, nor allow'd of the Authority of Practice against his righteous Law, but as it follows there, *The Land was*

polluted with Blood, therefore was the Wrath of the Lord kindled against his People in so much that he abhorred his own Inheritance. The killing of their Children though it were fashionable, was charged on them as innocent Blood, and so had in the account of God the Guilt of Murder, as the offering them to Idols had the Guilt of Idolatry.

59. Be it then as Sir Rob. says, that anciently, it was usual for Men to sell and castrate their Children, O. 155. Let it be, that they exposed them; add to it, if you please, for this is still greater Power, that they begat them for their Table, to eat and drink them: If this proves a right to do so, we may, by the same Argument, justify Adultery, Incest and Sodomy, for there are Examples of these too, both ancient and modern; Sins, which I suppose, have their principal Aggravation from this, that they cross the main Intention of Nature, which willeth the Increase of Mankind, and the Continuation of the Species in the highest perfection, and the distinction of Families, with the security of the Marriage Bed, as necessary thereunto.

60. In confirmation of this natural Authority of the Father, our A. brings a lame Proof from the positive command of God in Scripture; His words are, to confirm the natural Right of Regal Power, we find in the Decalogue, that the Law which enjoins Obedience to Kings, is delivered in the Terms, Honour thy Father, p. 23. whereas many confess, that Government only in the Abstract, is the Ordinance of God, they are not able to prove any such Ordinance in the Scripture, but only in the Fatherly Power, and therefore we find the Commandment, that enjoins Obedience to Superiors, given in the Terms, Honour thy Father; so that not only the Power and Right of Government, but the Form of the Power Governing, and the Person having the Power, are all the Ordinances of God. The first Father had not only simply Power, but Power Monarchical, as he was Father immediately from God, O. 254. To the same Purpose, the same Law is cited by our A. in several other places, and just after the same Fashion, that is, and Mother, as Apocryphal Words, are always left out; a great Argument of our A.'s Ingenuity, and the Goodness of his Cause, which required in its Defender Zeal to a degree of Warmth, able to warp the sacred Rule of the Word of God, to make it comply with his present Occasion; a way of proceeding not unusual to those, who embrace not Truths, because Reason and Revelation offer them; but espouse Tenets and Parties, for ends different from Truth, and then resolve at any rate to defend them; and so do with the Words and Sense of Authors, they would fit to their Purpose, just as Procrustes did with his Guests, lop or stretch them, as may best fit them to the size of their Notions: And they always prove like those, so served, Deformed, Lame, and Useless.

61. For had our A. set down this Command without Garbling, as God gave it, and joyned Mother to Father, every Reader would have seen, that it had made directly against him; and that it was so far from Establishing the Monarchical Power of the Father, that it set up the Mother equal with him, and enjoyn'd nothing but what was due in common, to both Father and Mother: for that is the constant Tenor of the Scripture, Honour thy Father and thy Mother, Exod. 20. He that smiteth his Father or Mother, shall surely be put to Death, 21. 15. He that curseth his Father or Mother, shall surely be put to Death, Lev. 20. 9. and by our Saviour, Matth. 15. 4. Ye shall fear every Man his Mother and his Father, Lev. 19. 3. If a Man have a rebellious Son, which will not Obey the Voice of his Father, or the Voice of his Mother; then shall his Father and his Mother lay hold on him, and say, this our Son is stubborn and rebellious, he will not Obey our Voice, Deut. 21. 18, 19, 20, 21. Cursed be he that setteth Light by his Father or his Mother, 28. 16. my Son, hear the Instruction of thy Father, and forsake not the Law of thy Mother, are the Words of Solomon a King, who was not ignorant of what belonged to him as a Father or a King, and yet he joyns Father and Mother together, in all the Instructions he gives Children quite through his Book of Proverbs. Woe unto him, that sayeth unto his Father, what begettest thou, or to the Woman, what hast thou brought forth, Isa. 11. ver. 10. in thee have they set Light by Father or Mother, Ezek. 28. 2. And it shall come to pass, that when any shall yet Prophesie, then his Father and his Mother that begat him, shall say unto him, thou shalt not live, and his Father and his Mother that begat him, shall thrust him through when he Prophesies, Zech. 13. 3. Here not the Father only, but the Father and Mother joyn'tly, had Power in this Case of Life and Death. Thus ran the Law of the Old Testament, and in the New they

they are likewise joyn'd, in the Obedience of their Children, *Eph. 6. 1.* The Rule is, *Children obey your Parents*, and I do not Remember, that I any where read, *Children Obey your Father* and no more: The Scripture joyns *Mother* too in that Homage, which is due from Children; and had there been any Text, where the Honour or Obedience of Children had been directed to the *Father* alone, 'tis not likely that our A. who pretends to build all upon Scripture, would have omitted it: Nay the Scripture makes the Authority of *Father and Mother*, in respect of those they have begot, so equal, that in some places it neglects, even the Priority of Order, which is thought due to the Father, and the *Mother* is put first, as *Lev. 19. 3.* From which so constantly joyning Father and Mother together, as is found quite through the Scripture, we may conclude that the Honour they have a Title to from their Children, is one common right belonging so equally to them both, that neither can claim it wholly, neither can be excluded.

62. One would wonder then how our A. infers from the 5th Commandment, that all Power was originally in the Father. How he finds *Monarchical Power of Government, settled and fixed by the Commandment, Honour thy Father and thy Mother.* If all the Honour due by the Commandment, be it what it will, be the only right of the Father, because he, as our A. says, *has the Sovereignty over the Woman, as being the nobler and principler Agent in Generation*, why did God afterwards all along joyn the Mother with him, to share in his Honour? can the Father, by this Sovereignty of his, discharge the Child from paying this Honour to his Mother? The Scripture gave no such License to the Jews, and yet there were often Breaches wide enough betwixt Husband and Wife, even to Divorce and Separation: And, I think, no Body will say a Child may withhold Honour from his Mother, or, as the Scripture Terms it, *set light by her*, though his Father should command him to do so; no more than the Mother could dispence with him for neglecting to Honour his Father: Whereby 'tis plain, that this Command of God, gives the Father no Sovereignty, no Supremacy.

63. I agree with our A. that the Title to this Honour is vested in the Parents by Nature, and is a right which accrues to them, by their having begotten their Children, and God by many positive Declarations has confirm'd it to them: I also allow our A.'s Rule that in *Grants and Gifts, that have their Original from God and Nature, as the Power of the Father*, (let me add *and Mother*, for whom God hath joyned together, let no Man put asunder) *no inferior Power of Men can limit, nor make any Law of Prescription against them*, O. 158, so that the Mother having by this Law of God, a right to Honour from her Children, which is not Subject to the Will of her Husband, we see this *Absolute Monarchical Power of the Father*, can neither be founded on it, nor consist with it; And he has a Power very far from *Monarchical*, very far from that Absoluteness our A. contends for, when another has over his Subjects the same Power he hath, and by the same Title: And therefore he cannot forbear saying himself that *he cannot see how any Man's Children can be free from Subjection to their Parents*, p. 12. which, in common Speech, I think, signifies *Mother* as well as *Father*, or if *Parents* here signifies only *Father*, 'tis the first time I ever yet knew it to do so, and by such an use of Words, one may say any thing.

64. By our A.'s Doctrine, the Father having absolute Jurisdiction over his Children, has also the same over their Issue; and the Consequence is good, were it true, that the Father had such a Power: And yet I ask our A. whether the Grandfather, by his Sovereignty, could discharge the Grandchild from paying to his Father the Honour due to him by the 5th Commandment. If the Grandfather hath by *right of Fatherhood*, sole Sovereign Power in him, and that Obedience which is due to the Supreme Magistrate, be commanded in these Words, *Honour thy Father*, 'tis certain the Grandfather might dispence with the Grandson's honouring his Father, which since 'tis evident in common Sense, he cannot, it follows from hence that, *Honour thy Father and Mother*, cannot mean an absolute Subjection to a Sovereign Power, but something else. The right therefore which Parents have by Nature, and which is confirmed to them by the 5th Commandment, cannot be that political Dominion, which our A. would derive from it: For that being in every civil Society supreme somewhere, can discharge any Subject from any Political Obedience to any one of his fellow Subjects. But what Law of the Magistrate, can give a Child Liberty, not to Honour his Father and

Mother: Tis an Eternal Law, annex'd purely to the relation of Parents and Children and so contains nothing of the Magistrates Power in it, nor is subjected to it.

65. Our A. says, *God hath given to a Father, a Right or Liberty to alien his Power over his Children to any other.* O. 155. I doubt whether he can *Alien* wholly the right of *Honour* that is due from them: But be that as it will, this I am sure, he cannot *Alien*, and retain the same Power. If therefore the Magistrates Sovereignty be as our A. would have it, *nothing but the Authority of a Supreme Father*, p. 23. 'tis unavoidable, that if the Magistrate hath all this Paternal Right, as he must have if *Fatherhood* be the Fountain of all Authority; then the Subjects, though Fathers, can have no Power over their Children, no right to honour from them: For it cannot be all in another's Hands, and a part remain with the Parents. So that according to our A.'s own Doctrine, *Honour thy Father and Mother* cannot possibly be understood of political Subjection and Obedience; since the Laws both in the old and new Testament, that commanded Children to *Honour and Obey their Parents*, were given to such, whose Fathers were under civil Government, and fellow Subjects with them in political Societies; and to have bid them *Honour and Obey their Parents* in our A.'s Sense, had been to bid them be Subjects to those, who had no Title to it; the right to Obedience from Subjects, being all vested in another; and instead of teaching Obedience, this had been to foment Sedition, by setting up Powers that were not. If therefore this Command, *Honour thy Father and Mother*, concern political Dominion, it directly overthrows our A.'s Monarchy; since it being to be paid by every Child to his Father, even in Society, every Father must necessarily have political Dominion, and there will be as many Sovereigns as there are Fathers: Besides that the Mother too hath her Title, which destroys the Sovereignty of one supreme Monarch. But if *Honour thy Father and Mother* mean something distinct from political Power, as necessarily it must, it is besides our A.'s business, and serves nothing to his Purpose.

66. *The Law that enjoyns Obedience to Kings is delivered*, says our A. *in the Terms, Honour thy Father, as if all Power were originally in the Father*, O. 254: And that Law is also delivered, say I, in the Terms, *Honour thy Mother, as if all Power were originally in the Mother*. I appeal whether the Argument be not as good on one side as the other, *Father and Mother* being joyned all along in the Old and New Testament where-ever Honour or Obedience is enjoyn'd Children. Again our A. tells us, O. 254. *that this Command, Honour thy Father gives the right to govern, and makes the Form of Government Monarchical.* To which I answer, that if by *Honour thy Father* be meant Obedience to the Political Power of the Magistrate, it concerns not any Duty we owe to our natural Fathers, who are Subjects; because they, by our A.'s Doctrine, are divested of all that Power, it being placed wholly in the Prince, and so being equally Subjects and Slaves with their Children, can have no right by that Title, to any such *Honour or Obedience*, as contains in it political Subjection: If *Honour thy Father and Mother* signifies the duty we owe our natural Parents, as by our Saviour's Interpretation, *Matth. 15. 4.* and all the other mentioned Places, 'tis plain it does, then it cannot concern political Obedience, but a duty that is owing to Persons, who have no Title to Sovereignty, nor any political Authority as Magistrates over Subjects. For the Person of a private Father, and a Title to Obedience, due to the supreme Magistrate, are things inconsistent; and therefore this Command, which must necessarily comprehend the Persons of our natural Fathers, must mean a Duty we owe them distinct from our Obedience to the Magistrate, and from which the most absolute Power of Princes cannot absolve us. What this Duty is, we shall in its due place examine.

67. And thus we have at last got through all, that in our A. looks like an Argument for that *absolute unlimited Sovereignty* described, Sect. 8. which he supposes in *Adam*; so that Mankind ever since have been all born *Slaves*, without any Title to Freedom. But if *Creation*, which gave nothing but a Being, made not *Adam Prince of his Posterity*: If *Adam*, *Gen. 1. 28.* was not constituted Lord of Mankind, nor had a *private Dominion* given him exclusive of his Children, but only a Right and Power over the Earth, and inferiour Creatures in common with the Children of Men: If also *Gen. 3. 16.* God gave not any political Power

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to Adam over his Wife and Children, but only subjected Eve to Adam, as a Punishment, or foretold the Subjection of the weaker Sex, in the ordering the common Concernments of their Families, but gave not thereby to Adam, as to the Husband, Power of Life and Death, which necessarily belongs to the Magistrate: If Fathers by begetting their Children acquire no such Power over them: And if the Command, *Honour thy Father and Mother*, give it not, but only enjoins a Duty owing to Parents equally, whether Subjects or not, and to the Mother as well as the Father; If all this be so, as I think, by what has been said, is very evident, then Man has a *natural Freedom*, notwithstanding all our A. confidently says to the contrary; since all that share in the same common Nature Faculties and Powers, are in Nature equal, and ought to partake in the same common Rights and Privileges, till the manifest appointment of God, who is *Lord over all Blessed for ever*, can be produced to shew any particular Person's Supremacy; or a Man's own Consent subjects him to a Superiour. This is so plain, that our A. confesses, that Sir John Hayward, Blackwood and Barclay, the great Vindicators of the Right of Kings, could not deny it, but admit with one Consent the *natural Liberty and Equality of Mankind*, for a Truth unquestionable. And our A. hath been so far from producing any thing, that may make good his great Position, That Adam was absolute Monarch, and so Men are not naturally free, that even his own Proofs make against him; so that to use his own way of arguing, This first erroneous Principle failing, the whole Fabric of this vast Engine of Absolute Power and Tyranny, drops down of it self, and there needs no more to be said in answer to all that he builds upon so false and frail a Foundation.

68. But to save others the Pains, were there any need, he is not sparing himself to shew, by his own Contradictions, the Weakness of his own Doctrine. Adam's absolute and sole Dominion is that, which he is every where full of, and all along builds on, and yet he tells us, p. 12. That as Adam was Lord of his Children, so his Children under him had a Command and Power over their own Children. The unlimited and undivided Sovereignty of Adam's Fatherhood, by our A.'s Computation, stood but a little while, only during the first Generation, but as soon as he had Grand-Children, Sir Rob. could give but a very ill Account of it. Adam, as Father of his Children, saith he. hath an absolute, unlimited Royal Power over them, and by Virtue thereof over those that they begot, and so to all Generations; and yet his Children, viz. Cain and Seth, have a paternal Power over their Children at the same Time; so that they are at the same time absolute Lords, and yet Vassals and Slaves; Adam has all the Authority, as Grand Father of the People, and they have a part of it as Fathers of a part of them: He is absolute over them and their Posterity, by having begotten them, and yet they are Absolute over their Children by the same Title. No, says our A. Adam's Children under him, had Power over their own Children, but still with Subordination to the first Parent. A good distinction that sounds well, and 'tis pity it signifies nothing, nor can be reconciled with our A. Words. I readily grant, that supposing Adam's absolute Power over his Posterity, any of his Children might have from him a delegated, and so a Subordinate Power over a part, or all the rest: But that cannot be the Power our A. speaks of here, it is not a Power by Grant and Commission, but the natural paternal Power he supposes a Father to have over his Children. For 1. he says, As Adam was Lord of his Children, so his Children under him had a Power over their own Children: They were then Lords over their own Children after the same manner, and by the same Title, that Adam was, i. e. by right of Generation, by right of Fatherhood. 2. 'Tis plain he means the natural Power of Fathers, because he limits it to be only over their own Children; a delegated Power has no such Limitation, as only over their own Children, it might be over others, as well as their own Children. 3. If it were a delegated Power, it must appear in Scripture; but there is no ground in Scripture to affirm, that Adam's Children had any other Power over theirs, than what they naturally had as Fathers.

69. But that he means here Paternal Power, and no other, is past doubt, from the Inference he makes in these Words immediately following, I see not then how the Children of Adam, or of any Man else can be free from Subjection to their Parents: Whereby it appears that the Power on one side, and the Subjection on the other, our A. here speaks of, is that natural Power and Subjection between Parents and Children. For that which every Man's Children owed, could be no other; and that

that our A. always affirms to be Absolute and Unlimited This natural Power of Parents over their Children, Adam had over his Posterity, says our A. and this Power of Parents over their Children, his Children had over theirs in his Life-time, says our A. also; so that Adam, by a natural Right of Father, had an absolute unlimited Power over all his Posterity, and at the same time his Children had by the same Right absolute unlimited Power over theirs. Here then are two absolute unlimited Powers existing together, which I would have any body reconcile one to another, or to common Sense. For the *Salvo* he has put in of Subordination, makes it more absurd: To have one Absolute, Unlimited, nay Unlimitable Power in Subordination to another, is so manifest a Contradiction, that nothing can be more. Adam is absolute Prince with the Unlimited Authority of Fatherhood over all his Posterity; all his Posterity are then absolutely his Subjects, and, as our A. says, his Slaves, Children and Grandchildren are equally in this State of Subjection and Slavery; and yet, says our A. the Children of Adam have Paternal, i. e. Absolute unlimited Power over their own Children: Which in plain English is, they are Slaves and absolute Princes at the same time, and in the same Government; and one part of the Subjects have an absolute unlimited Power over the other by the natural Right of Parentage.

70. If any one will suppose in Favour of our A. that he here meant, that Parents, who are in Subjection themselves to the absolute Authority of their Father, have yet some Power over their Children; I confess he is something nearer the truth: But he will not at all hereby help our A.: For he no where speaking of the Paternal Power, but as an absolute unlimited Authority, cannot be suppos'd to understand any thing else here, unless he himself had limited it, and shewed how far it reach'd. And that he means here Paternal Authority in that large Extent, is plain from the immediate following Words; *This Subjection of Children being*, says he, *the Foundation of all Regal Authority*, p. 12. The Subjection then that in the former Line, he says, *every Man is in to his Parents*, and consequently what Adam's Grandchildren were in to their Parents, was that which was the Fountain of all Regal Authority, i. e. According to our A. absolute unlimitable Authority. And thus Adam's Children had Regal Authority over their Children, whilst they themselves were Subjects to their Father, and Fellow-Subjects with their Children. But let him mean as he pleases, 'tis plain he allows Adam's Children to have Paternal Power, p. 12. as also all other Fathers to have Paternal Power over their Children, O. 156. From whence one of these two things will necessarily follow, that either Adam's Children, even in his life-time, had, and so all other Fathers have, as he phrases it, p. 12. *By right of Fatherhood Royal Authority over their Children*, or else, that Adam, by Right of Fatherhood, had not Royal Authority. For it cannot be but that Paternal Power does, or does not give Royal Authority to them that have it: If it does not, then Adam could not be Sovereign by this Title, nor any body else, and then there is an end of all our A.'s Politicks at once; If it does give Royal Authority, then every one that has Paternal Power has Royal Authority, and then by our A.'s Patriarchal Government, there will be as many Kings as there are Fathers.

71. And thus what a Monarchy he hath set up, let him and his Disciples consider. Princes certainly will have great Reason to thank him for these new Politicks, which set up as many absolute Kings in every Country as there are Fathers of Children. And yet who can blame our A. for it, it lying unavoidably in the way of one discoursing upon our A.'s Principles? For having placed an absolute Power in Fathers by Right of begetting, he could not easily resolve how much of this Power belong'd to a Son over the Children he had begotten; and so it fell out to be a very hard matter to give all the Power as he does, to Adam, and yet allow a part in his Life-time to his Children, when they were Parents, and which he knew not well how to deny them. This makes him so doubtful in his Expressions, and so uncertain where to place this absolute natural Power, which he calls Fatherhood; sometimes Adam alone has it all, as p. 13. O. 244, 245.

& Pref.

Sometimes Parents have it, which Word scarce signifies the Father alone, p. 12, 19.

Sometimes Children during their Fathers life-time, as p. 12.

Sometimes Fathers of Families, as p. 78, and 79.

Some-

- Sometimes *Fathers* indefinitely, O. 155.
 Sometimes *the Heir to Adam*, O. 253.
 Sometimes *the Posterity of Adam*, 244, 246.
 Sometimes *prime Fathers*, all *Sons or Grandchildren of Noah*, O. 244.
 Sometimes *the eldest Parents*, p. 12.
 Sometimes all *Kings*, p. 19.
 Sometimes all that have *Supreme Power*, O. 245.
 Sometimes *Heirs to those first Progenitors, who were at the first natural Parents of the whole People*, p. 19.
 Sometimes an *Elective King*, p. 23.
 Sometimes those, whether a few or a multitude, that Govern the *Commonwealth*, p. 23.
 Sometimes he that can catch it, an *Usurper*, p. 23. O. 155.

72. Thus this *New Nothing*, that is to carry with it all *Power, Authority, and Government*; *This Fatherhood*, which is to design the Person, and Establish the Throne of Monarchs, whom the People are to obey, may, according to *Sir Robert*, come into any Hands, any how, and so by his Politicks give to Democracy Royal Authority, and make an *Usurper* a Lawful Prince. And if it will do all these fine Feats much good do our Author and all his Followers with their omnipotent *Fatherhood*, which can serve for nothig but to unsettle and destroy all the lawful Governments in the World, and to Establish in their room Disorder, Tyranny, and Usurpation.

C H A P. VII.

Of Fatherhood and Property Considered together as Fountains of Sovereignty.

73. **I**N the foregoing Chapters we have seen what *Adam's Monarchy* was, in our A.'s Opinion, and upon what Titles he founded it. The Foundations which he lays the chief stress on, as those from which he thinks he may best derive Monarchical Power to future Princes, are two, viz. *Fatherhood and Property*, and therefore the way he proposes to remove the *Absurdities and Inconveniencies of the Doctrine of natural Freedom*, is, to maintain the natural and private Dominion of *Adam*, O. 222. Conformable hereunto, he tells us, the *Grounds and Principles of Government necessarily depend upon the Original of Property*, O. 108. *The Subjection of Children to their Parents is the Fountain of all Regal Authority*, p. 12. And all Power on Earth is either derived or usurped from the *Fatherly Power*, there being no other Original to be found of any Power whatsoever, O. 158. I will not stand here to examine how it can be said without a Contradiction, that the first *Grounds and Principles of Government necessarily depend upon the Original of Property*, and yet, that there is no other Original of any Power whatsoever, but that of the Father: It being hard to understand how there can be no other Original but *Fatherhood*, and yet that the *Grounds and Principles of Government depend upon the Original of Property*; *Property and Fatherhood* being as far different as Lord of a Mannor and Father of Children. Nor do I see how they will either of them agree with what our A. says, O. 244. of God's Sentence against *Eve*, Gen. 3. 16. That it is the *Original Grant of Government*: so that if that were the *Original*, Government had not its Original by our A.'s own Confession, either from *Property or Fatherhood*; and this Text which he brings as a proof of *Adam's Power over Eve*, necessarily contradicts what he says of the *Fatherhood*, that it is the *Sole Fountain of all Power*. For if *Adam* had any such Regal Power over *Eve*, as our A. contends for, it must be by some other Title than that of begetting.

74. But I leave him to reconcile these Contradictions, as well as many others, which may plentifully be found in him, by any one, who will but read him with a little Attention, and shall come now to consider, how these two Originals of Government, *Adam's natural and private Dominion*, will consist, and serve to make out and establish the Titles of succeeding Monarchs, who, as our A. obliges them, must

must all derive their Power from these *Fountains*. Let us then suppose *Adam* made by *God's Donation* Lord and sole Proprietor of the whole Earth, in as large and ample a manner as *Sir Robert* could wish; let us suppose him also by *Right of Fatherhood* absolute Ruler over his Children with an unlimited Supremacy, I ask then upon *Adam's* Death what becomes of both his *natural* and *private Dominion*; and I doubt not 'twill be answered, that they descended to his next Heir, as our *A.* tells us in several Places. But this way, 'tis plain, cannot possibly convey both his *natural* and *private Dominion* to the same Person. For should we allow, that all the Property, all the Estate of the Father ought to descend to the Eldest Son, (which will need some proof to establish it) and so he has by that Title all the *private Dominion* of the Father, yet the Father's *natural Dominion*, the Paternal Power can not descend to him by Inheritance. For it being a Right that accrues to a Man only by begetting, no Man can have this natural Dominion over any one, he does not beget; unless it can be suppos'd, that a Man can have a Right to any thing, without doing that upon which that Right is solely founded. For if a Father by begetting, and no other Title has *natural Dominion* over his Children, he that does not beget them, cannot have this *natural Dominion* over them; and therefore be it true or false, that our *A.* says, O. 136. That every Man that is born, by his very Birth becomes a Subject to him that begets him, this necessarily follows, viz. That a Man by his Birth cannot become a Subject to his Brother, who did not beget him: unless it can be suppos'd that a Man by the very same Title can come to be under the *natural and absolute Dominion* of two different Men at once; or it be sense to say, that a Man by Birth is under the *natural Dominion* of his Father, only because he begat him, and a Man by Birth also is under the *natural Dominion* of his Eldest Brother, though he did not beget him.

75. If then the *private Dominion* of *Adam*, i. e. his Property in the Creatures, descended at his Death all entirely to his Eldest Son, his Heir; (for if it did not, there is presently an end of all *Sir Robert's* Monarchy) and his *natural Dominion*; the Dominion a Father has over his Children by begetting them, belong'd immediately upon *Adam's* Decease equally to all his Sons who had Children, by the same Title their Father had it, the Sovereignty founded upon Property, and the Sovereignty founded upon Fatherhood, come to be divided; since *Cain* as Heir had that of Property alone, *Seth* and the other Sons that of Fatherhood equally with him. This is the best can be made of our *A.'s* Doctrine, and of the two Titles of Sovereignty he sets up in *Adam*, one of them will either signifie nothing, or if they both must stand, they can serve only to confound the Rights of Princes, and disorder Government in his Posterity. For by building upon two Titles to Dominion, which cannot descend together, and which he allows may be separated, (for he yields that *Adam's* Children had their distinct Territories by Right of *private Dominion*, O. 210. p. 40.) he makes it perpetually a doubt upon his Principles where the Sovereignty is, or to whom we owe our Obedience, since Fatherhood and Property are distinct Titles, and began presently upon *Adam's* Death to be in distinct Persons. And which then was to give way to the other?

76. Let us take the account of it, as he himself gives it us. He tells us out of *Grotius*, That *Adam's* Children by Donation, Assignment, or some kind of Cession before he was dead, had their distinct Territories by Right of *private Dominion*; *Abel* had his Flocks and Pastures for them; *Cain* had his Fields for Corn, and the Land of *Nod* where he built him a City, O. 210. Here 'tis obvious to demand, which of these two after *Adam's* Death was Sovereign? *Cain*, says our *A.* p. 19. By what Title? As Heir; for Heirs to Progenitors, who were natural Parents of their People, are not only Lords of their own Children, but also of their Brethren, says our *A.* p. 19. What was *Cain* Heir to? Not the entire Possessions, not all that which *Adam* had *private Dominion* in, for our *A.* allows that *Abel* by a Title derived from his Father, had his distinct Territory for Pasture by Right of *private Dominion*. What then *Abel* had by *private Dominion*, was exempt from *Cain's* Dominion. For he could not have *private Dominion* over that, which was under the *private Dominion* of another; and therefore his Sovereignty over his Brother is gone with this *private Dominion*, and so there are presently two Sovereigns, and his imaginary Title of Fatherhood is out of Doors, and *Cain* is no Prince over his Brother. Or else if *Cain* retain his Sovereignty over *Abel*, notwithstanding his *private Dominion*, it will follow, that the first Grounds and Principles of Government have nothing to do with Property, what-

whatever our A. says to the contrary. 'Tis true, *Abel* did not out-live his Father *Adam*, but that makes nothing to the Argument, which will hold good against *Sir Robert* in *Abel's* Issue, or in *Seth*, or any of the Posterity of *Adam*, not descended from *Cain*.

77. The same Inconvenience he runs into about the three sons of *Noah*, who, as he says, p. 13. had the whole World divided amongst them by their Father. I ask then in which of the three shall we find the Establishment of Regal Power after *Noah's* Death? If in all three, as our A. there seems to say; then it will follow, that Regal Power is founded in Property of Land, and follows private Dominion, and not in paternal Power or natural Dominion, and so there is an end of paternal Power as the Fountain of regal Authority, and the so much magnified Fatherhood quite vanishes. If the regal Power descended to *Shem* as Eldest, and Heir to his Father, then *Noah's* Division of the World by Lot to his Sons, or his Ten Years sailing about the Mediterranean to appoint each Son his part, which our A. tells of, p. 15. was Labour lost, his Division of the World to them, was to ill, or to no Purpose. For his Grant to *Cham* and *Japhet* was little worth, if *Shem*, notwithstanding this Grant, as soon as *Noah* was dead, was to be Lord over them. Or, if this Grant of private Dominion to them, over their assigned Territories, were good, here were set up two distinct sorts of Power, not subordinate one to the other, with all those Inconveniences which he musters up against the Power of the People, O. 158. which I shall set down in his own Words, only changing Property for People. All Power on Earth is either derived or usurped from the Fatherly Power, there being no other Original to be found of any Power whatsoever: For if there should be granted two Sorts of Power, without any Subordination of one to the other, they would be in perpetual strife which should be Supreme, for two Supremes cannot agree: If the Fatherly Power be Supreme, then the Power grounded on private Dominion must be subordinate, and depend on it; and if the Power grounded on Property be supreme, then the Fatherly Power must submit to it, and cannot be exercised without the License of the Proprietors, which must quite destroy the Frame and Course of Nature. This is his own arguing against two distinct Independent Powers, which I have set down in his own Words, only putting Power rising from Property, for Power of the People; and when he has answered what he himself has urged here against two distinct Powers, we shall be better able to see how, with any tolerable Sense, he can derive all Regal Authority from the natural and private Dominion of *Adam* from Fatherhood and Property together, which are distinct Titles, that do not always meet in the same Person; and 'tis plain, by his own Confession, presently separated as soon both as *Adam's* and *Noah's* Death made way for Succession: Though our A. frequently in his Writings jumbles them together, and omits not to make use of either, where he thinks it will sound best to his Purpose. But the Absurdities of this will more fully appear in the next Chapter, where we shall examine the ways of Conveyance of the Sovereignty of *Adam*, to Princes that were to Reign after him.

C H A P. VIII.

Of the Conveyance of Adam's sovereign Monarchical Power.

78. *SIR Robert*, having not been very happy in any Proof he brings for the Sovereignty of *Adam*, is not much more fortunate in conveying it to future Princes, who, if his Politicks be true, must all derive their Titles from that first Monarch. The Ways he has assigned, as they lie scatter'd up and down in his Writings, I will set down in his own Words: In his Preface he tells us, That *Adam* being Monarch of the whole World, none of his Posterity had any right to possess any thing, but by his Grant or Permission, or by Succession from him. Here he makes two ways of Conveyance of any thing *Adam* stood possessed of, and those are Grants or Succession. Again he says, All Kings either are, or are to be reputed the next Heirs to those first Progenitors, who were at first the natural Parents of the whole People, p. 19. There cannot be any Multitude of Men whatsoever, but that in it, consider'd by it self, there is one Man amongst them, that in Nature hath a Right to be the King of all the rest, as being the next Heir to *Adam*, O. 253. Here in these Places Inheritance is the

only Way he allows of conveying Monarchical Power to Princes. In other Places he tells us, O. 155. *All Power on Earth is either derived or usurped from the Fatherly Power*, O. 158. *All Kings that now are, or ever were either Fathers of their People, or Heirs of such Fathers, or Usurpers of the Right of such Fathers*, O. 253. And here he makes *Inheritance* or *Usurpation* the only Ways whereby Kings come by this Original Power: But yet he tells us, *This Fatherly Empire, as it was of it self Hereditary, so it was alienable by Patent, and seizable by an Usurper*, O. 190. So then here *Inheritance*, *Grant* or *Usurpation* will convey it. And last of all, which is most admirable, he tells us, p. 100. *It skills not which way Kings came by their Power whether by Election, Donation, Succession, or by any other means, for it is still the Manner of the Government by supreme Power, that makes them properly Kings, and not the Means of obtaining their Crowns*. Which I think is a full Answer to all his whole Hypothesis and Discourse about *Adam's Royal Authority*, as the Fountain from which all Princes were to derive theirs: And he might have spared the trouble of speaking so much as he does up and down of Heirs and Inheritance, if to make any one properly a King, needs no more but *Governing by supreme Power*, and it matters not by what Means he came by it.

79. By this notable Way, our A. may make *Oliver* as properly King, as any one else he could think of: And had he had the Happiness to live under *Massanello's* Government, he could not by this his own Rule have forbore to have done Homage to him, with *O King live for ever*, since the Manner of his Government by supreme Power, made him properly King, who was but the Day before properly a Fisherman. And if *Don Quixot* had taught his Squire to govern with supreme Authority, our A. no doubt could have made a most loyal Subject in *Sancho Pancha's Island*; and he must needs have deserved some Preferment in such Governments, since I think he is the first Politician, who, pretending to settle Government upon its true Basis, and to establish the Thrones of lawful Princes, ever told the World, That he was properly a King, whose Manner of Government was by supreme Power, by what Means soever he obtained it; which in plain English is to say, that regal and supreme Power is properly and truly his, who can by any Means seize upon it; and if this be, to be properly a King, I wonder how he came to think of, or where he will find, an Usurper.

80. This is so strange a Doctrine, that the Surprise of it hath made me pass by, without their due Reflection, the Contradictions he runs into, by making sometimes *Inheritance* alone, sometimes only *Grant* or *Inheritance*, sometimes only *Inheritance* or *Usurpation*, sometimes all these three, and at last *Election* or any other Means, added to them, the ways whereby *Adam's Royal Authority*, that is, his Right to supreme Rule, could be convey'd down to future Kings and Governors, so as to give them a Title to the Obedience and Subjection of the People. But these Contradictions lie so open, that the very reading of our A.'s own Words, will discover them to any ordinary Understanding; and though what I have quoted out of him (with abundance more of the same Strain and Coherence, which might be found in him) might well excuse me from any farther trouble in this Argument, yet having propos'd to my self, to examine the main parts of his Doctrine, I shall a little more particularly consider how *Inheritance*, *Grant*, *Usurpation* or *Election*, can any way make out Government in the World upon his Principles; or derive to any one a right of Empire, from this Regal Authority of *Adam*, had it been never so well proved, that he had been absolute Monarch, and Lord of the whole World.

C H A P. IX.

Of Monarchy, by Inheritance from Adam.

81. **T**Hough it be never so plain, that there ought to be Government in the World, nay should all Men be of our A.'s mind that divine appointment had ordained it to be *Monarchical*, yet since Men cannot obey any thing, that cannot command; and Ideas of Government in the Fancy, though never so perfect, though never so right, cannot give Laws, nor prescribe Rules to the Actions

ons of Men ; it would be of no behoof for the settling of Order, and Establishment of Government in its Exercise and Use amongst Men, unless there were a Way also taught how to know the Person, to whom it belonged to have this Power, and exercise this Dominion over others. 'Tis in vain then to talk of Subjection and Obedience without telling us whom we are to obey. For were I never so fully perswaded that there ought to be Magistracy and Rule in the World ; yet I am never the less at Liberty still, till it appears, who is the Person, that hath Right to my Obedience ; since if there be no Marks to know him by, and distinguish him, that hath Right to Rule from other Men, it may be my self, as well as any other. And therefore though Submission to Government be everyone's duty, yet since that signifies nothing but submitting to the Direction and Laws of such Men, as have Authority to command, 'tis not enough to make a Man a Subject, to convince him that there is *Regal Power* in the World ; but there must be ways of designing, and knowing the Person to whom this *Regal Power* of Right belongs : And a Man can never be oblig'd ; in Conscience to submit to any Power, unless he can be satisfied who is the Person, who has a Right to exercise that Power over him. If this were not so, there would be no distinction between Pirates and Lawful Princes ; he that has Force is without any more ado to be obey'd, and Crowns and Scepters would become the Inheritance only of Violence and Rapin. Men too might as often and as innocently change their Governors, as they do their Physicians, if the Person cannot be known, who has a Right to direct me, and whose Prescriptions I am bound to follow. To settle therefore Mens Consciences, under an Obligation to Obedience, 'tis necessary, that they know not only, that there is a Power somewhere in the World, but the Person who by Right is vested with this Power over them.

82. How successful our A. has been in his Attempts, to set up a *Monarchical Absolute Power* in *Adam*, the Reader may judge by what has been already said ; but were that *Absolute Monarchy* as clear as our A. would desire it, as I presume it is the contrary, yet it could be of no use to the Government of Mankind now in the World, unless he also make out these two things.

First. That this *Power of Adam* was not to end with him, but was upon his Decease conveyed intire to some other Person, and so on to Posterity.

Secondly, That the Princes and Rulers now on Earth, are possessed of this *Power of Adam*, by a right way of Conveyance derived to them.

83. If the first of these fail, the *Power of Adam*, were it never so great, never so certain, will signify nothing to the present Government and Societies in the World, but we must seek out some other original of Power for the Government of Politics than this of *Adam*, or else there will be none at all in the World. If the latter fail, it will destroy the Authority of the present Governors, and absolve the People from Subjection to them, since they having no better a Claim than others to that Power, which is alone the Fountain of all Authority, can have no Title to rule over them.

84. Our A. having fancied an absolute Sovereignty in *Adam*, mentions several Ways of its Conveyance to Princes, that were to be his Successors, but that which he chiefly insists on, is that of Inheritance, which occurs so often in his several Discourses, and I having in the foregoing Chapter quoted several of these Passages, I shall not need here again to repeat them. This Sovereignty he erects, as has been said, upon a double Foundation, viz. that of *Property*, and that of *Fatherhood*. One was the right he was supposed to have in all Creatures, a right to possess the Earth with the Beasts, and other inferior Ranks of things in it, for his private Use, exclusive of all other Men. The other was the Right he was supposed to have, to Rule and Govern Men, all the rest of Mankind.

85. In both these Rights, there being supposed an exclusion of all other Men, it must be upon some Reason peculiar to *Adam*, that they must both be founded.

That of his *Property* our A. supposes to arise from God's immediate *Donation* Gen. 1. 28. and that of *Fatherhood* from the Act of *Begetting* : Now in all Inheritance, if the Heir succeed not to the reason, upon which his Father's Right was founded, he cannot succeed to the Right which followeth from it. For Example, *Adam* had a Right of Property in the Creatures upon the *Donation* and *Grant* of God Almighty, who was Lord and Proprietor of them all ; let this be so as our A. tells us, yet upon his Death his Heir can have no Title to them, no such

right of Property in them, unless the same Reason, *viz.* God's *Donation* vested a right in the *Heir* too. For if *Adam* could have had no Property in, nor use of the Creatures without this positive *Donation* from God, and this *Donation*, were only personally to *Adam*, his *Heir* could have no right by it, but upon his death it must revert to God the Lord and Owner again; for positive Grants give no Title farther, than the express Words convey it, and by which only it is held. And thus, if as our A. himself contends, that *Donation*, *Gen.* 1. 28. were made only to *Adam* personally, his *Heir* could not succeed to his property in the Creatures; and if it were a *Donation* to any but *Adam*, let it be shewn, that it was to his *Heir* in our A.'s Sense *i. e.* to one of his Children exclusive of all the rest.

86. But not to follow our A. too far out of the Way, the plain of the Case is this. God having made Man, and planted in him, as in all other Animals, a strong desire of self-Preservation; and furnished the World with things fit for Food and Rayment, and other necessities of Life, subservient to his Design, that Man should live and abide for some time upon the Face of the Earth, and not that so curious and wonderful a piece of Workmanship, by its own Negligence, or want of Necessaries, should perish again, presently after a few Moments continuance; God, I say, having made Man and the World thus, spoke to him, (that is) directed him by his Senses and Reason, as he did the inferior Animals by their Sense, and Instinct, which he had placed in them to that purpose, to the Use of those things, which were serviceable for his Subsistence, and given him as the means of his *Preservation*. And therefore I doubt not, but before these Words were pronounced, *1 Gen.* 28. 29. (if they must be understood literally to have been spoken) and without any such Verbal *Donation*, Man had a right to an use of the Creatures, by the Will and Grant of God. For the Desire, strong Desire of preserving his Life and Being having been planted in him, as a Principle of Action by God himself, Reason, which was the Voice of God in him, could not but teach him and assure him, that pursuing that natural Inclination, he had to preserve his Being, he followed the Will of his Maker, and therefore had a Right to make use of those Creatures, which by his Reason or Senses he could discover would be serviceable thereunto. And thus Man's Property in the Creatures, was founded upon the Right he had, to make Use of those things, that were necessary or useful to his Being.

87. This being the Reason and Foundation of *Adam's* Property gave the same Title, on the same Ground, to all his Children, not only after his Death, but in his Life-time: So that here was no Privilege of his *Heir* above his other Children, which could exclude them from an equal Right to the Use of the inferior Creatures, for the comfortable preservation of their Beings, which is all the Property Man hath in them; and so *Adam's* Sovereignty built on Property, or as our A. calls it, *private Dominion* comes to nothing. Every Man had a Right to the Creatures, by the same Title *Adam* had, *viz.* by the Right every one had to take care of, and provide for their Subsistence: And thus Men had a Right in common, *Adam's* Children in common with him. But if any one had began, and made himself a Property in any particular thing, (which how he, or any one else, could do, shall be shewn in another place) that thing, that Possession, if he dispos'd not otherwise of it by his positive Grant, descended naturally to his Children, and they had a Right to succeed to it, and possess it.

88. It might reasonably be asked here, how come Children by this Right of possessing, before any other, the properties of their Parents upon their Decease. For it being personally the Parents, when they dye, without actually transferring their Right to another, why does it not return again to the common stock of Mankind? 'Twill perhaps be answered that common Consent hath disposed of it to their Children. Common Practice, we see indeed does so dispose of it, but we cannot say, that it is the common Consent of Mankind; for that hath never been asked, nor actually given; and if common tacit Consent hath establish'd it, it would make but a positive, and not a natural Right of Children to inherit the Goods of their Parents: But where the Practice is universal, 'tis reasonable to think the Cause is natural. The ground then, I think to be this. The first and strongest desire God planted in Men, and wrought into the very Principles of their Nature, being that of self-Preservation, that is the Foundation of a Right to the Creatures for the particular Support, and Use of each individual person him-

himself. But next to this, God planted in Men a strong Desire also of propagating their Kind, and continuing themselves in their Posterity; and this gives Children a Title, to share in the *Property* of their Parents, and a Right to inherit their Possessions. Men are not Proprietors of what they have meerly for themselves, their Children have a Title to part of it, and have their Kind of Right joyn'd with their Parents, in the Possession, which comes to be wholly theirs, when Death, having put an end to their Parents Use of it, hath taken them from their Possessions; and this we call Inheritance: Men being by a like Obligation bound to preserve what they have begotten, as to preserve themselves, their Issue come to have a Right in the Goods they are possessed of. That Children have such a Right is plain from the Laws of God; and that Men are convinced, that Children have such a Right is evident from the Law of the Land, both which Laws require Parents to provide for their Children.

89. For Children being by the course of Nature, born weak, and unable to provide for themselves, they have by the appointment of God himself, who hath thus ordered the Course of Nature, a Right to be nourish'd and maintain'd by their Parents; nay a Right not only to a bare Subsistence, but to the Conveniences and Comforts of Life, as far as the Conditions of their Parents can afford it. Hence it comes that when their Parents leave the World, and so the Care due to their Children ceases, the Effects of it are to extend as far as possibly they can, and the Provisions, they have made in their Life-time, are understood to be intended, as nature requires they should, for their Children, whom after themselves, they are bound to provide for, though the dying Parents, by express Words, declare nothing about them, Nature appoints the descent of their Property to their Children, who thus come to have a Title, and natural Right of Inheritance to their Fathers Goods, which the rest of Mankind cannot pretend to.

90. Were it not for this Right of being Nourished and Maintained by their Parents, which God and Nature has given to Children, and obliged Parents to, as a Duty, it would be reasonable, that the Father should inherit the Estate of his Son, and be prefer'd in the Inheritance before his Grand-Child. For to the Grand-Father, there is due a long Score of Care and Expences laid out upon the Breeding and Education of his Son, which one would think in Justice ought to be paid. But that having been done in Obedience to the same Law, whereby he received Nourishment and Education from his own Parents; this score of Education, received from a Man's Father, is paid by taking Care, and providing for his own Children, is paid, I say, as much as is requir'd of Payment by Alteration of Property, unless present Necessity of the Parents require a return of Goods for their necessary Support and Subsistence. For we are not now speaking of that Reverence, Acknowledgment, Respect and Honour, that is always due from Children to their Parents; but of Possessions and Commodities of Life valuable by Money. But though it be incumbent on Parents to bring up and provide for their Children, yet this debt to their Children does not quite cancel the Score due to their Parents; but only is made by Nature preferable to it. For the debt a Man owes his Father takes Place, and gives the Father a Right to inherit the Sons Goods, where for want of Issue, the Right of Children doth not exclude that Title. And therefore a Man having a Right to be maintain'd by his Children, where he needs it; and to enjoy also the comforts of Life from them, when the necessary Provision due to them, and their Children will afford it, if his Son dye without Issue, the Father has a Right in Nature to possess his Goods, and Inherit his Estate (whatever the Municipal Laws of some Countries, may absurdly direct otherwise) and so again his Children and their Issue from him; or for want of such, his Father and his Issue. But where no such are to be found, *i. e.* no Kindred, there we see the Possessions of a Private Man revert to the Community, and so in Politic Societies come into the Hands of the publick Magistrate: but in the state of nature become again perfectly Common, no body having a right to inherit them: nor can any one have a Property in them, otherwise than in other things common by Nature, of which I shall speak in its due Place.

91. I have been the larger, in shewing upon what ground Children have a Right to succeed to the Possession of their Fathers Properties, not only because by it, it will appear, that if *Adam* had a Property (a Titular insignificant useles Property; for it could be no better, for he was bound to Nourish and Maintain his

his Children and Posterity out of it) in the whole Earth and its Product, yet all his Children coming to have by the Law of Nature, and Right of Inheritance a joynt Title, and Right of Property in it after his Death, it could convey no Right of Sovereignty to any one of his Posterity over the rest: Since every one having a Right of Inheritance to his Portion, they might enjoy their Inheritance, or any part of it in Common, or share it, or some parts of it by Division, as it best liked them. But no one could pretend to the whole Inheritance, or any Sovereignty supposed to accompany it: since a Right of Inheritance gave every one of the rest, as well as any one, a Title to share in the Goods of his Father. Not only upon this Account, I say, have I been so particular in examining the reason of Childrens inheriting the Property of their Fathers, but also because it will give us farther Light in the Inheritance of *Rule* and *Power*, which in Countries where their particular Municipal Laws give the whole Possession of Land entirely to the First Born, and Descent of Power has gone so to Men by this Custom, some have been apt to be deceived into an Opinion, that there was a Natural or Divine Right of Primogeniture, to both *Estate* and *Power*; and that the Inheritance of both *Rule* over Men and *Property* in Things, sprang from the same Original, and were to descend by the same Rules.

92. Property, whose Original is from the Right a Man has to use any of the inferior Creatures, for the Subsistence and Comfort of his Life, is for the Benefit and sole Advantage of the Proprietor, so that he may even destroy the Thing, that he has Property in by his use of it, where need requires: But Government being for the Preservation of every Man's Right and Property, by preserving him from the Violence or Injury of others, is for the good of the Governed. For the Magistrates Sword being for a *Terror to Evil Doers*, and by that Terror to enforce Men to observe the positive Laws of the Society, made conformable to the Laws of Nature, for the publick good, *i. e.* the good of every particular Member of that Society, as far as by common Rule, it can be provided for; the Sword is not given the Magistrate for his own good alone.

93. Children therefore, as has been shew'd, by the dependance they have on their Parents for Subsistence, have a Right of Inheritance to their Fathers Property, as that which belongs to them for their proper good and behoof, and therefore are fitly termed Goods, wherein the First Born has not a sole or peculiar Right by any Law of God and Nature, the younger Children having an equal Title with him founded on that Right they all have to maintenance, support and comfort from their Parents, and on nothing else. But Government being for the benefit of the Governed, and not the sole advantage of the Governors (but only for theirs with the rest, as they make a part of that Politick Body, each of whose parts and Members are taken care of, and directed in its peculiar Functions for the good of the whole, by the Laws of the Society) cannot be inherited by the same Title, that Children have to the Goods of their Father. The Right a Son has to be maintained and provided with the Necessaries and Conveniences of Life out of his Father's Stock, gives him a Right to succeed to his Father's Property for his own good; but this can give him no Right to succeed also to the *Rule*, which his Father had over other Men. All that a Child has Right to claim from his Father is Nourishment and Education, and the things Nature furnishes for the support of Life: But he has no Right to demand *Rule* or *Dominion* from him: He can subsist and receive from him the Portion of good Things, and advantages of Education naturally due to him, without *Empire* and *Dominion*. That (if his Father hath any) was vested in him, for the good and behoof of others: and therefore the Son cannot claim or inherit it by a Title, which is founded wholly on his own private good and advantage.

94. We must know how the first Ruler, from whom any one Claims, came by his Authority, upon what ground any one has *Empire*, what his Title is to it, before we can know who has a right to succeed him in it, and inherit it from him: If the Agreement and Consent of Men first gave a Scepter into any one's Hand, or put a Crown on his Head, that also must direct its Descent and Conveyance. For the same Authority, that made the first a lawful Ruler, must make the second too, and so give Right of Succession: in this Case Inheritance or Primogeniture, can in its self have no Right, no pretence to it, any farther than that Consent, which Established the Form of the Government, hath so settled the

the Succession. And thus we see the Succession of Crowns, in several Countries places it on different Heads, and he comes by Right of Succession, to be a Prince in one Place, who would be a Subject in another.

95. If God by his positive Grant and revealed Declaration, first gave *Rule* and *Dominion* to any Man, he that will claim by that Title, must have the same positive Grant of God for his Succession. For if that has not directed the Course of its Descent and Conveyance down to others, no body can succeed to this Title of the first Ruler. Children have no Right of Inheritance to this; and Primogeniture can lay no Claim to it, unless God the Author of this Constitution hath so ordained it. Thus we see the pretensions of *Saul's* Family, who received his Crown from the immediate Appointment of God, ended with his Reign; and *David* by the same Title that *Saul* Reigned, viz. God's Appointment, succeeded in his Throne, to the exclusion of *Jonathan*, and all pretensions of Paternal Inheritance: And if *Solomon* had a Right to succeed his Father, it must be by some other Title, than that of Primogeniture. A *Cadet* or Sister's Son, must have the Preference in Succession, if he has the same Title the first lawful Prince had; and in Dominion that has its Foundation only in the positive Appointment of God himself, *Benjamin* the youngest, must have the Inheritance of the Crown, if God so direct, as well as one of that Tribe had the first Possession.

96. If *Paternal Right* the Act of *Begetting*, give a Man *Rule* and *Dominion*, Inheritance or Primogeniture can give no Title. For he that cannot succeed to his Father's Title, which was *Begetting*, cannot succeed to that Power over his Brethren, which his Father had by Paternal Right over them. But of this I shall have occasion to say more in another place. This is plain in the mean Time, that any Government whether supposed to be at first founded in *Paternal Right*, *Consent of the People*, or the positive Appointment of God himself, which can supersede either of the other, and so begin a new Government upon a new Foundation, I say, any Government began upon either of these, can by Right of Succession come to those only, who have the Title of him, they succeed to Power founded on *Contract*, can descend only to him, who has Right by that Contract: Power founded on *Begetting*, he only can have that *Begets*: and Power founded on the positive Grant or Donation of God, he only can have by Right of Succession, to whom that Grant directs it.

97. From what I have said, I think this is clear, that a Right to the use of the Creatures, being founded Originally in the Right a Man has to subsist and enjoy the Conveniences of Life; and the natural Right Children have to inherit the Goods of their Parents, being founded in the Right they have to the same Subsistence and Commodities of Life, out of the Stock of their Parents, who are therefore taught by Natural Love and Tenderness to provide for them, as a part of themselves: and all this being only for the good of the Proprietor, or Heir; it can be no Reason for Childrens Inheriting of *Rule* and *Dominion*, which has another original and a different end. Nor can Primogeniture have any pretence to a Right of solely inheriting either *Property* or *Power*, as we shall, in its due place, see more fully. 'Tis enough to have shew'd here, that *Adam's Property*, or *Private Dominion*, could not convey any Sovereignty or Rule to his Heir, who not having a Right to inherit all his Father's Possessions, could not thereby come to have any Sovereignty over his Brethren: and therefore if any Sovereignty on account of his *Property*, had been vested in *Adam*, which in truth there was not; yet it would have died with him.

98. As *Adam's Sovereignty*, if by vertue of being Proprietor of the whole World, he had any Authority over Men, could not have been inherited by any of his Children over the rest, because they had the same Title to divide the Inheritance, and every one had a Right to a Portion of his Father's Possessions: So neither could *Adam's Sovereignty* by Right of *Fatherhood*, if any such he had, descend to any one of his Children. For it being in our A.'s Account, a Right acquired by *Begetting* to Rule over those he had Begotten, it was not a Power possible to be Inherited, because the Right being in consequent to, and built on, an Act perfectly Personal, made that Power so too, and impossible to be Inherited. For Paternal Power, being a Natural Right rising only from the relation of Father and Son, is as impossible to be inherited as the relation itself, and a Man may pretend as well to inherit the Conjugal Power the Husband, whose Heir he is,

is, had over his Wife, as he can to inherit the Paternal Power of a Father over his Children. For the Power of the Husband being founded on Contract, and the Power of the Father on *Begetting*, he may as well inherit the Power obtained by the Conjugal Contract, which was only Personal, as he may the Power obtained by *Begetting*, which could reach no farther than the Person of the Begetter, unless *Begetting* can be a Title to Power in him, that does not Beget.

99. Which makes it a reasonable question to ask, whether *Adam*, dying before *Eve*, his Heir, (suppose *Cain* or *Seth*) should have by Right of Inheriting *Adam's* Fatherhood, Sovereign Power over *Eve* his Mother. For *Adam's* Fatherhood being nothing but a Right he had to govern his Children, because he begot them, he that inherits *Adam's* Fatherhood, inherits nothing, even in our A.'s Sense, but the Right *Adam* had to govern his Children, because he begot them: So that the Monarchy of the Heir would not have taken in *Eve*, or if it did, it being nothing but the Fatherhood of *Adam* descended by Inheritance, the Heir must have Right to govern *Eve*, because *Adam* begot her; for Fatherhood is nothing else.

100. Perhaps it will be said with our A. that a Man can alien his Power over his Child; and what may be transfer'd by Compact, may be possessed by Inheritance. I answer, A Father cannot Alien the Power he has over his Child, he may perhaps to some degrees forfeit it, but cannot transfer it; and if any other Man acquire it, 'tis not by the Father's Grant, but by some Act of his own. For Example, a Father, unnaturally careless of his Child, sells or gives him to another Man; and he again exposes him; a third Man finding him, breeds up, cherishes and provides for him as his own: I think in this Case, no body will doubt, but that the greatest part of filial Duty and Subjection was here owing, and to be paid to this Foster-Father; and if any thing could be demanded from the Child, by either of the other, it could be only due to his Natural Father: who perhaps might have forfeited his Right to much of that Duty comprehended in the Command, *Honour your Parents*, but could transfer none of it to another. He that purchased, and neglected the Child got by his Purchase and Grant of the Father, no Title to Duty or Honour from the Child, but only he acquired it, who by his own Authority, performing the Office and Care of a Father, to the Forlorn and perishing Infant, made himself by Paternal Care, a Title to proportionable Degrees of Paternal Power. This will be more easily admitted upon Consideration of the nature of Paternal Power, for which I refer my Reader to the Second Book.

101. To return to the Argument in Hand: This is evident, That Paternal Power arising only from *Begetting*, for in that our A. places it alone, can neither be *transferr'd*, nor *inherited*: And he that does not beget, can no more have Paternal Power, which arises from thence, than he can have a Right to any thing, who performs not the Condition, to which only it is annexed. If one should ask, by what Law has a Father Power over his Children? It will be answered, no doubt, by the Law of Nature, which gives such a Power over them, to him that begets them. If one should ask likewise, by what Law does our A.'s Heir come by a Right to Inherit? I think it would be answer'd, by the Law of Nature too. For I find not that our A. brings one word of Scripture to prove the Right of such an Heir he speaks of. Why then the Law of Nature gives Father's Paternal Power over their Children, because they did *beget* them; and the same Law of Nature gives the same Paternal Power to the Heir over his Brethren, who did not *beget* them: whence it follows, that either the Father has not his Paternal Power by *begetting*, or else that the Heir has it not at all: For 'tis hard to understand how the Law of Nature, which is the Law of Reason, can give the Paternal Power to the Father over his Children, for the only Reason of *Begetting*; and to the first-born over his Brethren without this only Reason, *i. e.* for no Reason at all: and if the Eldest, by the Law of Nature, can inherit this Paternal Power, without the only Reason, that gives a Title to it, so may the Youngest, as well as he, and a Stranger as well as either; for where there is no Reason for any one, as there is not, but for him that Begets, all have an equal Title. I am sure our A. offers no Reason, and when any body does, we shall see whether it will hold or no.

102. In the mean time 'tis as good Sense to say, that by the Law of Nature a Man has Right to inherit the Property of another, because he is of Kin to him,
and

and is known to be of his Blood, and therefore by the same Law of Nature; an utter stranger to his Blood, has Right to inherit his Estate: As to say that by the Law of Nature, he that begets them, has Paternal Power over his Children, and therefore by the Law of Nature the Heir, that begets them not, has this Paternal Power over them; or supposing the Law of the Land gave Absolute Power over their Children; to such only who nursed them, and fed their Children themselves, could any body pretend, that this Law gave any one, who did no such Thing, Absolute Power over those, who were not his Children.

103. When therefore it can be shew'd, that Conjugal Power can belong to him, that is not an Husband; it will also I believe be proved, that our A.'s Paternal Power acquired by begetting, may be inherited by a Son; and that a Brother, as Heir to his Father's Power, may have Paternal Power over his Brethren, and by the same Rule Conjugal Power too: but till then, I think we may rest satisfied, that the Paternal Power of *Adam*, this Sovereign Authority of *Fatherhood*, were there any such, could not descend to, nor be inherited by his next Heir. *Fatherly Power* I easily grant our A. if it will do him any good, can never be lost, because it will be as long in the World as there are Fathers: But none of them will have *Adam's* Eternal Power, or derive theirs from him, but every one will have his own, by the same Title *Adam* had his, viz. by *Begetting*, but not by Inheritance, or Succession, no more than Husbands have their Conjugal Power by Inheritance from *Adam*. And thus we see as *Adam* had no such Property, no such Paternal Power, as gave him Sovereign Jurisdiction over Mankind; so likewise his Sovereignty built upon either of these Titles, if he had any such, could not have descended to his Heir, but must have ended with him. *Adam* therefore, as has been proved, being neither Monarch, nor his imaginary Monarchy hereditary, the Power which is now in the World, is not that which was *Adam's*, since all that *Adam* could have upon our A.'s Grounds, either of Property or *Fatherhood*, necessarily dyed with him, and could not be convey'd to Posterity by Inheritance. In the next place we will consider, whether *Adam* had any such Heir, to inherit his Power, as our A. talks of.

CHAP. X.

Of the Heir to Adam's Monarchical Power.

104. OUR A. tells us, O. 253. That it is a truth undeniable, that there cannot be any Multitude of Men whatsoever, either great or small, tho' gathered together from the several corners and remotest Regions of the World, but that in the same Multitude considered by its self, there is one Man amongst them, that in Nature hath a Right to be King of all the rest, as being the next Heir to Adam, and all the other Subjects to him, every Man by Nature is a King or a Subject. And again, p. 20. If Adam himself were still living, and now ready to die, it is certain that there is one Man, and but one in the World who is next Heir. Let this Multitude of Men be, if our A. pleases, all the Princes upon the Earth, there will then be by our A.'s Rule, one amongst them, that in Nature hath a Right to be King of all the rest, as being the Right Heir to Adam; an excellent way to Establish the Thrones of Princes, and settle the Obedience of their Subjects, by setting up an Hundred, or perhaps a Thousand Titles (if there be so many Princes in the World) against any King now Reigning, each as good, upon our A.'s Grounds, as his who wears the Crown. If this Right of Heir carry any weight with it, if it be the Ordinance of God, as our A. seems to tell us, O. 244. must not all be subject to it, from the highest to the lowest? Can those who wear the Name of Princes, without having the Right of being Heirs to Adam, demand Obedience from their Subjects by this Title, and not be bound to pay it by the same Law? either Governments in the World are not to be claim'd, and held by this Title of *Adam's* Heir, and then the starting of it is to no purpose, the being or not being *Adam's* Heir signifies nothing as to the Title of Dominion: Or if it really be, as our A. says, the true Title to Government and Sovereignty, the first thing to be done, is to find out this

true Heir of *Adam*, seat him in his Throne, and then all the Kings and Princes of the World ought to come and resign up their *Crowns* and *Scepters* to him, as things that belong no more to them, than to any of their Subjects.

105. For either this Right in Nature, of *Adam's* Heir, to be King over all the race of Men, (for all together they make one *Multitude*) is a Right not necessary to the making of a Lawful King, and so there may be Lawful Kings without it, and then Kings Titles and Power depend not on it: or else all the Kings in the World but one are not Lawful Kings, and so have no Right to Obedience: Either this Title of Heir to *Adam* is that whereby Kings hold their Crowns, and have a Right to Subjection from their Subjects, and then one only can have it, and the rest being Subjects can require no Obedience from other Men, who are but their fellow Subjects; or else it is not the Title whereby Kings Rule, and have a Right to Obedience from their Subjects, and then Kings are Kings without it, and this Dream of the Natural Sovereignty of *Adam's* Heir is of no use to Obedience and Government. For if Kings have a Right to Dominion, and the Obedience of their Subjects, who are not, nor can possibly be Heirs to *Adam*, what use is there of such a Title, when we are obliged to Obey without it? If Kings, who are not Heirs to *Adam*, have no Right to Sovereignty, we are all free, till our A. or any body for him, will shew us *Adam's* Right Heir. If there be but one Heir of *Adam*, there can be but one Lawful King in the World, and no body in Conscience can be obliged to Obedience till it be resolved who that is; for it may be any one, who is not known to be of a younger House, and all others have equal Titles. If there be more than one Heir of *Adam*, every one is his Heir, and so every one has Regal Power. For if two Sons can be Heirs together, then all the Sons are equally Heirs, and so all are Heirs, being all Sons, or Sons Sons of *Adam*. Betwixt these two the Right of Heir cannot stand; for by it either but one only Man, or all Men are Kings. Take which you please, it dissolves the Bonds of Government and Obedience; since if all Men are Heirs, they can owe Obedience to no body; if only one, no body can be obliged to pay Obedience to him, till he be known, and his Title made out.

CHAP. XI.

Who H E I R?

106. **T**HE great Question which in all Ages has disturbed Mankind, and brought on them the greatest part of those Mischiefs, which have ruin'd Cities, depopulated Countries, and disordered the Peace of the World, has been, not whether there be Power in the World, nor whence it came, but who should have it. The settling of this point being of no smaller moment than the security of Princes, and the peace and welfare of their Estates and Kingdoms, a Reformer of Politicks, one would think, should lay this sure, and be very clear in it. For if this remain disputable, all the rest will be to very little purpose; and the skill used in dressing up Power with all the Splendor and Temptation Absoluteness can add to it, without shewing who has a Right to have it, will serve only to give a greater edge to Man's Natural Ambition, which of its self is but too keen. What can this do but set Men on the more eagerly to Scramble; and so lay a sure and lasting Foundation of endless Contention and Disorder, instead of that Peace and Tranquillity, which is the business of Government, and the end of Human Society?

107. This Designation of the person our A. is more than ordinary obliged to take care of, because he, affirming that the *Assignment of Civil Power is by Divine Institution*, hath made the Conveyance as well as the Power itself Sacred: so that no Consideration, no Act or Art of Man can divert it from that Person, to whom by this Divine Right, it is Assigned; no Necessity or Contrivance can substitute another Person in his Room. For if the *Assignment of Civil Power be by Divine Institution*; and *Adam's* Heir be he, to whom it is thus Assigned, as in the fore-

foregoing Chapter our A. tells us, it would be as much Sacrilege for any one to be King, who was not *Adam's Heir*, as it would have been amongst the *Jews*, for any one to have been *Priest*, who had not been of *Aaron's Posterity*: For not only the Priesthood in general being by *Divine Institution*, but the Assignment of it to the sole Line and Posterity of *Aaron*, made it impossible to be enjoy'd or exercised by any one, but those Persons, who are the Off-spring of *Aaron*: whose succession therefore was carefully observed, and by that the Persons who had a Right to the Priesthood certainly known.

108. Let us see then what care our A. has taken, to make us know who is this *Heir*, who by *Divine Institution*, has a right to be King over all Men. The first account of him we meet with is p. 12. in these words: *This Subjection of Children, being the Fountain of all Regal Authority, by the Ordination of God himself; it follows, that Civil Power not only in general, is by Divine Institution, but even the Assignment of it specifically to the Eldest Parents.* Matters of such Consequence as this is, should be in plain words, as little liable, as might be, to Doubt or Equivocation; and I think if Language be capable of expressing any thing distinctly and clearly, that of Kindred, and the several Degrees of nearness of Blood, is one. It were therefore to be wish'd, that our A. had used a little more intelligible Expressions here, that we might have better known, who it is, to whom the Assignment of civil Power is made by *Divine Institution*; or at least would have told us what he meant by *Eldest Parents*. For I believe if Land had been Assigned or Granted to him, and the *Eldest Parents* of his Family, he would have thought it had needed an Interpreter; and 'twould scarce have been known to whom next it belong'd.

109. In Propriety of Speech, (and certainly Propriety of Speech is necessary in a Discourse of this Nature) *Eldest Parents* signifies either the Eldest Men and Women that have had Children, or those who have longest had Issue; and then our A.'s Assertion will be, That those Fathers and Mothers, who have been longest in the World, or longest Fruitful, have by *Divine Institution* a Right to civil Power. If there be any Absurdity in this, our A. must answer for it: and if his Meaning be different from my Explication, he is to be blam'd, that he would not speak it plainly. This I am sure, *Parents* cannot signify *Heirs Male*, nor *Eldest Parents* an Infant Child: who yet may sometimes be the true Heir, if there can be but one. And we are hereby still as much at a Loss, who civil Power belongs to, notwithstanding this Assignment by *Divine Institution*, as if there had been no such Assignment at all, or our A. had said nothing of it. This of *Eldest Parents* leaving us more in the dark, who by *Divine Institution* has a Right to civil Power, than those who never heard any thing at all of *Heir*, or descent, of which our A. is so full. And though the chief matter of his Writings be to teach Obedience to those, who have a Right to it, which he tells us is conveyed by Descent, yet who those are, to whom this Right by Descent belongs, he leaves, like the Philosophers Stone in Politicks, out of the reach of any one to discover from his Writings.

110. This Obscurity cannot be imputed to want of Language in so great a Master of Style as Sir Robert is, when he is resolved with himself, what he would say: And therefore, I fear, finding how hard it would be to settle Rules of descent by *Divine Institution*, and how little it would be to his Purpose, or conduce to the clearing and establishing the Titles of Princes, if such Rules of descent were settled, he chose rather to content himself with doubtful and general Terms, which might make no ill sound in Mens Ears, who were willing to be pleas'd with them, rather than offer any clear Rules of descent of this *Fatherhood of Adam*, by which Mens Consciences might be satisfied to whom it Descended, and know the Persons who had a Right to Regal Power, and with it to their Obedience.

111. How else is it possible, that laying so much stress, as he does, upon *Descent*, and *Adam's Heir*, next *Heir*, true *Heir*, he should never tell us what *Heir* means, nor the way to know who the next or true *Heir* is. This, I do not remember, he does any where expressly handle; but, where it comes in his way, very warily and doubtfully touches; though it be so necessary, that without it all Discourses of Government and Obedience upon his Principles would be to no Purpose, and *Fatherly Power*, never so well made out, will be of no use to any body. Hence he tells us, O. 244. *That not only the Constitution of Power in general, but the limitation of it to one kind, (i. e.) Monarchy and the Determination of it to the indi-*

vidual Person and Line of Adam, are all three Ordinances of God, neither Eve nor her Children could either limit Adams' Power, or joyn others with him; and what was given unto Adam was given in his Person to his Posterity. Here again our A. informs us, that the Divine Ordinance hath limited the descent of Adam's Monarchical Power. To whom? To Adam's Line and Posterity, says our A. A notable Limitation, a Limitation to all Mankind. For if our A. can find any one amongst Mankind, that is not of the Line and Posterity of Adam, he may perhaps tell him, who this next Heir of Adam's is: But for us, I despair how this Limitation of Adam's Empire to his Line and Posterity will help us to find out one Heir. This Limitation indeed of our A. will save those the Labour, who would look for him amongst the Race of Brutes, if any such there were: But will very little contribute to the discovery of one next Heir amongst Men, though it make a short and easie determination of the Question about the descent of Adam's Regal Power, by telling us, that the Line and Posterity of Adam is to have it, that is in plain English, any one may have it, since there is no Person living, that hath not the Title of being of the Line and Posterity of Adam; and while it keeps there, it keeps within our A.'s Limitation by God's Ordinance. Indeed, p. 19. he tells us, that such Heirs are not only Lords of their own Children, but of their Brethren, whereby, and by the words following, which we shall consider anon, he seems to insinuate, that the eldest Son is Heir; but he no where, that I know, says in direct Words, but by the instances of Cain and Jacob, that there follow, we may allow this to be so far his Opinion concerning Heirs, that where there are divers Children, the eldest Son has the Right to be Heir. That Primogeniture cannot give any Title to Paternal Power, we have already shew'd. That a Father may have a Natural Right to some kind of Power over his Children, is easily granted, but that an elder Brother has so over his Brethren remains to be proved: God or Nature has not any where, that I know, placed such Jurisdiction in the First Born; nor can Reason find any such Natural Superiority amongst Brethren. The Law of Moses gave a double Portion of the Goods and Possessions to the Eldest, but we find not any where that naturally, or by God's Institution, Superiority or Dominion belong'd to him, and the Instances there brought by our A. are but slender Proofs of a Right to Civil Power and Dominion in the First-Born, and do rather shew the contrary.

112. His words are in the forecited place: *And therefore we find God told Cain of his Brother Abel; his desire shall be Subject unto thee, and thou shalt Rule over him.* To which I answer,

1. These words of God to Cain, are by many Interpreters with great Reason, understood in a quite different Sense than what our A. uses them in.

2. Whatever was meant by them, it could not be, that Cain as Elder, had a Natural Dominion over Abel; for the words are conditional: *If thou doest well* and so personal to Cain, and whatever was signified by them, did depend on his Carriage and not follow his Birth-Right: and therefore could by no means be an Establishment of Dominion in the First-Born in general. For before this Abel had his distinct Territories by Right of Private Dominion, as our A. himself Confesses, O. 210. which he could not have had to the prejudice of the Heirs Title, *If by Divine Institution, Cain as Heir were to inherit all his Father's Dominion.*

3. If this were intended by God as the Charter of Primogeniture, and the Grant of Dominion to Elder Brothers in general as such, by Right of Inheritance, we might expect it should have included all his Brethren. For we may well suppose, Adam, from whom the World was to be Peopled, had by this Time, that these were grown up to be Men, more Sons than these two: whereas Abel himself is not so much as named; and the words in the Original can scarce, with any good Construction, be applied to him.

4. It is too much to build a Doctrine of so mighty consequence upon so doubtful and obscure a place of Scripture, which may be well, nay better, understood in a quite different Sense, and so can be but an ill Proof, being as doubtful as the thing to be proved by it; especially when there is nothing else in Scripture or Reason to be found, that favours or supports it.

113. It follows, p. 19. *Accordingly when Jacob bought his Brother's Birth-right, Isaac Blessed him thus; be Lord over thy Brethren, and let the Sons of thy Mother bow before thee.* Another instance, I take it, brought by our A. to evince Dominion due

due to Birth-right, and an admirable one it is. For it must be no ordinary way of reasoning in a Man, that is pleading for the natural Power of Kings, and against all Compact, to bring for proof of it, an Example, where his own account of it founds all the right upon Compact, and settles Empire in the Younger Brother, unless buying and selling be no Compact; for he tells us, *when Jacob bought his Brother's Birth-right*. But passing by that, let us consider the History it self, with what use our A. makes of it, and we shall find these following mistakes about it.

1. That our A. reports this, as if *Isaac* had given *Jacob* this Blessing, immediately upon his purchasing the *Birth-right*; for he says, *when Jacob bought, Isaac blessed him*, which is plainly otherwise in the Scripture. For it appears, there was a distance of time between, and if we will take the Story in the order it lies, it must be no small Distance; all *Isaac's* sojourning in *Gerar*, and Transactions with *Abimelech*, *Gen. 26.* coming between, *Rebecca* being then beautiful and consequently young, but *Isaac* when he blessed *Jacob*, was old and decrepit: And *Esau* also complains of *Jacob*, *Gen. 27. 36.* that *two times* he had supplanted him, *he took away my Birthright*, says he, *and behold now he hath taken away my Blessing*; words, that I think signifie distance of Time and Difference of Action.

2. Another mistake of our A.'s is, that he supposes *Isaac* gave *Jacob* the Blessing, and bid him be Lord over his Brethren, because he had the *Birth-right*; for our A. brings this Example to prove, that he that has the *Birthright*, has thereby a right to be Lord over his Brethren. But it is also manifest by the Text, that *Isaac* had no consideration of *Jacob's* having bought the *Birthright*; for when he blessed him, he considered him not as *Jacob*, but took him for *Esau*. Nor did *Esau* understand any such Connection between *Birthright* and the Blessing, for he says, *he hath supplanted me these two times, he took away my Birthright, and behold now he hath taken away my Blessing*: Whereas had the Blessing, which was to be Lord over his Brethren, belong'd to the *Birthright*, *Esau* could not have complain'd of this second, as a Cheat, *Jacob* having got nothing but what *Esau* had sold him, when he sold him his *Birth-right*; so that it is plain, Dominion, if these words signifie it, was not understood to belong to the *Birth-right*.

114. And that in those days of the Patriarchs, Dominion was not understood to be the Right of the Heir, but only a greater Portion of Goods, is plain from *Gen. 21. 10.* for *Sarah* taking *Isaac* to be Heir, says, *cast out this Bondwoman and her Son, for the Son of this Bondwoman shall not be Heir with my Son*: whereby could be meant nothing, but that he should not have a Pretence to an equal share of his Father's Estate after his Death, but should have his Portion presently and be gone. Accordingly we read, *Gen. 25. 5, 6.* That *Abraham* gave all that he had unto *Isaac*, but unto the Sons of the Concubines which *Abraham* had, *Abraham* gave Gifts and sent them away from *Isaac* his Son, while he yet lived. That is, *Abraham* having given Portions to all his other Sons, and sent them away, that which he had reserved, being the greatest part of his Substance, *Isaac* as Heir possessed after his Death, but by being Heir, he had no Right to be Lord over his Brethren; for if he had, why should *Sarah* endeavour to rob him of one of his Subjects, or lessen the Number of his Slaves, by desiring to have *Ismael* sent away.

115. Thus as under the Law, the Privilege of *Birthright* was nothing but a double Portion, so we see that before *Moses* in the Patriarchs time, from whence our A. pretends to take his Model, there was no knowledge, no thought, that *Birth-right* gave Rule or Empire, Paternal or Kingly Authority, to any one over his Brethren. If this be not plain enough in the Story of *Isaac* and *Ismael*, he that will look into *1 Chron. 5. 12.* may there read these Words, *Reuben was the first Born, but forasmuch as he defiled his Father's Bed, his Birth-right was given unto the Sons of Joseph, the Son of Israel, and the Genealogy is not to be reckon'd after the Birth-right; for Judah prevailed above his Brethren, and of him came the chief Ruler, but the Birth-right was Joseph's; what this Birth-right was, Jacob Blessing Joseph, Gen. 48. 22.* telleth us in these Words, *Moreover I have given thee one Portion above thy Brethren, which I took out of the Hand of the Amorites, with my Sword and with my Bow.* Whereby it is not only plain, that the *Birth-right* was nothing but a double Portion, but the Text in *Chron.* is express against our A.'s Doctrine, and shews that Dominion was no part of the *Birth-right*. For it tells us, that *Joseph* had the *Birth-right*, but *Judah* the Dominion. One would think our A. were very fond

of

of the very name of *Birth-right*, when he brings this Instance of *Jacob* and *Esau*, to prove that Dominion belongs to the Heir over his Brethren.

116. 1. Because it will be but an ill example to prove, that Dominion by God's Ordination belonged to the Eldest Son, because *Jacob* the Youngest here had it, let him come by it how he would. For if it prove any thing, it can only prove against our A. that the *Assignment of Dominion to the Eldest*, is not by Divine Institution, which would then be unalterable. For if by the Law of God, or Nature, absolute Power and Empire belongs to the eldest Son and his Heirs, so that they are supream Monarchs, and all the rest of their Brethren Slaves, our A. gives us reason to doubt whether the eldest Son has a Power to part with it, to the Prejudice of his Posterity, since he tells us, O. 158. That in Grants and Gifts that have their Original from God or Nature, no inferior Power of Man can limit, or make any Law of Prescription against them.

117. 2. Because this Place, *Gen. 27. 29.* brought by our A. concerns not at all the Dominion of one Brother over the other, nor the Subjection of *Esau* to *Jacob*. For 'tis plain in the History, that *Esau* was never subject to *Jacob*, but lived apart in Mount *Seir*, where he founded a distinct People and Government, and was himself Prince over them, as much as *Jacob* was in his own Family. This Text if consider'd, can never be understood of *Esau* himself, or the personal Dominion of *Jacob* over him: For the Words *Brethren* and *Sons of thy Mother*, could not be used literally by *Isaac* who knew *Jacob* had only one Brother; and these Words are so far from being true in a literal Sense, or establishing any Dominion in *Jacob* over *Esau*, that in the Story we find the quite contrary, for *Gen. 32. Jacob* several times calls *Esau* Lord, and himself his Servant; and *Gen. 33. he bowed himself seven times to the ground to Esau*. Whether *Esau* then were a Subject and Vassal (nay as our A. tells us, all Subjects are Slaves) to *Jacob*, and *Jacob* his Sovereign Prince by Birth-right, I leave the Reader to judge; and to believe if he can, that these Words of *Isaac*, be Lord over thy Brethren, and let thy Mother's Sons bow down to thee, confirm'd *Jacob* in a Sovereignty over *Esau*, upon the account of the Birth-right he had got from him.

118. He that reads the Story of *Jacob* and *Esau*, will find there was never any Jurisdiction or Authority, that either of them had over the other after their Father's Death; they lived with the Friendship and Equality of Brethren, neither Lord, neither Slave to his Brother; but independent each of other, were both heads of their distinct Families, where they received no Laws from one another, but lived separately, and were the Roots out of which sprang two distinct People under two distinct Governments. This Blessing then of *Isaac*, whereon our A. would build the Dominion of the elder Brother signifies no more, but what *Rebecca* had been told from God, *Gen. 25. 23. Two Nations are in thy Womb, and two manner of People, shall be separated from thy Bowels, and the one People shall be stronger than the other People, and the Elder shall serve the Younger*; and so *Jacob* blessed *Judah*, *Gen. 49.* and gave him the Scepter and Dominion, from whence our A. might have argued as well, that Jurisdiction and Dominion, belongs to the third Son over his Brethren, as well as from this Blessing of *Isaac*, that it belonged to *Jacob*: Both these Places contain only Predictions of what should long after happen to their Posterities, and not any Declaration of the Right of Inheritance to Dominion in either. And thus we have our A.'s two great and only Arguments to prove, that *Heirs are Lords over their Brethren*.

1. Because God tells *Cain*, *Gen. 4.* That however sin might set upon him, he ought or might be Master of it: For the most learned Interpreters understood the Words of Sin, and not of *Abel*, and give so strong Reasons for it, that nothing can convincingly be infer'd, from so doubtful a Text, to our A.'s Purpose.

2. Because in this of *Gen. 27. Isaac* foretels that the *Israelites*, the Posterity of *Jacob*, should have Dominion over the *Edomites*, the Posterity of *Esau*; therefore says our A. *Heirs are Lords of their Brethren*: I leave any one to judge of the Conclusion.

119. And now we see how our A. has provided for the descending, and Conveyance down of *Adam's* monarchical Power, or paternal Dominion to Posterity, by the Inheritance of his Heir, succeeding to all his Father's Authority, and becoming upon his Death as much Lord as his Father was, not only over his own Children, but over his Brethren, and all descended from his Father, and so in infinitum.

tum. But yet who this Heir is, he does not once tell us; and all the light we have from him in this so fundamental a Point, is only, that in his instance of *Jacob*, by using the Word *Birth-right*, as that which passed from *Esau* to *Jacob*, he leaves us to guess, that by Heir, he means the eldest Son; though I do not remember he any where mentions expressly the Title of the First-born, but all along keeps himself under the Shelter of the indefinite Term *Heir*. But taking it to be his meaning, that the Eldest Son is Heir, (for if the Eldest be not, there will be no Pretence why the Sons should not be all *Heirs* alike) and so by Right of Primogeniture has Dominion over his Brethren; this is but one step towards the Settlement of Succession, and the Difficulties remain still as much as ever, till he can shew us who is meant by Right Heir, in all those Cases which may happen where the present Possessor hath no Son. This he silently passes over, and perhaps wisely too: For what can be wiser, after one has affirm'd, That the Person having that Power, as well as the Power and Form of Government is the Ordinance of God, and by divine Institution, vid. O. 254. p. 12. than to be careful, not to start any Question concerning the Person, the resolution whereof will certainly lead him into a Confession, that God and Nature hath determined nothing about him. And if our A. cannot shew who by right of Nature, or a clear positive Law of God, has the next Right to inherit the Dominion of this natural Monarch he has been at such pains about, when he died without a Son, he might have spared his pains in all the rest, it being more necessary for the settling Mens Consciences, and determining their Subjection and Allegiance, to shew them who by original Right, superior and antecedent to the Will, or any Act of Men, hath a Title to this paternal Jurisdiction, than it is to shew that by Nature there was such a Jurisdiction; it being to no Purpose for me to know there is such a paternal Power, which I ought, and am disposed to obey, unless where there are many Pretenders, I also know the Person, that is rightfully invested and endow'd with it.

120. For the main matter in question being concerning the Duty of my Obedience, and the Obligation of Conscience, I am under, to pay it to him, that is of Right my Lord and Ruler, I must know the Person, that this Right of paternal Power resides in, and so impowers him to claim Obedience from me. For let it be true what he says, p. 12. That *Civil Power not only in general is by divine Institution, but even the Assignment of it specially to the Eldest Parents*; and O. 254. That *not only the Power or Right of Government, but the Form of the Power of Governing, and the Person having that Power, are all the Ordinance of God*; yet unless he shew us in all Cases who is this Person, Ordain'd by God; who is this Eldest Parent, all his abstract Notions of Monarchical Power will signify just nothing, when they are to be reduced to Practice, and Men are conscientiously to pay their Obedience. For paternal Jurisdiction being not the thing to be obeyed, because it cannot command, but is only that which gives one Man a Right, which another hath not, and if it come by Inheritance, another Man cannot have, to command and be obey'd; it is ridiculous to say, I pay Obedience to the paternal Power, when I obey him, to whom paternal Power gives no Right to my Obedience: for he can have no divine Right to my Obedience, who cannot shew his divine Right to the Power of ruling over me, as well as that by Divine Right, there is such a Power in the World.

121. And hence not being able to make out any Prince's Title to Government, as Heir to *Adam*, which therefore is of no use, and had been better let alone, he is fain to resolve all into present Possession, and makes civil Obedience as due to an Usurper, as to a lawful King; and thereby the Usurper's Title as good. His Words are, O. 253. And they deserve to be remembred: *If an Usurper dispossess the true Heir, the Subject's Obedience to the Fatherly Power must go along and wait upon God's Providence.* But I shall leave his Title of Usurpers to be examin'd in its due Place, and desire my sober Reader to consider what thanks Princes owe such Politicks as this, which can suppose paternal Power (*i. e.*) a Right to Government in the Hands of a *Cade*, or a *Cromwel*, and so all Obedience being due to paternal Power, the Obedience of Subjects will be due to them, by the same Right, and upon as good Grounds, as it is to lawful Princes; and yet this as dangerous a Doctrine as it is, must necessarily follow from making all political Power to be nothing else, but *Adam's* paternal Power by right and divine Institution, descending from him without being able to shew to whom it descended, or who is Heir to it.

122. To settle Government in the World, and to lay Obligations to Obedience on any Man's Conscience, it is as necessary (supposing with our A. that all Power be nothing but the being possessed of *Adam's Fatherhood*) to satisfy him, who has a Right to this Power, this *Fatherhood*, when the Possessor dies without Sons to succeed immediately to it, as it was to tell him, that upon the death of the Father, the Eldest Son had a Right to it: For it is still to be remember'd, that the great Question is, (and that which our A. would be thought to contend for, if he did not sometimes forget it) what Persons have a Right to be obeyed, and not whether there be a Power in the World, which is to be called *paternal*, without knowing in whom it resides: For so it be a Power, *i. e.* Right to govern, it matters not, whether it be termed *Paternal* or *Regal*, *Natural*, or *Acquired*; whether you call it *supreme Fatherhood*, or *supreme Brotherhood*, will be all one, provided we know who has it.

123. I go on then to ask whether in the inheriting of this *paternal Power*, this *supreme Fatherhood*, the Grandson by a Daughter, hath a Right before a Nephew by a Brother? Whether the Grandson by the eldest Son, being an Infant, before the younger Son a Man and able? Whether the Daughter before the Uncle? any other Man, descended by a Male Line? Whether a Grandson by a younger Daughter, before a Grand-daughter by an elder Daughter? Whether the elder Son by a Concubine, before a younger Son by a Wife? From whence also will arise many Questions of Legitimation, and what in Nature is the difference betwixt a Wife and a Concubine? For as to the municipal or positive Laws of Men, they can signify nothing here. It may farther be asked, Whether the eldest Son being a Fool, shall inherit this *paternal Power*, before the younger a wife Man? And what Degree of Folly it must be, that shall exclude him? And who shall be Judge of it? Whether the Son of a Fool excluded for his Folly, before the Son of his wife Brother who Reign'd? Who has the *paternal Power* whilst the Widow-Queen is with Child by the deceased King, and no body knows whether it will be a Son or a Daughter? which shall be Heir of the two Male-Twins, who by the Dissection of the Mother, were laid open to the World? Whether a Sister by the half Blood, before a Brother's Daughter by the whole Blood?

124. These, and many more such Doubts, might be proposed about the Titles of Succession, and the Right of Inheritance; and that not as Idle Speculations, but such as in History we shall find, have concerned the Inheritance of Crowns and Kingdoms; and if ours want them, we need not go farther for famous Examples of it, than the other Kingdom in this very Island, which having been fully related by the ingenious and learned Author of *Patriarcha non Monarcha*, I need say no more of. Till our A. hath resolved all the Doubts, that may arise about the next Heir, and shewed that they are plainly determin'd by the Law of Nature, or the revealed Law of God, all his Suppositions of a *Monarchical*, *Absolute*, *Supreme*, *Paternal Power* in *Adam*, and the descent of that Power to his Heirs, would not be of the least Use to establish the Authority, or make out the Title of any one Prince now on Earth; but would rather unsettle and bring all into question: For let our A. tell us as long as he pleases, and let all Men believe it too, that *Adam* had a *Paternal* and thereby a *Monarchical Power*; That this (the only Power in the World) descended to his Heirs; and that there is no other Power in the World but this: let this be all as clear Demonstration, as it is manifest Error, yet if it be not past doubt, to whom this *paternal Power* descends, and whose now it is, no body can be under any Obligation of Obedience, unless any one will say, that I am bound to pay Obedience to *paternal Power* in a Man, who has no more *paternal Power* than I my self; which is all one as to say, I obey a Man, because he has a Right to govern; and if I be asked, how I know he has a Right to govern, I should answer, It cannot be known, that he has any at all. For that cannot be the reason of my Obedience, which I know not to be so; much less can that be a reason of my Obedience, which no body at all can know to be so.

125. And therefore all this ado about *Adam's Fatherhood*, the Greatness of its Power, and the necessity of its supposal, helps nothing to establish the Power of those that Govern, or to determine the Obedience of Subjects, who are to obey, if they cannot tell whom they are to obey, or it cannot be known who are to govern, and who to obey. In the State the World now is irrecoverably ignorant, who is *Adam's* Heir. This *Fatherhood*, this *Monarchical Power* of *Adam* descending to

to his Heirs, would be of no more Use to the Government of Mankind, than it would be to the quieting of Mens Consciences, or securing their Healths, if our A. had assured them, that *Adam* had a Power to forgive Sins, or cure Diseases, which by divine Institution descended to his *Heir*; whilst this *Heir* is impossible to be known. And should not he do as rationally, who upon this assurance of our A. went and confessed his Sins, and expected a good Absolution; or took Physick with expectation of Health from any one who had taken on himself the Name of Priest or Physician, or thrust himself into those Employments, saying, I acquiesce in the absolving Power descending from *Adam*, or I shall be cured by the medicinal Power descending from *Adam*; as he who says, I submit to and obey the *paternal Power* descending from *Adam*, when 'tis confessed all these Powers descend only to his single *Heir*, and that *Heir* is unknown.

126. 'Tis true, the Civil Lawyers have pretended to determine some of these Cases concerning the Succession of Princes; but by our A.'s Principles, they have meddled in a matter that belongs not to them: For if all Political Power be derived only from *Adam*, and be to descend only to his successive Heirs, by the *Ordinance of God* and *Divine Institution*, this is a Right antecedent and paramount to all Government; and therefore the positive Laws of Men, cannot determine that, which is it self the Foundation of all Law and Government, and is to receive its Rule only from the Law of God and Nature. And that being silent in the Case, I am apt to think there is no such Right to be conveyed this Way: I am sure it would be to no Purpose if there were, and Men would be more at a Loss concerning Government and Obedience to Governors, than if there were no such Right; since by positive Laws and Compact, which *Divine Institution* (if there be any) shuts out, all these endless inextricable Doubts, can be safely provided against; but it can never be understood, how a divine natural Right, and that of such moment as is all Order and Peace in the World, should be convey'd down to Posterity, without any plain natural or divine Rule concerning it. And there would be an end of all civil Government, if the *Assignment* of civil Power were by *Divine Institution* to the *Heir*, and yet by that *Divine Institution*, the Person of the *Heir* could not be known. This *paternal regal Power*, being by divine Right only his, it leaves no room for human Prudence, or consent to place it any where else; for if only one Man hath a divine Right to the Obedience of Mankind, no body can claim that Obedience, but he that can shew that Right; nor can Mens Consciences by any other Pretence be obliged to it. And thus this Doctrine cuts up all Government by the Roots.

127. Thus we see how our A. laying it for a sure Foundation, that the very Person that is to rule, is the *Ordinance of God*, and by *Divine Institution*, tells us at large, only that this Person is the *Heir*, but who this *Heir* is, he leaves us to guess; and so this *Divine Institution* which assigns it to a Person, whom we have no Rule to know, is just as good as an Assignment to no body at all. But whatever our A. does, *Divine Institution* makes no such ridiculous Assignments: nor can God be supposed to make it a sacred Law, that one certain Person should have a Right to something, and yet not give Rules to mark out, and know that Person by, or give an *Heir* a divine Right to Power, and yet not Point out who that *Heir* is. 'Tis rather to be thought, that an *Heir* had no such Right by *Divine Institution*, than that God should give such a Right to the *Heir*, but yet leave it doubtful, and undeterminable who such *Heir* is.

128. If God had given the Land of *Canaan* to *Abraham*, and in general Terms to some body after him, without naming his Seed, whereby it might be known, who that some body was, it would have been as good and useful an Assignment, to determine the Right to the Land of *Canaan*, as it would be the determining the Right of Crowns, to give Empire to *Adam* and his successive Heirs after him, without telling who his *Heir* is: For the Word *Heir*, without a Rule to know who it is, signifies no more than some body, I know not whom. God making it a *Divine Institution*, that Men should not marry those who were *near of Kin*, thinks it not enough to say, *none of you shall approach to any that is near of Kin to him, to uncover their Nakedness*: But moreover, gives Rules to know who are those *near of Kin*, forbidden by *Divine Institution*, or else that Law would have been of no use; it being to no purpose to lay restraint, or give Privileges, to Men, in such general Terms, as the particular Person concern'd cannot be known by.

God not having any where said, the next Heir shall inherit all his Father's Estate or Dominion, we are not to wonder, that he hath no where appointed, who that Heir should be; for never having intended any such thing, never designed any Heir in that Sense, we cannot expect he should any where nominate, or appoint any Person to it, as we might, had it been otherwise. And therefore in Scripture, though the Word *Heir* occur, yet there is no such thing as Heir in our A.'s Sense, one that was by Right of Nature to inherit all that his Father had, exclusive of his Brethren. Hence *Sarah* supposes, that if *Ishmael* staid in the House, to share in *Abraham's* Estate after his Death, this Son of a Bond-woman might be Heir with *Isaac*; and therefore, says she, *cast out this Bond-woman and her Son, for the Son of this Bond-woman shall not be Heir with my Son*; But this cannot excuse our A. who telling us there is in every Number of Men, one who is Right and next Heir to *Adam*, ought to have told us what the Laws of Descent are. But he having been so sparing to instruct us by Rules, how to know who is Heir, let us see in the next Place, what his History out of Scripture, on which he pretends wholly to build his Government, gives us in this necessary and fundamental Point.

129. Our A. to make good the Title of his Book, p. 13. begins his History of the Descent of *Adam's* regal Power, p. 13. in these Words: *This Lordship which Adam by Command had over the whole World, and by Right descending from him, the Patriarchs did enjoy was a large, &c.* How does he prove that the Patriarchs by Descent did enjoy it? for *Dominion of Life and Death*, says he, we find *Judah* the Father pronounced Sentence of Death against *Thamar* his Daughter in Law for playing the Harlot, p. 13. How does this prove that *Judah* had absolute and sovereign Authority, *He pronounced Sentence of Death*? The pronouncing of Sentence of Death is not a certain mark of Sovereignty, but usually the Office of inferior Magistrates. The Power of making Laws of Life and Death, is indeed a Mark of Sovereignty, but pronouncing the Sentence according to those Laws may be done by others, and therefore this will but ill prove that he had sovereign Authority: As if one should say, *Judge Jefferies*, pronounced Sentence of Death in the late Times, therefore *Judge Jefferies*, had sovereign Authority. But it will be said, *Judah* did it not by Commission from another, and therefore did it in his own Right. Who knows whether he had any Right at all, heat of Passion might carry him to do that, which he had no Authority to do. *Judah* had *Dominion of Life and Death*, how does that appear? he exercised it, he pronounced Sentence of Death against *Thamar*, our A. thinks it is very good Proof, that because he did it, therefore he had a Right to do it: He lay with her also: By the same way of Proof, he had a Right to do that too. If the Consequence be good from doing to a Right of doing. *Absalon* too may be reckon'd amongst our A.'s Sovereigns, for he pronounced such a Sentence of Death against his Brother *Amnon*, and much upon a like occasion, and had it executed too; if that be sufficient to prove a Dominion of Life and Death.

But allowing this all to be clear Demonstration of sovereign Power, who was it, that had this Lordship by Right descending to him from *Adam*, as large and ample as the absolute Dominion of any Monarch? *Judah*, says our A. *Judah* a younger Son of *Jacob*, his Father and elder Brethren living; so that if our A.'s own Proof be to be taken, a younger Brother may in the Life of his Father and elder Brothers, by Right of Decent, enjoy *Adam's* Monarchical Power; and if one so qualified may be Monarch by descent, why may not every Man? if *Judah*, his Father and elder Brother living, were one of *Adam's* Heirs, I know not who can be excluded from this Inheritance; all Men by Inheritance may be Monarchs as well as *Judah*.

130. Touching War we see that *Abraham* commanded an Army of 318 Soldiers of his own Family, and *Esau* met his Brother *Jacob* with 400 Men at Arms; For matter of Peace; *Abraham* made a League with *Abimelech*, &c. p. 13. Is it not possible for a Man to have 318 Men in his Family, without being Heir to *Adam*? A Planter in the West Indies has more, and might, if he pleased (who doubts) muster them up and lead them out against the *Indians*, to seek Reparation upon any Injury received from them, and all this without the Absolute Dominion of a Monarch, descending to him from *Adam*. Would it not be an admirable Argument to prove, that all Power by God's Institution descended from *Adam* by Inheritance, and that the very

very Person and Power of this Planter were the *Ordinance of God*, because he had Power in his Family over Servants, born in his House, and bought with his Money? For this was just *Abraham's Case*; Those who were Rich in the *Patriarch's Days*, as in the *West Indies* now, bought *Men and Maid Servants*, and by their Increase, as well as purchasing of new, came to have large and numerous Families, which though they made use of in War or Peace, can it be thought the Power they had over them was an Inheritance descended from *Adam*, when 'twas the Purchase of their Money? A Man's riding in an Expedition against an Enemy, his Horse bought in a Fair would be as good a Proof that the Owner enjoy'd the *Lordship* which *Adam* by Command had over the whole World, by Right descending to him, as *Abraham's* leading out the Servants of his Family is, that the *Patriarchs* enjoy'd this *Lordship* by Descent from *Adam*: since the Title to the Power, the Master had in both Cases, whether over Slaves or Horses, was only from his Purchase; and the getting a Dominion over any thing by Bargain, and Money is a new Way of proving one had it by Descent and Inheritance.

131. *But making War and Peace are Marks of Sovereignty.* Let it be so in politick Societies, may not therefore a Man in the *West Indies*, who hath with him Sons of his own, Friends, or Companions, Soldiers under Pay or Slaves bought with Money, or perhaps a Band made up of all these, make War and Peace, if there should be occasion, and ratifie the *Articles too with an Oath*, without being a Sovereign, an absolute King over those who went with him. He that says he cannot, must then allow many Masters of Ships, many private Planters to be absolute Monarchs, for as much as this they have done. War and Peace cannot be made for politick Societies, but by the supream Power of such Societies; because War and Peace, giving a different Motion to the force of such a politick Body, none can make War or Peace, but that which has the direction of the force of the whole Body, and that in politick Societies is only the supreme Power. In voluntary Societies for the time, he that has such a Power by consent, may make War and Peace, and so may a single Man for himself, the State of War not consisting in the Number of *Partisans*, but the enmity of the Parties, where they have no Superior to appeal to.

132. The actual making of War or Peace is no proof of any other Power, but only of disposing those to exercise or cease Acts of enmity for whom he makes it, and this Power in many Cases any one may have without any politick Supremacy: And therefore the making of War or Peace will not prove that every one that does so is a politick Ruler, much less a King; for then Common-wealths must be Kings too, for they do as certainly make War and Peace as Monarchical Government.

133. But granting this a *mark of Sovereignty* in *Abraham*, is it a proof of the Descent to him, of *Adam's Sovereignty* over the whole World? If it be, it will surely be as good a proof of the descent of *Adam's Lordship* to others too. And then Common-wealths, as well as *Abraham* will be *Heirs of Adam*, for they make War and Peace, as well as he. If you say, that the *Lordship of Adam* doth not by Right descend to Common-wealths, though they make War and Peace, the same say I of *Abraham*, and then there is an end of your Argument; if you stand to your Argument, and say those that do make War and Peace, as Common-wealths do without doubt, do inherit *Adam's Lordship*, there is an end of your Monarchy, unless you will say, that Common-wealths by descent enjoying *Adam's Lordship* are Monarchies, and that indeed would be a new Way of making all the Governments in the World Monarchical.

134. To give our A. the Honour of this new Invention, for I confess it is not I have first found it out by tracing his Principles, and so charged it on him, 'tis fit my Readers know that (as absurd as it may seem) he teaches it himself, p. 23. where he ingenuously says, *In all Kingdoms and Common-wealths in the World, whether the Prince be the supreme Father of the People, or but the true Heir to such a Father, or come to the Crown by Usurpation or Election, or whether some few or a Multitude govern the Commonwealth; yet still the Authority that is in any one, or in many, or in all these is, the only Right, and natural Authority of a supreme Father, which Right of Fatherhood* he often tells us, is *Regal and Royal Authority*; as particularly, p. 12. the Page immediately preceding this Instance of *Abraham*. This Regal Authority, he says, those that govern Common-wealths have; and if it be true, that Regal

and Royal Authority be in those that govern Common-wealths, it is as true that Common-wealths are govern'd by Kings; for if Regal Authority be in him that governs; he that governs must needs be a King, and so all Common-wealths are nothing but down right Monarchies, and then what need any more ado about the matter? The Governments of the World are as they should be, there is nothing but Monarchy in it. This without doubt, was the surest way our A. could have found, to turn all other Governments, but Monarchical, out of the World.

135. But all this scarce proves *Abraham*, to have been a King as Heir to *Adam*. If by Inheritance he had been King, *Lot*, who was of the same Family must needs have been his Subject, by that Title, before the Servants in his Family; but we see they liv'd as Friends and Equals, and when their Herdsmen could not agree, there was no pretence of Jurisdiction or Superiority between them, but they parted by Consent, *Gen. 13.* hence he is called both by *Abraham*, and by the Text *Abraham's Brother*, the Name of Friendship and Equality, and not of Jurisdiction and Authority, though he were really but his Nephew. And if our A. knows that *Abraham* was *Adam's* Heir, and a King, 'twas more, it seems, than *Abraham* himself knew, or his Servant whom he sent a wooing for his Son; for when he sets out the advantages of the Match, *24 Gen. 35.* thereby to prevail with the Young-woman and her Friends. He says, *I am Abraham's Servant, and the Lord hath Blessed my Master greatly, and he is become great, and he hath given him Flocks and Herds, and Silver and Gold, and Men-Servants and Maid-Servants, and Camels and Asses, and Sarah my Master's Wife, bare a Son to my Master when she was old, and unto him hath he given all he hath.* Can one think that a discreet Servant, that was thus particular to set out his Master's Greatness, would have omitted the Crown *Isaac* was to have, if he had known of any such? Can it be imagin'd he should have neglected to have told them on such an Occasion as this, that *Abraham* was a King, a Name well known at that time, for he had nine of them his Neighbours, if he or his Master had thought any such thing, the likeliest Matter of all the rest, to make his Errand successful?

136. But this discovery it seems was reserved for our A. to make 2 or 3000 Years after, and let him enjoy the Credit of it, only he should have taken care that some of *Adam's* Land should have descended to this his Heir, as well as all *Adam's* Lordship. For though this Lordship which *Abraham*, (if we may believe our A.) as well as the other Patriarchs, by Right descending to him did enjoy, was as large and ample as the absolute Dominion of any Monarch which hath been since the Creation; yet his Estate, his Territories, his Dominions were very narrow and scanty, for he had not the Possession of a Foot of Land, till he bought a Field and a Cave of the Sons of *Heth* to bury *Sarah* in.

137. The Instance of *Esau* joyn'd with this of *Abraham*, to prove that the Lordship which *Adam* had over the whole World, by Right descending from him, the Patriarchs did enjoy, is yet more pleasant than the former. *Esau* met his Brother *Jacob* with 400 Men at Arms; he therefore was a King by Right of Heir to *Adam*. 400 arm'd Men then however got together are enough to prove him, that leads them, to be a King and *Adam's* Heir. There have been Tories in *Ireland*, (whatever there are in other Countries) who would have thank'd our A. for so honourable an Opinion of them, especially if there had been no body near with a better Title of 500 armed Men, to question their royal Authority of 400. 'Tis a Shame for Men to trifle so, to say no worse of it, in so serious an Argument. Here *Esau* is brought as a Proof that *Adam's* Lordship, *Adam's* absolute Dominion, as large as that of any Monarch descended by Right to the Patriarchs, and in this very Chap. p. 19. *Jacob* is brought as an Instance of one, that by Birthright was Lord over his Brethren. So we have here two Brothers absolute Monarchs by the same Title, and at the same time Heirs to *Adam*; the eldest Heir to *Adam*, because he met his Brother with 400 Men; and the youngest Heir to *Adam* by Birth-right: *Esau* enjoy'd the Lordship which *Adam* had over the whole World by Right descending to him, in as large and ample manner, as the absolute Dominion of any Monarch, and at the same time, *Jacob* Lord over him, by the Right Heirs have to be Lords over their Brethren, *Risum teneatis?* I never, I confess, met with any Man of Parts so Dexterous as *Sir Rob.* at this way of arguing: But 'twas his Misfortune to light upon an Hypothesis, that could not be accommodated to the Nature of things, and human Affairs; his Principles could not be made to agree with that Constitution and Order, which God had settled

settled in the World, and therefore must needs often clash with common Sense and Experience.

138. In the next Section, he tells us, *This Patriarchal Power continued not only till the Flood, but after it as the name Patriarchs doth in part prove.* The word Patriarch doth more than in part prove, that Patriarchal Power continued in the World as long as there were Patriarchs, for 'tis necessary that patriarchal Power should be whilst there are Patriarchs; as it is necessary there should be paternal or conjugal Power whilst there are Fathers or Husbands; but this is but playing with Names. That which he would fallaciously insinuate is the thing in question to be proved, viz. That the Lordship which Adam had over the World, the supposed absolute universal Dominion of Adam by Right descending from him the Patriarchs did enjoy. If he affirms such an absolute Monarchy continued to the Flood, in the World, I would be glad to know what Records he has it from; for I confess I cannot find a Word of it in my Bible: If by patriarchal Power, he means any thing else, it is nothing to the matter in hand. And how the Name Patriarch in some part proves, that those, who are called by that name, had absolute monarchical Power, I confess, I do not see, and therefore I think needs no Answer till the Argument from it be made out a little clearer.

139. *The three Sons of Noah had the World, says our A. divided amongst them by their Father, for of them was the whole World overspread,* p. 14. The World might be overspread by the Offspring of Noah's Sons, though he never divided the World amongst them; for the Earth might be replenished without being divided: So that all our A.'s Argument here, proves no such Division. However I allow it to him, and then ask, the World being divided amongst them, which of the three was Adam's Heir? If Adam's Lordship, Adam's Monarchy, by Right descended only to the Eldest, then the other two could be but his Subjects, his Slaves; if by Right it descended to all three Brothers, by the same Right, it will descend to all Mankind, and then it will be impossible what he says, p. 19. that Heirs are Lords of their Brethren, should be true, but all Brothers, and consequently all Men will be equal and independent, all Heirs to Adam's Monarchy, and consequently all Monarchs too, one as much as another. But 'twill be said Noah their Father divided the World amongst them, so that our A. will allow more to Noah, than he will to God Almighty, for O. 211. he thought it hard, that God himself should give the World to Noah and his Sons, to the prejudice of Noah's Birth-right, his Words are, *Noah was left sole Heir to the World, why should it be thought that God would disinherit him of his Birth-right, and make him of all Men in the World, the only Tenant in common with his Children?* and yet here he thinks it fit that Noah should disinherit Shem of his Birth-right, and divide the World betwixt him and his Brethren, so that this Birth-right, when our A. pleases, must, and when he pleases must not, be sacred and inviolable.

140. If Noah did divide the World between his Sons, and his Assignment of Dominions to them were good, there is an end of Divine Institution; all our A.'s Discourse of Adam's Heir, with whatsoever he builds on it, is quite out of doors; and the natural Power of Kings falls to the ground; and then the form of the Power Governing, and the Person having that Power, will not be (as he says they are O. 234.) the Ordinance of God, but they will be Ordinances of Man. For if the Right of the Heir be the Ordinance of God, a divine Right, no Man, Father or not Father, can alter it: If it be not a divine Right, it is only human, depending on the Will of Man: And so where human Institution gives it not, the first-born has no Right at all above his Brethren; and Men may put Government into what hands, and under what Form they please.

141. He goes on, *Most of the civilest Nations of the Earth, labour to fetch their Original from some of the Sons, or Nephews of Noah,* p. 14. How many do most of the civilest Nations amount to? and who are they? I fear the Chineses, a very great and civil People, as well as several other People of the East, West, North and South, trouble not themselves much about this Matter. All that believe the Bible, which I believe are our A.'s most of the civilest Nations, must necessarily derive themselves from Noah, but for the rest of the World, they think little of his Sons or Nephews. But if the Heralds and Antiquaries of all Nations, for 'tis these Men generally that labour to find out the Originals of Nations, or all the Nations themselves should labour to fetch their Original from some of the Sons or Ne-

phews of Noah, what would this be to prove, that the *Lordship* which Adam had over the whole World, by Right descended to the Patriarchs? Whoever, Nations, or Races of Men, labour to fetch their Original from, may be concluded to be thought by them, Men of Renown, famous to Posterity, for the greatness of their Virtues and Actions; but beyond these they look not, nor consider who they were Heirs to, but look on them as such as raised themselves by their own Virtue to a Degree, that would give a Lustre to those, who in future Ages could pretend to derive themselves from them. But if it were *Ogyges, Hercules, Brama, Tamberlain, Pharamond*; nay, if *Jupiter* and *Saturn* were the Names, from whence divers Races of Men, both ancient and modern, have labour'd to derive their Original; will that prove, that those Men enjoyed the *Lordship* of Adam, by Right descending to them? If not, this is but a Flourish of our A.'s to mislead his Reader that in it self signifies nothing.

142. To as much Purpose, is, what he tells us, p. 15. concerning this Division of the World, *That some say it was by Lot, and others that Noah sailed round the Mediterranean in Ten Years, and divided the World into Asia, Africk and Europe, Portions for his three Sons.* America then it seems, was left to be his that could catch it. Why our A. takes such Pains to prove the Division of the World by Noah to his Sons, and will not leave out an Imagination, though no better than a Dream, that he can find any where to favour it, is hard to guess, since such a *Division*, if it prove any thing, must necessarily take away the Title of Adam's Heir; unless three Brothers can all together be Heirs of Adam; and therefore the following Words, *Howsoever the manner of this Division be uncertain, yet it is most certain the Division it self was by Families from Noah and his Children, over which the Parents were Heads and Princes*, p. 15. If allow'd him to be true, and of any Force to prove, that all the Power in the World is nothing but the *Lordship* of Adam's descending by Right, they will only prove, that the Fathers of the Children are all Heirs to this *Lordship* of Adam. For if in those days *Cham* and *Japhet*, and other Parents, besides the eldest Son, were Heads and Princes over their Families, and had a right to divide the Earth by Families, what hinders younger Brothers, being Fathers of Families, from having the same Right? If *Cham* and *Japhet* were Princes by Right descending to them, notwithstanding any Title of Heir in their eldest Brother, younger Brothers by the same Right descending to them are Princes now, and so all our A.'s natural Power of Kings will reach no farther than their own Children, and no Kingdom by this natural Right, can be bigger than a Family. For either this *Lordship* of Adam over the whole World, by Right descends only to the eldest Son, and then there can be but one Heir, as our A. says, p. 19. Or else, it by Right descends to all the Sons equally, and then every Father of a Family will have it, as well as the three Sons of Noah. Take which you will, it destroys the present Governments and Kingdoms, that are now in the World, since whoever has this natural Power of a King, by Right descending to him, must have it either, as our A. tells us, *Cain* had it, and be Lord over his Brethren, and so be alone King of the whole World; or else as he tells us here, *Shem, Cham* and *Japhet* had it, three Brothers, and so be only Prince of his own Family, and all Families independent one of another; all the World must be only one Empire by the Right of the next Heir, or else every Family be a distinct Government of it self, by the *Lordship* of Adam's descending to Parents of Families. And to this only tends all the Proofs he here gives us of the descent of Adam's *Lordship*: For continuing his Story of this Descent; he says.

143. *In the dispersion of Babel, we must certainly find the Establishment of Royal Power, throughout the Kingdoms of the World*, p. 14. If you must find it, pray do, and you will help us to a new piece of History: But you must shew it us before we shall be bound to believe, that regal Power was established in the World upon your Principles. For, that regal Power was established in the Kingdoms of the World, I think no Body will dispute; but that there should be Kingdoms in the World, whose several Kings enjoy'd their Crowns, by right descending to them from Adam, that we think not only *Apocrypha*, but also utterly impossible. If our A. has no better Foundation for his Monarchy than a supposition of what was done at the dispersion of *Babel*, the Monarchy he erects thereon, whose top is to reach to Heaven to unite Mankind, will serve only to divide and scatter them as that Tower did; and instead of establishing civil Government and Order in the World will produce nothing but Confusion.

144. For

144. For he tells us, the Nations they were divided into, were distinct Families, which had Fathers for Rulers over them; whereby it appears, that even in the Confusion, God was careful to preserve the Fatherly Authority, by distributing the Diversity of Languages according to the Diversity of Families, p. 14. It would have been a hard matter for any one but our A. to have found out so plainly in the Text, he here brings, that all the Nations in that Dispersion were governed by Fathers, and that God was careful to preserve the Fatherly Authority. The Words of the Text are; *These are the Sons of Shem after their Families, after their Tongues in their Lands, after their Nations*; and the same thing is said of *Cham* and *Japhet*, after an Enumeration of their Posterities; in all which there is not one Word said of their Governors, or Forms of Government; of Fathers, or Fatherly Authority. But our A. who is very quick sighted, to spy out Fatherhood, where no Body else could see any the least Glimpses of it, tells us positively their Rulers were Fathers, and God was careful to preserve the Fatherly Authority; and why? Because those of the same Family spoke the same Language, and so of necessity in the Division kept together. Just as if one should argue thus; *Hanibal* in his Army, consisting of divers Nations, kept those of the same Language together, therefore Fathers were Captains of each Band, and *Hanibal* was careful of the Fatherly Authority: Or in peopling of *Carolina*, the *English*, *French*, *Scotch* and *Welch* that are there, plant themselves together, and by them the Country is divided in their Lands after their Tongues, after their Families, after their Nations; therefore Care was taken of the Fatherly Authority. Or because in many parts of *America*, every little Tribe was a distinct People, with a different Language, one should infer, that therefore God was careful to preserve the Fatherly Authority, or that therefore their Rulers enjoy'd Adam's Lordship by Right descending to them, though we know not who were their Governors, nor what their Form of Government, but only that they were divided into little Independent Societies, speaking different Languages.

145. The Scripture says not a word of their Rulers or Forms of Government, but only gives an account, how Mankind came to be divided into distinct Languages and Nations; and therefore 'tis not to argue from the Authority of Scripture, to tell us positively, Fathers were their Rulers, when the Scripture says no such Thing; but to set up Fancies of ones own Brain, when we confidently aver Matter of Fact, where Records are utterly silent. Upon a like Ground, i. e. none at all, he says, *That they were not confused Multitudes without Heads and Governors, and at liberty to choose what Governors or Governments they pleased.*

146. For I demand, when Mankind were all yet of one Language, all Congregated in the Plain of *Shinar*, were they then all under one Monarch, who enjoyed the Lordship of Adam by Right descending to him? If they were not, there was then no Thoughts, 'tis plain, of Adam's Heir, no Right to Government known then upon that Title; no Care taken by God or Man, of Adam's Fatherly Authority. If when Mankind were but one People, dwelt all together, and were of one Language, and were upon building a City together; and when 'twas plain, they could not but know the Right Heir, for *Shem* lived till *Isaac's* Time, a long while after the Division at *Babel*; if then, I say, they were not under the Monarchical Government of Adam's Fatherhood, by Right descending to the Heir, 'tis plain there was no regard had to the Fatherhood, no Monarchy acknowledg'd due to Adam's Heir, no Empire of *Shem's* in *Asia*, and consequently no such Division of the World by *Noah*, as our A. has talked of. As far as we can conclude any thing from Scripture in this matter, it seems from this place, that if they had any Government, it was rather a Commonwealth than an absolute Monarchy: For the Scripture tells us, *Gen. 11. They said*; 'Twas not a Prince commanded the Building of this City and Tower, 'twas not by the Command of one Monarch, but by the Consultation of many, a Free People; *Let us build us a City*; They built it for themselves as Free-men, not as Slaves for their Lord and Master: *That we be not scattered abroad*; having a City once built, and fixed Habitations to settle our Abodes and Families. This was the Consultation and Design of a People, that were at liberty to part asunder, but desired to keep in one Body, and could not have been either necessary or likely in Men tyed together under the Government of one Monarch, who if they had been, as our A. tells us, all Slaves under the absolute Dominion of a Monarch, needed not have taken such care to hinder themselves from wandering out of the reach of his Dominion. I demand whether this

this be not plainer in Scripture than any thing of *Adam's Heir or Fatherly Authority*?

147. But if being as God says, *Gen. 11. 6.* one People, they had one Ruler, one King by Natural Right, Absolute and Supreme over them, *what care had God to preserve the Paternal Authority of the Supreme Fatherhood*, if on a sudden he suffers 72 (for so many our A. talks of) *distinct Nations*, to be erected out of it, under distinct Governors, and at once to withdraw themselves from the Obedience of their Sovereign. This is to intitle God's care how, and to what we please. Can it be Sense to say, that God was careful to preserve the *Fatherly Authority* in those who had it not? For if these were Subjects under a Supreme Prince, what Authority had they? Was it an instance of God's care to preserve the *Fatherly Authority*, when he took away the true *Supreme Fatherhood* of the Natural Monarch? Can it be reason to say, That God, for the Preservation of *Fatherly Authority*, lets several new Governments with their Governors start up, who could not all have *Fatherly Authority*? And is it not as much reason to say, That God is careful to destroy *Fatherly Authority*, when he suffers one who is in Possession of it, to have his Government torn in pieces, and shared by several of his Subjects? Would it not be an Argument just like this, for Monarchical Government to say, when any Monarchy was shatter'd to pieces, and divided amongst revolted Subjects, that God was careful to preserve Monarchical Power, by rending a settled Empire into a multitude of little Governments? If any one will say, that what happens in Providence to be preserved, God is careful to preserve as a thing therefore to be esteemed by Men as necessary or useful, 'tis a peculiar Propriety of Speech, which every one will not think fit to imitate: but this I am sure is impossible to be either proper, or true speaking, that *Shem*, for example (for he was then alive,) should have *Fatherly Authority*, or Sovereignty by Right of *Fatherhood* over that one People at *Babel*, and that the next moment *Shem* yet living, 72 others should have *Fatherly Authority*, or Sovereignty by Right of *Fatherhood* over the same People, divided into so many distinct Governments: either these 72 Fathers actually were Rulers, just before the Confusion, and then they were not one People, but that God himself says they were; or else they were a Common-wealth, and then where was Monarchy? or else these 72 Fathers had *Fatherly Authority* but knew it not. Strange! that *Fatherly Authority* should be the only original of Government amongst Men, and yet all Mankind not know it; and Stranger yet, that the Confusion of Tongues should reveal it to them all of a sudden, that in an instant these 72 should know that they had *Fatherly Power*, and all others know that they were to obey it in them, and every one know that particular *Fatherly Authority* to which he was a Subject. He that can think this arguing from Scripture, may from thence make out what Model of an *Eutopia* will best suit with his Fancy or Interest; and this *Fatherhood* thus disposed of, will justify both a Prince who claims an Universal Monarchy, and his Subjects, who being Fathers of Families, shall quit all Subjection to him, and *Canton* his Empire into less Governments for themselves; for it will always remain a doubt in which of these the *Fatherly Authority* resided, till our A. resolves us, whether *Shem* who was then alive, or these 72 new Princes, beginning so many new Empires in his Dominions, and over his Subjects, had right to Govern, since our A. tells us, that both one, and t'other had *Fatherly*, which is Supreme Authority, and are brought in by him as instances of those, who did enjoy the *Lordships of Adam by Right descending to them, which was as large and ample as the Absolute Dominion of any Monarch*. This at least is unavoidable, that if God was careful to preserve the *Fatherly Authority*, in the 72 new erected Nations, it necessarily follows, that he was as careful to destroy all pretences of *Adam's Heir*; since he took Care, and therefore did preserve the *Fatherly Authority* in so many, at least 71, that could not possibly be *Adam's Heirs*, when the Right Heir (if God had ever ordained any such Inheritance) could not but be known, *Shem* then living, and they being all one People.

148. *Nimrod* is his next instance of enjoying this patriarchal Power, p. 16. but I know not for what Reason our A. seems a little unkind to him, and says, that he *against Right enlarged his Empire, by seizing violently on the Rights of other Lords of Families*. These *Lords of Families* here were called *Fathers of Families*, in his account of the dispersion at *Babel*: but it matters not how they were called, so we know who they are, for this *Fatherly Authority* must be in them, either as Heirs
to

to Adam, and so there could not be 72, nor above one at once, or else as natural Parents over their Children, and so every Father will have *paternal Authority* over his Children by the same Right, and in as large extent as those 72 had; and so be Independent Princes over their own Off-spring. Taking his *Lords of Families*, in this later Sense (as 'tis hard to give those words any other Sense in this place) he gives us a very pretty account of the Original of Monarchy, in these following Words, p. 16. *And in this Sense he may be said to be the Author and Founder of Monarchy*, viz. As against Right seizing violently on the Rights of Fathers over their Children; which paternal Authority, if it be in them, by Right of Nature; (for else how could those 72 come by it) no body can take from them without their own Consents; and then I desire our A. and his Friends to consider, how far this will concern other Princes, and whether it will not according to his conclusion of that Paragraph, resolve all Regal Power of those, whose Dominions extend beyond their Families, either into Tyranny and Usurpation, or Election and Consent of Fathers of Families, which will differ very little from Consent of the People.

149. All his instances, in the next Section, p. 17. of the 12 Dukes of Edom, the 9 Kings in a little corner of Asia in Abraham's Days, the 31 Kings in Canaan destroyed by Joshua, and the care he takes to prove that these were all Sovereign Princes, and that every Town in those days had a King, are so many direct Proofs against him, that it was not the *Lordship of Adam by Right descending* to them that made Kings. For if they had held their Royalties by that Title, either there must have been but one Sovereign over them all, or else every Father of a Family had been as good a Prince, and had as good a claim to Royalty as these. For if all the Sons of Esau, had each of them, the Younger as well as the Eldest, the Right of *Fatherhood*, and so were Sovereign Princes after their Father's Death, the same Right had their Sons after them, and so on to all Posterity, which will limit all the natural Power of Fatherhood, only to be over the Issue of their own Bodies, and their Descendents, which Power of Fatherhood dies with the head of each Family, and makes way for the like Power of Fatherhood to take Place, in each of his Sons over their respective Posterities: whereby the Power of Fatherhood will be preserv'd indeed, and is intelligible, but will not be at all to our A.'s Purpose. None of the instances he brings are Proofs of any Power they had, as Heirs of Adam's paternal Authority by the Title of his Fatherhood descending to them; no nor of any Power they had by Virtue of their own: For Adam's Fatherhood being over all Mankind, it could descend but to one at once, and from him to his Right Heir only, and so there could by that Title be but one King in the World at a Time: And by Right of Fatherhood, not descending from Adam, it must be only as they themselves were Fathers, and so could be over none but their own Posterity. So that if those 12 Dukes of Edom, if Abraham and the 9 Kings his Neighbours; if Jacob and Esau and the 31 Kings in Canaan, the 72 Kings mutilated by Adonibeseck, the 32 Kings that came to Benhadad, the 70 Kings of Greece making War at Troy, were as our A. contends, all of them Sovereign Princes; 'tis evident that Kings deriv'd their Power from some other original than *Fatherhood*, since some of these had Power over more than their own Posterity, and 'tis Demonstration, they could not be all Heirs to Adam: For I challenge any Man to make any pretence to Power by right of *Fatherhood*, either intelligible or possible in any one, otherwise, than either as Adam's Heir, or as Progenitor over his own Descendents, naturally sprung from him. And if our A. could shew that any one of these Princes, of which he gives us here so large a Catalogue, had his Authority by either of these Titles, I think I might yield him the Cause; though 'tis manifest they are all impertinent and directly contrary to what he brings them to prove, viz. That the *Lordship which Adam had over the World by Right descended to the Patriarchs*.

150. Having told us, p. 16, That the *Patriarchal Government continued in Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, until the Egyptian Bondage*, p. 17. he tells us, *By manifest Footsteps we may trace this paternal Government unto the Israelites coming into Egypt, where the exercise of Supreme Patriarchal Government was intermitted, because they were in Subjection to a stronger Prince*. What these Footsteps are of paternal Government, in our A.'s Sense, i. e. of absolute Monarchical Power descending from Adam, and exercised by Right of *Fatherhood* we have seen, that is for 2290 Years

Years no Footsteps at all: Since in all that time he cannot produce any one Example of any Person who claim'd or exercis'd Regal Authority by Right of *Fatherhood*; or shew any one who being a King was *Adam's Heir*: All that his Proofs amount to, is only this, that there were Fathers, Patriarchs and Kings in that Age of the World; but that the Fathers and Patriarchs had any absolute Arbitrary Power, or by what Titles those Kings had theirs, and of what extent it was, the Scripture is wholly silent; 'tis manifest by Right of *Fatherhood* they neither did, nor could claim any Title to Dominion and Empire.

151. To say, that the Exercise of *Supream Patriarchal Government* was intermitted, because they were in Subjection to a stronger Prince, proves nothing but what I before suspected, viz. That *Patriarchal Jurisdiction or Government* is a fallacious Expression, and does not in our A. signifie (what he would yet insinuate by it) *Paternal and Regal Power*, such an absolute Sovereignty as he supposes was in *Adam*.

152. For how can he say that *Patriarchal Jurisdiction* was intermitted in *Egypt*, where there was a King, under whose Regal Government the *Israelites* were, if *Patriarchal* were *Absolute Monarchical Jurisdiction*? And if it were not, but something else, why does he make such ado about a Power not in question, and nothing to the purpose? The exercise of *Patriarchal Jurisdiction*, if *Patriarchal* be *Regal*, was not intermitted whilst the *Israelites* were in *Egypt*. 'Tis true, the exercise of *Regal Power* was not then in the hands of any of the promised Seed of *Abraham*, nor before neither that I know; but what is that to the Intermission of *Regal Authority*, as descending from *Adam*, unless our A. will have it, that this chosen Line of *Abraham*, had the Right of Inheritance to *Adam's Lordship*; and then to what purpose are his instances of the 72 Rulers, in whom the Fatherly Authority was preserv'd in the Confusion at *Babel*? Why does he bring the 12 Princes Sons of *Ismael*; and the Dukes of *Edom*, and joyn them with *Abraham*, *Isaac*, and *Jacob*, as examples of the exercise of true *Patriarchal Government*, if the exercise of *Patriarchal Jurisdiction* were intermitted in the World, whenever the Heirs of *Jacob* had not *Supream Power*? I fear *Supream Patriarchal Jurisdiction* was not only intermitted, but from the time of the *Egyptian Bondage* quite lost in the World, since 'twill be hard to find from that time downwards, any one who exercis'd it as an Inheritance descending to him from the Patriarchs *Abraham*, *Isaac*, and *Jacob*. I imagined *Monarchical Government*, would have serv'd his turn in the hands of *Pharaoh* or any Body. But one cannot easily discover in all Places, what his Discourse tends to, as particularly in this place, it is not obvious to guess what he drives at, when he says, the exercise of *Supream Patriarchal Jurisdiction* in *Egypt*, or how this serves to make out the descent of *Adam's Lordship* to the Patriarchs, or any Body else.

153. For I thought he had been giving us out of Scripture, Proofs and Examples of *Monarchical Government*, founded on paternal Authority, descending from *Adam*; and not an History of the *Jews*: amongst whom yet we find no Kings, till many Years after they were a People: And when Kings were their Rulers, there is not the least mention or room for a pretence that they were Heirs to *Adam*, or Kings by paternal Authority. I expected, talking so much as he does of Scripture, that he would have produced thence a series of Monarchs, whose Titles were clear to *Adam's Fatherhood*, and who, as Heirs to him, own'd and exercis'd paternal Jurisdiction over their Subjects, and that this was the true *Patriarchal Government*; whereas he neither proves, that the Patriarchs were Kings; nor that either Kings or Patriarchs were Heirs to *Adam*, or so much as pretended to it: And one may as well prove, that the Patriarchs were all absolute Monarchs; that the Power both of Patriarchs and Kings was only *Paternal*; and that this Power descended to them from *Adam*; I say all these Propositions may be as well proved by a confused account of a multitude of little Kings in the *West-Indies*, out of *Ferdinando Soto*, or any of our late Histories of the *Northern America*, or by our A.'s 70 Kings of *Greece*, out of *Homer*, as by any thing he brings out of Scripture, in that multitude of Kings he has reckon'd up.

154. And methinks he should have let *Homer* and his Wars of *Troy* alone, since his great Zeal to Truth or Monarchy carried him to such a pitch of transport against *Philosophers* and *Poets*, that he tells us in his Preface, that there are too many in these Days, who please themselves in running after the Opinions of *Philosophers* and *Poets*, to find out such an Original of Government, as might promise them some Title to Liberty,

Liberty, to the great Scandal of Christianity, and bringing in of Atheism. And yet these Heathens, Philosopher *Aristotle*, and Poet *Homer*, are not rejected by our zealous Christian Politician, whenever they offer any thing that seems to serve his turn; whether to the great Scandal of Christianity and bringing in of Atheism, let him look. This I cannot but observe, in Authors who 'tis visible write not for Truth; how ready Zeal for Interest and Party is to entitle Christianity to their Designs, and to charge Atheism on those who will not without examining submit to their Doctrines, and blindly swallow their Nonsense.

But to return to his Scripture History, our A. farther tells us, p. 18. that after the return of the Israelites out of Bondage, God out of a special care of them, chose Moses and Joshua successively to govern as Princes in the place and stead of the Supreme Fathers. If it be true, that they returned out of Bondage, it must be into a State of Freedom, and must imply, that both before and after this Bondage they were Free, unless our A. will say, that changing of Masters, is returning out of Bondage; or that a Slave returns out of Bondage, when he is removed from one Gally to another. If then they return'd out of Bondage, 'tis plain that in those days, whatever our A. in his Preface says to the contrary, there was difference between a Son, a Subject, and a Slave; and that neither the Patriarchs before, nor their Rulers after this Egyptian Bondage, number'd their Sons or Subjects amongst their Possessions, and dispos'd of them with as absolute a Dominion, as they did their other Goods.

155. This is evident in *Jacob*, to whom *Reuben* offered his two Sons as Pledges, and *Judah* was at last surety for *Benjamin's* safe return out of Egypt: Which all had been vain, superfluous, and but a sort of Mockery, if *Jacob* had had the same Power over every one of his Family, as he had over his Ox or his Ass, as an Owner over his Substance; and the offers that *Reuben* or *Judah* made had been such a Security for returning of *Benjamin*, as if a Man should take two Lambs out of his Lord's Flock, and offer one as Security, that he will safely restore the other.

156. When they were out of this Bondage, what then? God out of a special care of them, the Israelites. 'Tis well that once in his Book, he will allow God to have any care of the People, for in other places he speaks of Mankind, as if God had no care of any part of them, but only of their Monarchs, and that the rest of the People, the Societies of Men, were made as so many Herds of Cattle, only for the Service, Use, and Pleasure of their Princes.

157. Chose Moses and Joshua successively to govern as Princes; a shrewd Argument our A. has found out to prove God's care of the Fatherly Authority, and Adam's Heirs, that here as an expression of his care of his own People, he chooses those for Princes over them, that had not the least pretence to either. The persons chosen were, *Moses* of the Tribe of *Levi*, and *Joshua* of the Tribe of *Ephraim*, neither of which had any Title of Fatherhood. But says our A. they were in the place and stead of the Supreme Fathers. If God had any where, as plainly declared his choice of such Fathers to be Rulers, as he did of *Moses* and *Joshua*, we might believe *Moses* and *Joshua* were in their place and stead: But that being the question in Debate, till that be better proved, *Moses* being chosen by God to be Ruler of his People, will no more prove that Government belong'd to Adam's Heir or to the Fatherhood, than God's choosing *Aaron* of the Tribe of *Levi* to be Priest, will prove that the Priesthood belong'd to Adam's Heir or the Prime-Fathers: Since God could choose *Aaron* to be Priest, and *Moses* Ruler in *Israel*, though neither of those Offices, were settled on Adam's Heir or the Fatherhood.

158. Our A. goes on, and after them likewise for a time he rais'd up Judges, to defend his People in time of Peril, p. 18. This proves Fatherly Authority to be the original of Government, and that it descended from Adam to his Heirs, just as well, as what went before: Only here our A. seems to confess, that these Judges, who were all the Governors they then had, were only Men of Valour, whom they made their Generals to defend them in time of Peril, and cannot God raise up such Men, unless Fatherhood have a Title to Government?

But says our A. when God gave the Israelites Kings, he re-established the ancient and prime Right of Lineal Succession to Paternal Government, p. 18.

160. How did God re-establish it? By a Law, a positive Command? We find no such thing. Our A. means then, that when God gave them a King, in giving them a King, he re-established the Right, &c. To re-establish *de facto* the Right of Lineal Succession to paternal Government, is to put a Man in Possession of that Government, which his Fathers did enjoy; and he by Lineal Succession had a Right to. For, first, if it were another Government, than what his Ancestors had, it was not succeeding to an *ancient Right*, but beginning a new one. For a Prince should give a Man, besides his ancient Patrimony, which for some Ages his Family had been disseiz'd of, an additional Estate, never before in the Possession of his Ancestors, he could not be said to re-establish the Right of Lineal Succession, to any more, than what had been formerly enjoy'd by his Ancestors. If therefore the Power the Kings of Israel had, were any thing more, than Isaac or Jacob had, it was not the re-establishing in them the Right of Succession to a Power, but giving them a new Power, however you please to call it *Paternal* or not: and whether Isaac and Jacob had the same Power, that the Kings of Israel had, I desire any one, by what has been above said, to consider, and I do not think they will find, that either Abraham, Isaac, or Jacob had any Regal Power at all.

161. Next, there can be no re-establishment of the prime and ancient Right of Lineal Succession to any thing, unless he, that is put in Possession of it, has the right to succeed, and be the true and next Heir to him he succeeds to. Can that be a re-establishment, which begins in a new Family? or that the re-establishment of an ancient Right of Lineal Succession, when a Crown is given to one, who has no Right of Succession to it, and who, if the Lineal Succession had gone on had been out of all possibility of pretence to it? Saul the first King, God gave the Israelites; was of the Tribe of Benjamin; was the ancient and prime Right of Lineal Succession re-established in him? The next was David the youngest Son of Jesse, of the Posterity of Judah, Jacob's third Son. Was the ancient and prime Right of Lineal Succession to paternal Government re-established in him? or in Solomon his younger Son and Successor in the Throne? or in Jeroboam over the ten Tribes? or in Athaliah, a Woman who Reigned six Years an utter stranger to the Royal Blood? If the ancient and prime Right of Lineal Succession to paternal Government, were re-established in any of these or their Posterity, the ancient and prime Right of Lineal Succession to paternal Government, belongs to Younger Brothers as well as Elder, and may be re-established in any Man living; for whatever Younger Brothers, by ancient and prime Right of Lineal Succession, may have as well as the Elder, that every Man living may have a Right to, by Lineal Succession, and Sir Robert as well as any other. And so what a brave Right of Lineal Succession, to his Paternal or Regal Government, our A. has re-established, for the securing the Rights and Inheritance of Crowns, where every one may have it, let the World consider.

162. But says our A. however, p. 19. *Whensoever God made choice of any special Person to be King, he intended that the Issue also should have benefit thereof, as being comprehended sufficiently in the Person of the Father, although the Father was only named in the Grant.* This yet will not help out Succession; for if, as our A. says, the benefit of the Grant be intended to the Issue of the Grantee, this will not direct the Succession; since if God give any thing to a Man and his Issue in general, the Claim cannot be to any one of that Issue in particular, every one that is of his Race will have an equal Right. If it be said, our A. meant Heir, I believe our A. was as willing as any Body to have used that word, if it would have served his turn, but Solomon who succeeded David in the Throne, being no more his Heir than Jeroboam, who succeeded him in the Government of the ten Tribes, was his Issue, our A. had reason to avoid saying, That God intended it to the Heirs, when that would not hold in a Succession, which our A. could not except against, and so he has left his Succession as undetermin'd, as if he had said nothing about it. For if the Regal Power be given by God to a Man and his Issue, as the Land of Canaan was to Abraham and his Seed, must they not all have a Title to it, all share in it? And one may as well say, that by God's Grant to Abraham and his Seed, the Land of Canaan was to belong only to one of his Seed exclusive of all others, as by God's Grant of Dominion to a Man and his Issue, this Dominion was to belong in peculiar to one of his Issue exclusive of all others.

163. But how will our A. prove that whensoever God made choice of any special Person to be a King, he intended that *the* (I suppose he means his) *Issue also should have benefit thereof*: Has he so soon forgot *Moses* and *Joshua*, whom in this very Section, he says, *God out of a special care chose to govern as Princes*, and the Judges that God raised up? Had not these Princes, having the Authority of the *supream Fatherhood*, the same Power that the Kings had, and being specially chosen by God himself, should not their *Issue* have the benefit of that choice, as well as *David's* or *Solomon's*? If these had the paternal Authority put into their Hands immediately by God, why had not their *Issue* the benefit of this Grant in a Succession to this Power? Or if they had it as *Adam's* Heirs, why did not their Heirs enjoy it after them by Right descending to them? For they could not be Heirs to one another. Was the Power the same, and from the same Original in *Moses*, *Joshua* and the Judges, as it was in *David* and the Kings, and was it inheritable in one and not in the other? If it was not paternal Authority, then God's own People were govern'd by those that had not paternal Authority, and those Governours did well enough without it: If it were paternal Authority, and God chose the Persons that were to exercise it, our A.'s rule fails, that *whensoever God makes choice of any Person to be supream Ruler* (for I suppose the name King has no spell in it, 'tis not the Title, but the Power makes the difference) *he intends that the Issue also should have the benefit of it*, since from their coming out of Egypt to *David's* time 400 Years, the *Issue* was never so sufficiently comprehended in the Person of the Father, as that any Son after the Death of his Father, succeeded to the Government amongst all those Judges that judged *Israel*. If to avoid this, it be said, God always chose the Person of the Successor, and so transferring the *Fatherly Authority* to him, excluded his *Issue* from succeeding to it, that is manifestly not so in the Story of *Jephtha*, where he Articled with the People, and they made him judge over them, as is plain, *Jud. II.*

164. 'Tis in vain then to say, that *whensoever God chooses any special Person to have the exercise of paternal Authority* (for if that be not to be King, I desire to know the difference between a King and one having the exercise of paternal Authority,) *he intends the Issue also should have the benefit of it*, since we find the Authority, the Judges had, ended with them, and descended not to their *Issue*, and if the Judges had not paternal Authority, I fear it will trouble our A. or any of the Friends to his Principles, to tell who had then the paternal Authority, that is, the Government and supream Power amongst the *Israelites*; and I suspect they must confess that the chosen People of God continued a People several hundreds of Years, without any Knowledge or Thought of this paternal Authority, or any appearance of Monarchical Government at all.

165. To be satisfied of this, he need but read the Story of the *Levite*, and the War thereupon with the *Benjamites*, in the three last Chap. of *Jud.* and when he finds, that the *Levite* appeals to the People for Justice; that it was the Tribes and the Congregation, that debated, resolved, and directed all that was done on that occasion; he must conclude, either that God was not careful to preserve the *Fatherly Authority* amongst his own chosen People; or else that the *Fatherly Authority* may be preserved, where there is no Monarchical Government; if the latter, then it will follow that though *Fatherly Authority* be never so well proved, yet it will not infer a necessity of Monarchical Government; if the former, it will seem very strange and improbable, that God should ordain *Fatherly Authority* to be so sacred amongst the Sons of Men, that there could be no Power, or Government without it, and yet that amongst his own People, even whilst he is providing a Government for them, and therein prescribes Rules to the several States and Relations of Men, this great and Fundamental one, this most material and necessary of all the rest should be concealed, and lye neglected for 400 Years after.

166. Before I leave this, I must ask how our A. knows that *whensoever God makes choice of any special Person to be King, he intends that the Issue should have the benefit thereof*? does God by the Law of Nature or Revelation say so? By the same Law also he must say, which of his *Issue* must enjoy the Crown in Succession, and so point out the Heir, or else leave his *Issue* to divide or scramble for the Government: Both alike absurd, and such as will destroy the benefit of such Grant to the *Issue*. When any such Declaration of God's Intention is produced, it will be our Duty to believe God intends it so, but till that be done, our A. must shew

us some better Warrant, before we shall be obliged to receive him as the Authentick Revealer of God's Intentions.

167. *The Issue*, says our A. is comprehended sufficiently in the Person of the Father, although the Father only was named in the Grant: And yet God, when he gave the Land of Canaan to Abraham, Gen. 13. 15. thought fit to put his Seed into the Grant too! So the Priesthood was given to Aaron and his Seed; and the Crown God gave not only to David, but his Seed also: And however our A. assures us that God intends, that the Issue should have the benefit of it, when he chooseth any Person to be King, yet we see that the Kingdom, which he gave to Saul, without mentioning his Seed after him, never came to any of his Issue; and why, when God chose a Person to be King, he should intend, that his Issue should have the benefit of it, more than when he chose one to be Judge in Israel, I would fain know a Reason; or why does a Grant of *Fatherly Authority* to a King more comprehend the Issue, than when a like Grant is made to a Judge? Is *paternal Authority* by Right to descend to the Issue, of one and not of the other? There will need some reason to be shewn of this difference, more than the Name, when the thing given is the same *Fatherly Authority*, and the manner of giving it, God's choice of the Person, the same too; for I suppose our A. when he says, *God raised up Judges*, will by no means allow, they were chosen by the People.

168. But since our A. has so confidently assured us of the care of God to preserve the *Fatherhood*, and pretends to build all he says, upon the Authority of the Scripture, we may well expect that that People whose Law, Constitution and History is chiefly contained in the Scripture, should furnish him with the clearest instances of God's care of preserving of the Fatherly Authority, in that People who 'tis agreed he had a most peculiar care of. Let us see then what State this *paternal Authority* or Government was in amongst the *Jews*, from their beginning to be a People. It was omitted by our A.'s Confession, from their coming into *Egypt*, till their return out of that Bondage, above 200 Years: From thence till God gave the *Israelites* a King about 400 Years more, our A. gives but a very slender account of it, nor indeed all that time are there the least Footsteps of Paternal or Regal Government amongst them. But then says our A. *God re-established the ancient and prime Right of Lineal Succession to paternal Government.*

169. What a *Lineal Succession to paternal Government* was then Established, we have already seen. I only now consider how long this lasted, and that was to their Captivity about 500 Years: From thence to their Destruction by the Romans, above 630 Years after, the *ancient and prime Right of Lineal Succession to paternal Government* was again lost; and they continued a People in the promised Land without it. So that of 1750 Years, that they were God's peculiar People, they had Hereditary Kingly Government amongst them, not one third of the time, and of that time there is not the least Footstep of one moment of *paternal Government*, nor the re-establishment of the *ancient and prime Right of Lineal Succession to it*, whether we suppose it to be derived, as from its Fountain, from David, Saul, Abraham, or, which upon our A.'s Principles is the only true, from Adam.

our Duty to believe God intends it so, but till that be done, our A. must show the *Why*. When any such Declaration of God's Intention is produced, it will be point out the *How*, or else leave us free to divide or scramble for the Govern-ment : Both alike absurd, and such as will destroy the benefit of such Grants to the Nation. When any such Declaration of God's Intention is produced, it will be point out the *How*, or else leave us free to divide or scramble for the Govern-ment : Both alike absurd, and such as will destroy the benefit of such Grants to the Nation.

CIVIL-GOVERNMENT.

BOOK II.

CHAP. I.

I.  HAVING been shewn in the foregoing Discourse.

1. That *Adam* had not either by natural Right of Fatherhood, or by positive Donation from God, any such Authority over his Children, or Dominion over the World as is pretended.
2. That if he had, his Heirs, yet, had no Right to it.
3. That if his Heirs had, there being no Law of Nature nor positive Law of God that determines, which is the Right Heir in all Cases that may arise, the Right of Succession, and consequently of bearing Rule, could not have been certainly determined.

4. That if even that had been determined, yet the knowledge of which is the eldest Line of *Adam's* Posterity, being so long since utterly lost, that in the Races of Mankind and Families of the World, there remains not to one above another, the least pretence to be the eldest House, and to have the Right of Inheritance.

All these premises having, as I think, been clearly made out, it is impossible that the Rulers now on Earth, should make any benefit, or derive any the least shadow of Authority from that, which is held to be the Fountain of all Power, *Adam's private Dominion and paternal Jurisdiction*; so that, he that will not give just occasion, to think, that all Government in the World is the product only of Force and Violence, and that Men live together by no other Rules but that of Beasts, where the strongest carries it; and so lay a Foundation for perpetual Disorder and Mischief, Tumult, Sedition and Rebellion, (things that the followers of that Hypothesis so loudly cry out against) must of necessity find out another rise of Government, another original of Political Power, and another way of designing and knowing the Persons that have it, than what Sir *Robert F.* hath taught us.

2. To this purpose, I think it may not be amiss, to set down what I take to be political Power. That the Power of a *Magistrate* over a Subject, may be distinguished from that of a *Father* over his Children, a *Master* over his Servant, a *Husband* over his Wife, and a *Lord* over his Slave. All which distinct Powers happening sometimes together in the same Man, if he be considered under these different Relations, it may help us to distinguish these Powers one from another, and shew the difference betwixt a Ruler of a Common-wealth, a Father of a Family, and a Captain of a Galley.

3. *Political Power*, then I take to be a *Right* of making Laws with Penalties of Death, and consequently all less Penalties, for the Regulating and Preserving of Property, and of employing the force of the Community, in the Execution of such Laws, and in the defence of the Common-wealth from foreign Injury, and all this only for the publick Good.

C H A P. X.

Of the State of Nature.

4. **T**O understand political Power, right, and derive it from its Original, we must consider, what State all Men are naturally in, and that is, a *State of perfect Freedom* to order their Actions, and dispose of their Possessions, and Persons as they think fit, within the bounds of the Law of Nature, without asking leave, or depending upon the Will of any other Man.

A *State also of Equality*, wherein all the Power and Jurisdiction is Reciprocal, no one having more than another; there being nothing more evident, than that Creatures of the same species and rank, promiscuously born to all the same advantages of Nature, and the use of the same Faculties, should also be equal one amongst another without Subordination or Subjection, unless the Lord and Master of them all, should by any manifest Declaration of his Will set one above another, and confer on him, by an evident and clear Appointment, an undoubted Right to Dominion and Sovereignty.

5. This equality of Men by Nature, the judicious *Hooker* looks upon as so evident in it self, and beyond all question, that he makes it the Foundation of that Obligation to mutual Love amongst Men, on which he builds the duties they owe one another, and from whence he derives the great Maxims of *Justice and Charity*. His words are.

The like natural inducement, hath brought Men to know that it is no less their Duty, to Love others than themselves, for seeing those things which are equal, must needs all have one Measure; if I cannot but wish to receive good, even as much at every Mans hands, as any Man can wish unto his own Soul, how should I look to have any part of my desire herein satisfied, unless my self be careful to satisfy the like desire, which is undoubtedly in other Men, being of one and the same Nature; to have any thing offered them repugnant to this desire, must needs in all respects grieve them as much as me, so that if I do harm, I must look to suffer, there being no reason that others should shew greater measure of love to me, than they have by me, shewed unto them; my desire therefore to be lov'd of my equals in Nature, as much as possible may be, imposeth upon me a natural Duty of bearing to them-ward, fully the like Affection; from which relation of equality between our selves and them that are as our selves, what several Rules and Canons, natural reason hath drawn, for direction of Life, no Man is Ignorant. Eccl. Pol. Li. 1.

6. But though this be a *State of Liberty*, yet it is not a *State of Licence*; though Man in that State have an uncontrollable Liberty, to dispose of his Person or Possessions, yet he has not Liberty to destroy himself, or so much as any Creature in his Possession, but where some nobler Use, than its bare Preservation calls for it. The *State of Nature* has a Law of Nature to govern it, which obliges every one: And Reason, which is that Law, teaches all Mankind, who will but consult it, that being all equal and independent, no one ought to harm another in his Life, Health, Liberty, or Possessions. For Men being all the Workmanship of one Omnipotent, and infinitely wise Maker: All the Servants of one Sovereign Master, sent into the World by his Order, and about his Business, they are his Property, whose Workmanship they are, made to last during his, not one anothers Pleasure: And being furnished with like Faculties, sharing all in one Community of Nature, there cannot be supposed any such Subordination amongst us, that may authorize us to destroy one another, as if we were made for one another's Uses, as the inferior ranks of Creatures are for ours. Every one as he is bound to preserve himself, and not to quit his Station wilfully, so by the like reason, when his own Preservation comes not in Competition, ought he, as much as he can, to preserve the rest of Mankind, and may not unless it be to do Justice on an Offender, take away, or impair the Life, or what tends to the Preservation of the Life, the Liberty, Health, Limb, or Goods of another.

7. And that all Men may be restrained from invading others Rights, and from doing hurt to one another, and the Law of Nature be observed, which willeth the Peace and Preservation of all Mankind, the Execution of the Law of Nature is in that State, put into every Man's Hands, whereby every one has a Right to punish the Transgressors of that Law to such a Degree, as may hinder its Violation.

tion. For the *Law of Nature* would, as all other Laws, that concern Men in this World, be in vain, if there were no Body that in the State of Nature, had a *Power to execute* that Law, and thereby preserve the Innocent and restrain Offenders. And if any one in the State of Nature may punish another, for any evil he has done, every one may do so. For in that *State of perfect Equality*, where naturally there is no Superiority or Jurisdiction of one, over another, what any may do in Prosecution of that Law, every one must needs have a Right to do.

8. And thus in the State of Nature, *one Man comes by a Power over another*; but yet no absolute or arbitrary Power, to use a Criminal, when he has got him in his Hands, according to the passionate Heats, or boundless Extravagancy of his own Will; but only to retribute to him, so far, as calm Reason and Conscience dictate what is proportionate to his Transgression, which is so much as may serve for *Reparation* and *Restraint*. For these two are the only Reasons, why one Man may lawfully do harm to another, which is that we call *Punishment*. In transgressing the Law of Nature, the Offender declares himself to live by another Rule, than that of common Reason and Equity, which is that measure God has set to the actions of Men, for their mutual Security; and so he becomes dangerous to Mankind, the Tye, which is to secure them from Injury and Violence, being flighted and broken by him. Which being a trespass against the whole Species, and the Peace and Safety of it, provided for by the Law of Nature, every Man upon this Score, by the Right he hath to preserve Mankind in general, may restrain, or where it is necessary, destroy things noxious to them, and so may bring such evil on any one, who hath transgressed that Law, as may make him repent the doing of it, and thereby deter him, and, by his Example others, from doing the like Mischief. And in this Case, and upon this Ground, *every Man hath a Right to punish the Offender, and be Executioner of the Law of Nature*.

9. I doubt not but this will seem a very strange Doctrine to some Men: But before they condemn it, I desire them to resolve me, by what Right any Prince or State can put to death, or *punish an Alien*, for any Crime he commits in their Country. 'Tis certain their Laws by virtue of any Sanction, they receive from the promulgated Will of the Legislative, reach not a Stranger: They speak not to him, nor, if they did, is he bound to hearken to them. The legislative Authority, by which they are in Force over the Subjects of that Common-wealth, hath no Power over him. Those who have the supream Power of making Laws in *England, France or Holland*, are to an *Indian*, but like the rest of the World, Men without Authority: And therefore, if by the Law of Nature, every Man hath not a Power to punish Offences against it, as he soberly Judges the Case to require, I see not how the Magistrates of any Community, can *punish an Alien* of another Country; since in Reference to him, they can have no more Power, than what every Man naturally may have over another.

10. Besides the Crime which consists in violating the Law, and varying from the right Rule of Reason, whereby a Man so far becomes degenerate, and declares himself to quit the Principles of human Nature, and to be a noxious Creature, there is commonly *Injury* done, some Person or other, some other Man receives Damage by his Transgression, in which Case he who hath received any Damage, has besides the right of Punishment common to him with other Men, a particular Right to seek *Reparation* from him that has done it. And any other Person who finds it just, may also joyn with him that is injur'd, and assist him in recovering from the Offender, so much as may make satisfaction for the Harm he has suffered.

11. From these two distinct Rights, the one of *punishing the Crime for restraint*, and preventing the like Offence, which right of punishing is in every Body; the other of taking *Reparation*, which belongs only to the injured Party, comes it to pass, that the Magistrate, who by being Magistrate, hath the common Right of punishing put into his Hands, can often, where the publick good demands not the Execution of the Law, *remit* the Punishment of criminal Offences by his own Authority, but yet cannot *remit* the Satisfaction due to any private Man, for the Damage he has received. That, he who has suffered the Damage has a Right to demand in his own Name, and he alone can remit: The damnified Person has this Power of appropriating to himself, the Goods or Service of the Offender, by *Right of self-Preservation*, as every Man has a Power to punish the Crime, to prevent its being committed again, by the Right he has of Preserving all Mankind,

and doing all reasonable things, he can, in order to that end: And thus it is, that every Man in the State of Nature, has a Power to kill a Murderer, both to deter others from doing the like Injury, which no Reparation can compensate, by the Example of the Punishment that attends it from every body, and also to secure Men from the attempts of a Criminal, who having renounced Reason, the common Rule and Measure, God hath given to Mankind, hath by the unjust Violence and Slaughter he hath committed upon one, declared War against all Mankind, and therefore may be destroyed as a *Lion* or a *Tiger*, one of those wild savage Beasts, with whom Men can have no Society nor Security: And upon this is grounded that great Law of Nature, *whose sheddeth Man's Blood, by Man shall his Blood be shed.* And Cain was so fully convinced, that every one had a Right to destroy such a Criminal, that after the Murder of his Brother, he cries out, *Every one that findeth me, shall slay me*; so plain was it writ in the Hearts of all Mankind.

12. By the same reason, may a Man in the State of Nature punish the lesser Breaches of that Law. It will perhaps be demanded with Death? I answer, each Transgression may be punished to that Degree, and with so much Severity, as will suffice to make it an ill Bargain to the Offender, give him Cause to repent, and terrifie others from doing the like. Every Offence that can be committed in the State of Nature, may in the State of Nature be also punished equally, and as far forth as it may, in a Commonwealth. For though it would be besides my present Purpose, to enter here into the particulars of the Law of Nature, or its measures of Punishment; yet, it is certain there is such a Law, and that too, as intelligible and plain to a rational Creature, and a Studier of that Law, as the positive Laws of Commonwealths; nay possibly plainer; as much as Reason is easier to be understood, than the Phantasies and intricate Contrivances of Men, following contrary and hidden Interests put into Words; for so truly are a great part of the municipal Laws of Countries, which are only so far right, as they are founded on the Law of Nature, by which they are to be regulated and interpreted.

13. To this strange Doctrine, viz. That in the State of Nature, every one has the Executive Power of the Law of Nature, I doubt not but it will be objected, that it is unreasonable for Men to be Judges in their own Cases, that self-love will make Men partial to themselves and their Friends: And on the other side, that ill Nature, Passion and Revenge will carry them too far in punishing others; and hence nothing but Confusion and Disorder will follow, and that therefore God hath certainly appointed Government to restrain the partiality and violence of Men. I easily grant, that Civil Government is the proper Remedy for the Inconveniencies of the State of Nature, which must certainly be great, where Men may be Judges in their own Case, since 'tis easie to be imagined, that he who was so unjust as to do his Brother an Injury, will scarce be so just as to condemn himself for it. But I shall desire those who make this Objection, to remember, that absolute Monarchs are but Men, and if Government is to be the Remedy of those Evils, which necessarily follow from Mens being Judges in their own Cases, and the State of Nature is therefore not to be endured, I desire to know what kind of Government that is, and how much better it is than the State of Nature, where one Man commanding a Multitude, has the Liberty to be Judge in his own Case, and may do to all his Subjects whatever he pleases, without the least question or controule of those who execute his Pleasure? And in whatsoever he doth, whether led by Reason, Mistake or Passion, must be submitted to? Which Men in the State of Nature are not bound to do one to another: And if he that judges, judges amiss in his own, or any other Case, he is answerable for it to the rest of Mankind.

14. 'Tis often asked as a mighty Objection, where are, or ever were, there any Men in such a State of Nature? To which it may suffice as an Answer at present: That since all Princes and Rulers of Independent Governments all through the World, are in a State of Nature, 'tis plain the World never was, nor ever will be, without Numbers of Men in that State. I have named all Governors of Independent Communities, whether they are, or are not, in League with others. For 'tis not every Compact that puts an end to the State of Nature between Men, but only this one of agreeing together mutually to enter into one Community, and make one Body Politick; other Promises, and Compacts, Men may make one

with another, and yet still be in the state of Nature. The Promises and Bargains for Truck, &c. between the two Men in the desert Island, mentioned by *Garcilasso de la Vega*, in his History of *Peru*; or between a *Swiss* and an *Indian*, in the Woods of *America*, are binding to them, though they are perfectly in a state of Nature, in reference to one another. For Truth and keeping of Faith belongs to Men, as Men, and not as Members of Society.

15. To those that say, There were never any Men in the State of Nature; I will not only oppose the Authority of the judicious *Hooker*, *Eccl. Pol. Lib. 1. Sect. 10.* where he says, *The Laws which have been hitherto mentioned, i. e. the Laws of Nature, do bind Men absolutely, even as they are Men, although they have never any settled Fellowship, never any solemn Agreement amongst themselves what to do or not to do, but for as much as we are not by our selves sufficient to furnish our selves with competent store of things, needful for such a Life; as our Nature doth desire, a Life fit for the Dignity of Man; therefore to supply those Defects and Imperfections which are in us, as living single and solely by our selves, we are naturally induced to seek Communion and Fellowship with others, this was the Cause of Mens uniting themselves, at first in politic Societies.* But I moreover affirm, That all Men are naturally in that State, and remain so, till by their own Consents they make themselves Members of some politick Society; and I doubt not in the Sequel of this Discourse, to make it very clear.

CHAP. III.

Of the State of War.

16. **T**HE State of War is a state of Enmity and Destruction: And therefore declaring by Word or Action, not a passionate and hasty, but a sedate settled Design, upon another Man's Life, puts him in a State of War with him against whom he has declared such an Intention, and so has exposed his Life to the others Power to be taken away by him, or any one that joyns with him in his Defence, and espouses his Quarrel; it being reasonable and just I should have a Right to destroy that, which threatens me with Destruction. For by the fundamental Law of Nature, Man being to be preserved, as much as possible, when all cannot be preserved, the safety of the Innocent is to be preferred: And one may destroy a Man who makes War upon him, or has discovered an Enmity to his being, for the same Reason, that he may kill a *Wolf* or a *Lion*; because such Men are not under the ties of the Common-Law of Reason, have no other Rule, but that of Force and Violence, and so may be treated as Beasts of Prey, those dangerous and noxious Creatures, that will be sure to destroy him, whenever he falls into their Power.

17. And hence it is, that he who attempts to get another Man into his Absolute Power, does thereby put himself into a State of War with him; It being to be understood as a Declaration of a design upon his Life. For I have reason to conclude, that he who would get me into his Power without my Consent, would use me as he pleased, when he had got me there, and destroy me too, when he had a fancy to it; for no body can desire to have me in his absolute Power, unless it be to compel me by force to that, which is against the Right of my Freedom, i. e. make me a Slave. To be free from such force is the only security of my Preservation; and reason bids me look on him, as an Enemy to my Preservation, who would take away that Freedom, which is the fence to it; so that he who makes an attempt to enslave me, thereby puts himself into a State of War with me. He that in the State of Nature, would take away the Freedom, that belongs to any one in that State, must necessarily be supposed to have a design to take away every thing else, that Freedom being the Foundation of all the rest: As he that in the State of Society, would take away the Freedom belonging to those of that Society or Common-wealth, must be supposed to design to take away from them every thing else, and so be looked on as in a State of War.

18. This makes it lawful for a Man to kill a Thief, who has not in the least hurt him, nor declared any Design upon his Life, any farther, than by the use of Force, so to get him in his Power, as to take away his Money, or what he pleases

from him; because using Force, where he has no Right, to get me into his Power, let his Pretence be what it will, I have no reason to suppose, that he, who would take away my Liberty would not, when he had me in his Power, take away every thing else. And therefore it is lawful for me to treat him, as one who has put himself into a state of War with me, i. e. kill him if I can; for to that Hazard does he justly expose himself, whoever introduces a State of War, and is aggressor in it.

19. And here we have the plain Difference between the state of Nature, and the state of War, which however some Men have confounded, are as far distant, as a state of Peace, good Will, mutual Assistance and Preservation; and a state of Enmity, Malice, Violence and mutual Destruction are one from another. Men living together according to Reason, without a common superior on Earth, with Authority to judge between them, is properly the state of Nature. But force, or a declared design of Force upon the Person of another, where there is no common Superior on Earth to appeal to for Relief, is the state of War: And 'tis the want of such an Appeal gives a Man the right of War even against an Aggressor, though he be in Society and a fellow Subject. Thus a Thief, whom I cannot harm, but by Appeal to the Law, for having stolen all that I am worth, I may kill, when he sets on me to rob me but of my Horse or Coat; because the Law, which was made for my Preservation where it cannot interpose to secure my Life from present Force, which if lost, is capable of no Reparation, permits me my own Defence, and the right of War, a Liberty to kill the Aggressor, because the Aggressor allows not time to appeal to our common Judge, nor the decision of the Law, for Remedy in a Case, where the Mischief may be irreparable. Want of a common Judge with Authority, puts all Men in a state of Nature: Force without Right, upon a Man's Person, makes a state of War, both where there is, and is not, a common Judge.

20. But when the actual Force is over, the state of War ceases between those that are in Society, and are equally on both Sides subjected to the fair Determination of the Law; because then there lies open the remedy of Appeal for the past Injury, and to prevent future Harm; but where no such Appeal is, as in the state of Nature, for want of positive Laws, and Judges with Authority to appeal to, the state of War once begun, continues, with a right to the innocent Party to destroy the other whenever he can, until the Aggressor offers Peace, and desires Reconciliation on such Terms, as may repair any Wrongs he has already done, and secure the Innocent for the future; nay where an Appeal to the Law, and constituted Judges lies open, but the Remedy is deny'd by a manifest perverting of Justice, and a barefac'd wresting of the Laws to protect or indemnify the violence or injuries of some Men, or party of Men, there it is hard to imagine any thing but a state of War. For where-ever Violence is used, and Injury done, though by hands appointed to administer Justice, it is still Violence and Injury, however colour'd with the Name, Pretences, or forms of Law, the End whereof being to protect and redress the Innocent, by an unbiass'd Application of it, to all who are under it; where-ever that is not bona fide done, War is made upon the Sufferers, who having no Appeal on Earth to right them, they are left to the only Remedy in such Cases, an Appeal to Heaven.

21. To avoid this state of War (wherein there is no Appeal but to Heaven, and wherein every the least Difference is apt to end, where there is no Authority to decide between the Contenders) is one great reason of Mens putting themselves into Society, and quitting the State of Nature. For where there is an Authority, a Power on Earth, from which Relief can be had by Appeal, there the continuance of the state of War is excluded, and the Controversie is decided by that Power. Had there been any such Court, any superior Jurisdiction on Earth, to determine the Right between Jephtha and the Ammonites, they had never come to a state of War, but we see he was forced to appeal to Heaven. The Lord the Judge (says he) be Judge this Day between the Children of Israel, and the Children of Ammon, Judg. 11. 27. and then Prosecuting, and relying on his Appeal, he leads out his Army to Battle: And therefore in such Controversies, where the Question is put, who shall be Judge? It cannot be meant, who shall decide the Controversie; every one knows what Jephtha here tells us, that the Lord the Judge, shall Judge. Where there is no Judge on Earth, the Appeal lies to God in Heaven. That Question then

then cannot mean, who shall judge? whether another hath put himself in a *state of War* with me, and whether I may as *Jephtha* did, *appeal to Heaven* in it? Of that I my self can only be Judge in my own Conscience, as I will answer it at the great Day, to the supream Judge of all Men.

CHAP. IV.

Of SLAVERY.

22. **T**HE *Natural Liberty* of Man is to be free from any superior Power on Earth, and not to be under the Will or legislative Authority of Man; but to have only the Law of Nature for his Rule. The *Liberty of Man*, in Society, is to be under no other legislative Power, but that established, by Consent, in the Commonwealth; nor under the dominion of any Will, or restraint of any Law, but what that Legislative shall enact, according to the Trust put in it. Freedom then is not what Sir R. F. tells us, *O. A. 55. A Liberty for every one to do what he lists, to live as he pleases, and not to be tyed by any Laws*: But *Freedom of Men under Government*, is, to have a standing Rule to live by, common to every one of that Society, and made by the legislative Power erected in it; a Liberty to follow my own Will in all things, where that Rule prescribes not; and not to be subject to the inconstant, uncertain, unknown, arbitrary Will of another Man: As *Freedom of Nature* is to be under no other Restraint but the Law of Nature.

23. This *Freedom* from absolute, arbitrary Power, is so necessary to, and closely joyned with a Man's Preservation, that he cannot part with it, but by what forfeits his Preservation and Life together. For a Man, not having the Power of his own Life, *cannot*, by Compact, or his own Consent, *enslave himself* to any one, nor put himself under the absolute, arbitrary Power of another, to take away his Life, when he pleases. No body can give more Power than he has himself; and he that cannot take away his own Life, cannot give another Power over it. Indeed having by his Fault, forfeited his own Life, by some Act that deserves Death; he, to whom he has forfeited it, may (when he has him in his Power) delay to take it, and make use of him to his own Service, and he does him no Injury by it. For, whenever he finds the hardship of his Slavery outweigh the value of his Life, 'tis in his Power, by resisting the Will of his Master, to draw on himself the Death he desires.

24. This is the perfect condition of *Slavery*, which is nothing else, but the *state of War continued, between a lawful Conqueror, and a Captive*. For, if once *Compact* enter between them, and make an Agreement for a limited Power on the one Side, and Obedience on the other, the *state of War and Slavery* ceases, as long as the Compact endures. For, as has been said, no Man can, by Agreement, pass over to another that which he hath not in himself, a Power over his own Life.

I confess, we find among the *Jews*, as well as other Nations, that Men did sell themselves; but, 'tis plain, this was only to *Drudgery*, not to *Slavery*. For, it is evident, the Person sold was not under an absolute, arbitrary, despotical Power. For the Master could not have Power to kill him, at any time, whom at a certain time, he was obliged to let go free out of his Service; and the Master of such a Servant was so far from having an arbitrary Power over his Life, that he could not at Pleasure, so much as maim him, but the loss of an Eye, or Tooth, set him free, *Exod. XXI.*

CHAP. V.

Of PROPERTY.

25. **W**HETHER we consider natural *Reason*, which tells us, that Men, being once born, have a right to their Preservation, and consequently to Meat and Drink, and such other things, as Nature affords for their Subsistence; or *Revelation*, which gives us an account of those Grants God made of the World

World to *Adam*, and to *Noah*, and his Sons, 'tis very clear, that God, as *K. David* says, *Psal. CXV. xvj.* has given the Earth to the Children of Men; given it to Mankind in common. But this being supposed, it seems to some a very great Difficulty, how any one should ever come to have a *Property* in any thing: I will not content my self to answer, That if it be difficult to make out *Property*, upon a Supposition, that God gave the World to *Adam*, and his Posterity in common; it is impossible that any Man, but one universal Monarch should have any *Property* upon a Supposition, that God gave the World to *Adam*, and his Heirs in Succession, exclusive of all the rest of his Posterity. But I shall endeavour to shew, how Men might come to have a *Property* in several parts of that which God gave to Mankind in common, and that without any express Compact of all the Commoners.

26. God, who hath given the World to Men in common, hath also given them reason to make use of it to the best Advantage of Life, and Convenience. The Earth, and all that is therein, is given to Men for the Support and Comfort of their Being. And though all the Fruits it naturally produces, and Beasts it feeds, belong to Mankind in common, as they are produced by the spontaneous Hand of Nature; and no body has originally a private Dominion, exclusive of the rest of Mankind, in any of them, as they are thus in their natural State: yet being given for the use of Men, there must of necessity be a means to appropriate them some way or other, before they can be of any use, or at all beneficial to any particular Man. The Fruit, or Venison, which nourishes the wild *Indian*, who knows no Inclosure, and is still a Tenant in common, must be his, and so his, *i. e.* a part of him, that another can no longer have any right to it, before it can do him any Good for the Support of his Life.

27. Though the Earth, and all inferior Creatures be common to all Men, yet every Man has a *Property* in his own Person: This no Body has any right to but himself. The *Labour* of his Body, and the *Work* of his Hands, we may say, are properly his. Whatsoever then he removes out of the State that Nature hath provided, and left it in, he hath mixed his *Labour* with, and joyned to it something that is his own, and thereby makes it his *Property*. It being by him removed from the common State Nature hath placed it in, it hath by this *Labour* something annexed to it, that excludes the common Right of other Men. For this *Labour* being the unquestionable *Property* of the Labourer, no Man but he can have a Right to what that is once joyned to, at least where there is enough, and as good left in common for others.

28. He that is nourished by the Acorns he pickt up under an Oak, or the Apples he gathered from the Trees in the Wood, has certainly appropriated them to himself. No body can deny but the Nourishment is his. I ask then, When did they begin to be his? When he digested? Or when he eat? Or when he boiled? Or when he brought them home? Or when he pickt them up? And 'tis plain, if the first gathering made them not his, nothing else could. That *Labour* put a Distinction between them and common: That added something to them more than Nature, the common Mother of all, had done; and so they became his private Right. And will any one say, he had no Right to those Acorns or Apples, he thus appropriated, because he had not the Consent of all Mankind to make them his? Was it a Robbery thus to assume to himself what belonged to all in common? If such a Consent as that was necessary, Man had starved, notwithstanding the Plenty God had given him. We see in *Commons*, which remain so by Compact, that 'tis the taking any part of what is common, and removing it out of the state Nature leaves it in, which begins the *Property*; without which the Common is of no use. And the taking of this or that part, does not depend on the express Consent of all the Commoners. Thus the Grass my Horse has bit; the Turfs my Servant has cut; and the Ore I have digg'd in any Place, where I have a Right to them in common with others, become my *Property*, without the Assignment or Consent of any body. The *Labour* that was mine, removing them out of that common State they were in, hath fixed my *Property* in them.

29. By making an explicit Consent of every Commoner, necessary to any ones appropriating to himself any part of what is given in common, Children or Servants could not cut the Meat, which their Father or Master had provided for them in common, without assigning to every one his peculiar Part.

Tho'

Tho' the Water running in the Fountain be every ones, yet who can doubt, but that in the Pitcher is his only who drew it out? His *Labour* hath taken it out of the Hands of Nature, where it was common, and belong'd equally to all her Children, and *hath* thereby appropriated it to himself.

30. Thus this Law of Reason makes the Deer that *Indian's* who hath killed it; 'tis allowed to be his Goods, who hath bestowed his Labour upon it, though before it was the common Right of every one. And amongst those who are counted the civiliz'd part of Mankind, who have made and multiplied positive Laws to determine *Property*, this original Law of Nature, for the *beginning of Property*, in what was before common, still takes place; and by vertue thereof, what Fish any one catches in the Ocean, that great and still remaining Common of Mankind; or what *Ambergreife* any one takes up here, is by the *Labour* that removes it out of that common State Nature left it in, *made his Property*, who takes that Pains about it. And even amongst us, the Hare that any one is hunting, is thought his who pursues her during the Chase. For being a Beast that is still looked upon as common, and no Man's private Possession; whoever has employ'd so much *Labour* about any of that kind, as to find and pursue her, has thereby removed her from the State of Nature, wherein she was common, and hath *begun a Property*.

31. It will perhaps be objected to this, That if gathering the Acorns, or other Fruits of the Earth, &c. makes a Right to them, then any one may *ingross* as much as he will. To which I answer, Not so. The same Law of Nature, that does by this means give us *Property*, does also *bound* that *Property* too. *God has given us all things richly*, 1 Tim. vi. 12. is the Voice of Reason confirmed by Inspiration. But how far has he given it us? *To enjoy*. As much as any one can make use of to any Advantage of Life before it spoils; so much he may by his Labour fix a *Property* in: Whatever is beyond this, is more than his Share, and belongs to others. Nothing was made by God for Man to spoil or destroy. And thus considering the Plenty of natural Provisions there was a long time in the World, and the few Spenders; and to how small a Part of that Provision the Industry of one Man could extend it self, and ingross it to the Prejudice of others; especially keeping within the *Bounds*, set by Reason, of what might serve for his Use; there could be then little room for Quarrels or Contentions about *Property* so establish'd.

32. But the chief Matter of *Property* being now not the Fruits of the Earth, and the Beasts that subsist on it, but *the Earth it self*; as that which takes in and carries with it all the rest: I think it is plain, that *Property* in that too is acquir'd as the former. As much Land as a Man tills, Plants, Improves, Cultivates, and can use the Product of, so much is his *Property*. He by his Labour does, as it were, inclose it from the Common. Nor will it invalidate his Right to say, Every body else has an equal Title to it; and therefore he cannot appropriate, he cannot inclose, without the Consent of all his Fellow-Commoners, all Mankind. God, when he gave the World in common to all Mankind, commanded Man also to labour, and the Penury of his Condition required it of him. God and his Reason commanded him to subdue the Earth, *i. e.* improve it for the Benefit of Life, and therein lay out something upon it that was his own, his Labour. He that in Obedience to this Command of God, subdued, tilled and sowed any part of it, thereby annexed to it something that was his *Property*, which another had no Title to, nor could without Injury take from him.

33. Nor was this *Appropriation* of any parcel of Land, by improving it, any Prejudice to any other Man, since there was still enough, and as good left; and more than the yet unprovided could use. So that in effect, there was never the less left for others because of his Inclosure for himself. For he that leaves as much as another can make use of, does as good as take nothing at all. No Body could think himself injur'd by the drinking of another Man though he took a good Draught, who had a whole River of the same Water left him to quench his Thirst: And the Case of Land and Water, where there is enough of both, is perfectly the same.

34. God gave the World to Men in common; but since he gave it them for their Benefit, and the greatest conveniencies of Life they were capable to draw from it, it cannot be supposed he meant it should always remain common and uncultivated.

vated. He gave it to the use of the industrious and rational, (and *Labour* was to be his *Title* to it;) not to the Fancy or Covetousness of the Quarrelsome and Contentious. He that has as good left for his Improvement, as was already taken up, needed not complain, ought not to meddle with what was already improved by another's *Labour*: If he did, 'tis plain he desired the benefit of another's Pains, which he had no right to, and not the Ground which God had given him in common with others to labour on, and whereof there was as good left, as that already possessed, and more than he knew what to do with, or his Industry could reach to.

35. 'Tis true, in *Land* that is common in *England*, or any other Country, where there is plenty of People under Government, who have Money and Commerce, no one can inclose or appropriate any part, without the consent of all his Fellow-Commoners: Because this is left common by Compact, *i. e.* by the law of the Land, which is not to be violated. And tho' it be common, in respect of some Men, it is not so to all Mankind; but is the joint property of this Country, or this Parish. Besides, the remainder, after such Inclosure, would not be as good to the rest of the Commoners, as the whole was, when they could all make use of the whole; whereas in the Beginning and first peopling of the great Common of the World, it was quite otherwise. The Law Man was under, was rather for appropriating. God commanded, and his Wants forced him to labour. That was his *Property* which could not be taken from him where-ever he had fixed it. And hence subduing or cultivating the Earth, and having Dominion, we see are joined together. The one gave Title to the other. So that God, by commanding to subdue, gave Authority so far to appropriate: And the Condition of human Life, which requires Labour and Materials to work on, necessarily introduce private Possessions.

36. Nature has well set the measure of *Property* by the extent of Mens *Labour* and the Conveniencies of Life: No Man's Labour could subdue, or appropriate all; nor could his Enjoyment consume more than a small Part; so that it was impossible for any Man, this Way, to intrench upon the Right of another, or acquire to himself a Property, to the prejudice of his Neighbour, who would still have room for as good, and as large a Possession (after the other had taken out his) as before it was appropriated. *Measure* did confine every Man's Possession, to a very moderate Proportion, and such, as he might appropriate to himself, without Injury to any Body, in the first Ages of the World, when Men were more in Danger to be lost, by wandering from their Company, in the then vast wilderness of the Earth, than to be straitned for want of room to plant in. And the same *Measure* may be allowed still without Prejudice to any Body, as full as the World seems. For supposing a Man, or Family, in the State they were at first peopling of the World by the Children of *Adam*, or *Noah*; let him plant in some In-land, vacant places of *America*, we shall find that the Possessions he could make himself, upon the Measures we have given, would not be very large, nor, even to this day, prejudice the rest of Mankind, or give them reason to complain, or think themselves injured by this Man's Incroachment, though the race of Men have now spread themselves to all the corners of the World, and do infinitely exceed the small Number was at the Beginning. Nay, the extent of *Ground* is of so little Value, without *Labour*, that I have heard it affirmed, that in *Spain* it self, a Man may be permitted to plough, sow and reap, without being disturbed upon Land he has no other Title to, but only his making use of it. But, on the contrary, the Inhabitants think themselves beholden to him, who, by his Industry on neglected, and consequently waste Land, has increased the stock of Corn, which they wanted. But be this as it will, which I lay no Stress on; this I dare boldly affirm, that the same rule of *Propriety*, (*viz.*) that every Man should have as much as he could make use of, would hold still in the World, without straitning any Body; since there is Land enough in the World to suffice double the Inhabitants, had not the *Invention of Money*, and the tacit Agreement of Men, to put a Value on it, introduced (by Consent) larger Possessions, and a Right to them; which, how it has done, I shall by and by shew more at large.

37. This is certain, That in the beginning, before the desire of having more than Man needed, had altered the intrinsic value of things, which depends only on their usefulness to the Life of Man; or had agreed, that a little piece of yellow
Metal,

Metal, which would keep without wasting or decay, should be worth a great piece of *Flesh*, or a whole heap of *Corn*, though Men had a right to appropriate, by their Labour, each one to himself, as much of the things of Nature, as he could use; yet this could not be much, nor to the Prejudice of others, where the same plenty was still left, to those who would use the same Industry. To which let me add, that he who appropriates Land to himself by his Labour, does not lessen but increase the common stock of Mankind. For the Provisions serving to the support of human Life; produced by one Acre of Inclosed and Cultivated Land are (to speak much within compass) ten times more than those which are yielded by an Acre of Land of an equal richness lying waste in Common. And therefore he that incloses Land, and has a greater plenty of the Conveniencies of Life from ten Acres, than he could have from an hundred left to Nature, may truly be said to give ninety Acres to Mankind. For his Labour now supplies him with Provisions out of ten Acres, which were but the Product of an hundred lying in Common. I have here rated the improv'd Land very low in making its Product but as ten to one, when it is much nearer an hundred to one. For I ask whether in the wild Woods and uncultivated waste of *America* left to Nature without any Improvement, Tillage or Husbandry, a thousand Acres yield the needy and wretched Inhabitants as many Conveniencies of Life, as ten Acres of equally fertile Land do in *Devonshire*, where they are well Cultivated?

Before the appropriation of Land, he who gathered as much of the wild Fruit, killed, caught, or tamed, as many of the Beasts, as he could; he that so employed his Pains about any of the spontaneous Products of Nature, as any way to alter them, from the state which Nature put them in, by placing any of his Labour on them, did thereby acquire a Propriety in them: But if they perished, in his Possession, without their due Use; if the Fruits rotted, or the Venison putrified, before he could spend it, he offended against the common Law of Nature, and was liable to be punished; he invaded his Neighbour's share, for he had no Right, farther than his Use called for any of them, and they might serve to afford him Conveniencies of Life.

38. The same Measures governed the Possession of Land too: Whatsoever he tilled and reaped, laid up and made use of, before it spoiled, that was his peculiar Right; whatsoever he enclosed, and could feed, and make use of, the Cattle and Product was also his. But if either the Grass of his Inclosure rotted on the Ground, or the Fruit of his planting perished without gathering, and laying up, this part of the Earth, notwithstanding his Inclosure, was still to be looked on as waste, and might be the Possession of any other. Thus, at the beginning, *Cain* might take as much Ground as he could Till, and make it his own Land, and yet leave enough to *Abel's* Sheep to feed on; a few Acres would serve for both their Possessions. But as Families increased, and industry enlarged their Stocks, their Possessions enlarged with the need of them; but yet it was commonly without any fixed property in the ground they made use of, till they incorporated, settled themselves together, and built Cities, and then, by consent, they came in time, to set out the bounds of their distinct Territories, and agree on limits between them and their Neighbours; and by Laws within themselves, settled the Properties of those of the same Society. For we see, that in that part of the World which was first inhabited, and therefore like to be best peopled, even as low down as *Abraham's* Time, they wandered with their Flocks, and their Herds, which was their substance, freely up and down; and this *Abraham* did, in a Country where he was a Stranger. Whence it is plain, that at least, a great part of the Land lay in common; that the Inhabitants valued it not, nor claimed Property in any more than they made use of. But when there was not room enough in the same Place, for their Herds to feed together, they by consent, as *Abraham* and *Lot* did, *Gen. xiii. 5.* separated and enlarged their Pasture, where it best liked them. And for the same Reason *Esau* went from his Father, and his Brother, and planted in *Mount Seir*, *Gen. xxxvi. 6.*

39. And thus, without supposing any private Dominion, and Property in *Adam*, over all the World, exclusive of all other Men, which can no way be proved, nor any ones Property be made out from it; but supposing the World given as it was to the Children of Men in common, we see how Labour could make Men distinct &

Titles to several parcels of it, for their private Uses; wherein there could be no doubt of Right, no room for quarrel.

40. Nor is it so strange, as perhaps before consideration it may appear, that the *Property of Labour* should be able to over-balance the Community of Land. For 'tis *Labour* indeed that puts the difference of value on every thing; and let any one consider what the difference is between an Acre of Land planted with Tobacco or Sugar, sown with Wheat or Barley; and an Acre of the same Land lying in common, without any Husbandry upon it, and he will find, that the improvement of *Labour* makes the far greater part of the Value. I think it will be but a very modest Computation to say, that of the *Products* of the Earth useful to the Life of Man, are the *effects of Labour*: Nay, if we will rightly estimate things as they come to our Use, and cast up the several expences about them, what in them is purely owing to *Nature*, and what to *Labour*; we shall find, that in most of them are wholly to be put on the account of *Labour*.

41. There cannot be a clearer demonstration of any thing, than several Nations of the *Americans* are of this, who are rich in Land, and poor in all the Comforts of Life; whom Nature having furnished as liberally as any other People, with the materials of Plenty, i. e. a fruitful Soil, apt to produce in abundance, what might serve for Food, Rayment, and Delight; yet for want of improving it by *Labour*, have not one hundredth part of the Conveniencies we enjoy: And a King of a large and fruitful Territory there Feeds, Lodges, and is clad worse than a day Labourer in England.

42. To make this a little clearer, let us but trace some of the ordinary provisions of Life, through their several Progresses, before they come to our Use, and see how much they receive of their value from human Industry. Bread, Wine and Cloath, are things of daily Use, and great Plenty, yet notwithstanding, Acorns, Water and Leaves, or Skins, must be our Bread, Drink and Cloathing, did not *Labour* furnish us with these more useful Commodities. For whatever Bread is more worth than Acorns, Wine than Water, and Cloath or Silk, than Leaves, Skins or Moss, that is wholly owing to *Labour* and *Industry*. The one of these being the Food and Rayment which unassisted Nature furnishes us with; the other Provisions which our Industry and Pains prepare for Us, which how much they exceed the other in Value, when any one hath Computed, he will then see, how much *Labour* makes the far greatest part of the value of things we enjoy in this World: And the ground which produces the Materials, is scarce to be reckon'd in, as any, or at most, but a very small part of it; so little, that even amongst us, Land that is left wholly to Nature, that hath no improvement of Pasturage, Tillage, or Planting, is called, as indeed it is, *Waste*; and we shall find the benefit of it amount to little more than nothing.

This shews how much numbers of Men are to be preferred to largeness of Dominions; and that the increase of Lands, and the right employing of them is the great Art of Government: And that Prince, who shall be so Wise and God-like, as by established Laws of Liberty to secure Protection and Encouragement to the honest industry of Mankind, against the Oppression of Power and Narrowness of Party, will quickly be too hard for his Neighbours; But this by the by: To return to the Argument in Hand.

43. An Acre of Land, that bears here twenty Bushels of Wheat, and another in *America*, which, with the same Husbandry, would do the like, are, without doubt, of the same natural intrinsick Value: But yet the Benefit Mankind receives from the one in a Year, is worth 5 *L.* and from the other possibly not worth a Penny, if all the Profit an *Indian* received from it were to be valued, and sold here; at least, I may truly say, not $\frac{1}{1000}$. 'Tis *Labour* then, which puts the greatest part of Value upon Land, without which it would scarcely be worth any thing: 'Tis to that we owe the greatest part of all its useful Products; for all that the Straw, Bran, Bread, of that Acre of Wheat, is more worth than the Product of an Acre of as good Land, which lies waste, is all the effect of *Labour*. For 'tis not barely the Plough-man's Pains, the Reaper's and Thresher's Toil, and the Baker's Sweat, is to be counted into the Bread we Eat; the Labour of those who broke the Oxen, who digged and wrought the Iron and Stones, who felled and framed the Timber employed about the Plough, Mill, Oven, or any other Utensils, which are a vast Number, requisite to this Corn, from its being Seed to be sown to its being made

made Bread, must all be charged on the account of Labour; and received as an effect of that: Nature and the Earth furnished only the almost worthless Materials, as in themselves. 'Twould be a strange Catalogue of things, that Industry provided and made use of, about every Loaf of Bread, before it came to our Use, if we could trace them; Iron, Wood, Leather, Bark, Timber, Stone, Bricks, Coals, Lime, Cloth, Dying Drugs, Pitch, Tar, Malts, Ropes, and all the Materials made use of in the Ship, that brought any of the Commodities made use of by any of the Workmen, to any part of the Work, all which, 'twould be almost impossible, at least too long, to reckon up.

44. From all which it is evident, that though the things of Nature are given in common, yet Man by being Master of himself, and Proprietor of his own Person, and the Actions or Labour of it, had still in himself the great Foundation of Property; and that, which made up the great part of what he applied to the Support or Comfort of his Being, when Invention and Arts had improved the conveniencies of Life; was perfectly his own, and did not belong in common to others.

45. Thus Labour, in the beginning gave a Right of Property, wherever any one was pleased to imploy it, upon what was common, which remained a long while, the far greater part, and is yet more than Mankind makes use of. Men, at first, for the most part, contented themselves with what un-assisted Nature offered to their Necessities: And though afterwards, in some parts of the World, (where the Increase of People and Stock, with the Use of Money, had made Land scarce, and so of some Value) the several Communities settled the Bounds of their distinct Territories; and by Laws within themselves, regulated the Properties of the private Men of their Society; and so, by Compact and Agreement, settled the Property which Labour and Industry began; and the Leagues that have been made between several States and Kingdoms, either expressly or tacitly disowning all Claim and Right to the Land in the others Possession, have, by common Consent, given up their Pretences to their natural common Right, which originally they had to those Countries, and so have, by positive Agreement, settled a Property amongst themselves, in distinct Parts and Parcel of the Earth; yet there are still great Tracts of Ground to be found, which, (the Inhabitants thereof not having joyned with the rest of Mankind, in the consent of the Use of their common Money) lie waste, and are more, than the People, who dwell on it, do, or can make use of, and so still lie in common. Tho' this can scarce happen amongst that part of Mankind, that have consented to the Use of Money.

46. The greatest part of things really useful to the life of Man, and such as the necessity of subsisting made the first Commoners of the World look after, as it doth the Americans now, are generally things of short Duration; such as, if they are not consumed by use, will decay and perish of themselves: Gold, Silver and Diamonds, are things, that Fancy or Agreement hath put the Value on, more than real Use, and the necessary support of Life. Now of those good things which Nature hath provided in (common, every one had a Right as hath been said) to as much as he could use, and Property in all he could affect with his Labour; all that his Industry could extend to, to alter from the state Nature had put it in, was his. He that gathered a hundred Bushels of Acorns or Apples, had thereby a Property in them, they were his Goods as soon as gathered. He was only to look, that he used them before they spoiled, else he took more than his share, and robb'd others. And indeed it was a foolish thing, as well as dishonest, to hoard up more, than he could make use of. If he gave away a part to any body else, so that it perished not uselessly in his Possession, these he also made use of. And if he also bartred away Plumbs, that would have rotted in a Week, for Nuts that would last good for his eating a whole Year he did no injury; he wasted not the common Stock; destroyed no part of the portion of Goods that belonged to others, so long as nothing perished uselessly in his hands. Again, If he would give his Nuts for a piece of Metal, pleased with its Colour; or exchange his Sheep for Shells, or Wooll for a sparkling Pebble or a Diamond, and keep those by him all his Life, he invaded not the Right of others, he might heap up as much of these durable things as he pleased; the exceeding of the bounds of his just Property not lying in the largeness of his Possession, but the perishing of any thing uselessly in it.

47. And thus *came in the use of Money*, some lasting thing that Men might keep without spoiling, and that by mutual Consent Men would take in exchange for the truly useful, but perishable supports of Life.

48. And as different degrees of Industry were apt to give Men Possessions in different Proportions, so this *Invention of Money* gave them the Opportunity to continue and enlarge them. For supposing an Island, separate from all possible Commerce with the rest of the World, wherein there were but an hundred Families, but there were Sheep, Horses and Cows, with other useful Animals, wholesome Fruits, and Land enough for Corn for a hundred thousand Times as many, but nothing in the Island, either because of its Commonness, or perishableness, fit to supply the place of *Money*: What reason could any one have there to enlarge his Possessions beyond the use of his Family, and a plentiful supply to its *Consumption*, either in what their own Industry produced, or they could barter for like perishable, useful Commodities, with others? Where there is not something, both lasting and scarce, and so valuable, to be hoarded up, there Men will be apt to enlarge their *Possessions of Land*, were it never so rich, never so free for them to take. For I ask, what would a Man value Ten thousand, or an Hundred thousand Acres of excellent *Land*, ready cultivated, and well stocked too with Cattle in the middle of the In-land Parts of *America*, where he had no hopes of Commerce with other parts of the World, to draw *Money* to him by the sale of the Product? It would not be worth the inclosing, and we should see him give up again to the wild Common of Nature, whatever was more than would supply the conveniencies of Life to be had there for him and his Family.

49. Thus in the Beginning all the World was *America*, and more so than that is now; for no such thing as *Money* was any where known. Find out something that hath the *Use and Value of Money* amongst his Neighbours, you shall see the same Man will begin presently to *enlarge* his Possessions.

50. But since Gold and Silver, being little useful to the Life of Man in proportion to Food, Rayment, and Carriage, has its *Value* only from the consent of Men, whereof *Labour* yet makes, in great part, the *Measure*, it is plain, that Men have agreed to a disproportionate and unequal *Possession of the Earth*, they having by a tacit and voluntary Consent, found out a Way how a Man may fairly possess more Land, than he himself can use the Product of, by receiving in Exchange for the overplus Gold and Silver, which may be hoarded up without Injury to any one; these Metals not spoiling or decaying in the hands of the Possessor. This Partage of things in an inequality of private Possessions, Men have made practicable out of the bounds of Society, and without Compact only by putting a Value on Gold and Silver, and tacitly agreeing in the use of Money. For in Governments, the Laws regulate the right of Property, and the possession of Land is determined by positive Constitutions.

51. And thus, I think, it is very easie to conceive without any Difficulty, how *Labour* could at first begin a title of Property in the common things of Nature, and how the spending it upon our uses bounded it. So that there could then be no reason of quarreling about Title, nor any doubt about the largeness of Possession it gave. Right and Conveniency went together; for as a Man had a Right to all he could employ his Labour upon, so he had no Temptation to labour for more than he could make use of. This left no room for Controversie about the Title, nor for Incroachment on the right of others; what Portion a Man carved to himself, was easily seen; and it was useless as well as dishonest to carve himself too much, or take more than he needed.

CHAP. III.

Of Paternal Power.

52. **I**T may perhaps be censured as an impertinent Criticism in a discourse of this Nature to find fault with Words and Names, that have obtained in the World: And yet possibly it may not be amiss to offer new ones, when the old are apt to lead Men into Mistakes as this of *paternal Power* probably has done, which

which seems so to place the power of Parents over their Children wholly in the *Father*, as if the *Mother* had no share in it, whereas, if we consult Reason or Revelation, we shall find, she hath an equal Title. This may give one reason to ask, whether this might not be more properly called *parental Power*. For whatever obligation Nature and the right of Generation lays on Children, it must certainly bind them equal to both the concurrent Causes of it. And accordingly we see the positive Law of God every where joyns them together, without Distinction when it commands the Obedience of Children, *Honour thy Father and thy Mother*, Exod. 20. 12. *Whosoever curseth his Father or his Mother*, Lev. 20. 9. *Ye shall fear every Man his Mother and his Father*, Lev. 19. 3. *Children obey your Parents*, &c. Eph. 6. 1. is the stile of the Old and New Testament.

53. Had but this one thing been well consider'd, without looking any deeper into the Matter, it might perhaps have kept Men from running into those gross Mistakes, they have made, about this power of Parents; which however it might, without any great Harshness, bear the name of absolute Dominion, and regal Authority, when under the Title of *paternal Power* it seem'd appropriated to the Father, would yet have founded but oddly, and in the very Name shewn the Absurdity, if this supposed absolute Power over Children had been called *Parental*; and thereby have discover'd, that it belong'd to the *Mother* too; for it will but very ill serve the turn of those Men, who contend so much for the absolute power and authority of the *Fatherhood*, as they call it, that the *Mother* should have any Share in it. And it would have but ill supported the *Monarchy* they contend for, when by the very Name it appeared, that that fundamental Authority, from whence they would derive their Government of a single Person only, was not plac'd in one, but two Persons jointly. But to let this of Names pass.

54. Though I have said above Chap. 2. *That all Men by Nature are equal*, I cannot be supposed to understand all sorts of *Equality*: *Age* or *Virtue* may give Men a just Precedency: *Excellency of Parts* and *Merit* may place others above the common Level: *Birth* may subject some, and *Alliance* or *Benefits* others to pay an Observance to those to whom Nature, Gratitude, or other Respects may have made it due; and yet all this consists with the *Equality*, which all Men are in, in respect of Jurisdiction or Dominion, one over another; which was the *Equality* I there spoke of, as proper to the Business in hand, being that *equal Right*, that every Man hath, to his *natural Freedom*, without being subjected to the Will or Authority of any other Man.

55. *Children*, I confess, are not born in this full state of *Equality*, though they are born to it. Their Parents have a sort of Rule and Jurisdiction over them, when they come into the World, and for some time after, but 'tis but a temporary one. The Bonds of this Subjection are like the swadling Cloths they are wrapt up in, and supported by in the weakness of their Infancy: Age and Reason as they grow up, loosen them, till at length they drop quite off, and leave a Man at his own free Disposal.

56. *Adam* was created a perfect Man, his Body and Mind in full possession of their Strength and Reason, and so was capable, from the first Instant of his Being to provide for his own Support and Preservation, and govern his Actions according to the Dictates of the Law of Reason which God had implanted in him. From him the World is peopled with his Descendants, who are all born Infants, weak and helpless, without Knowledge or Understanding: But to supply the defects of this imperfect State, till the improvement of Growth and Age had removed them, *Adam* and *Eve*, and after them all *Parents* were, by the Law of Nature, under an Obligation to preserve, nourish, and educate the *Children*, they had begotten; not as their own Workmanship, but the Workmanship of their own Maker, the Almighty, to whom they were to be accountable for them.

57. The Law, that was to govern *Adam*, was the same, that was to govern all his Posterity, the *Law of Reason*. But his Off-spring having another way of entrance into the World, different from him, by a natural Birth, that produced them ignorant and without the use of *Reason*, they were not presently under that Law; for no body can be under a Law, which is not promulgated to him; and this Law being promulgated or made known by *Reason* only, he that is not come to the Use of his *Reason*, cannot be said to be under this Law; and *Adam's Children*, being not presently as soon as born under this *Law of Reason*, were not presently

sently free. For Law, in its true Notion, is not so much the Limitation as the direction of a free and intelligent Agent to his proper Interest, and prescribes no farther than is for the general Good of those under that Law: Could they be happier without it, the Law, as an useless thing, would of itself vanish; and that ill deserves the Name of Confinement which hedges us in only from Bogs and Precipices. So that, however it may be mistaken, the end of Law is not to abolish or restrain, but to preserve and enlarge Freedom. For in all the states of created Beings capable of Laws, where there is no Law, there is no Freedom. For Liberty is to be free from Restraint and Violence from others; which cannot be, where there is no Law: But Freedom is not, as we are told, *A Liberty for every Man to do what he lists*: (For who could be Free, when every other Man's Humour might domineer over him?) But a Liberty to dispose, and order as he lists, his Person, Actions, Possessions, and his whole Property, within the Allowance of those Laws, under which he is, and therein not to be subject to the Arbitrary Will of another, but freely follow his own.

58. The Power, then, that Parents have over their Children, arises from that Duty which is incumbent on them, to take care of their Off-spring, during the imperfect state of Childhood. To inform the Mind, and govern the Actions of their yet ignorant Nonage, till Reason shall take its Place, and ease them of that Trouble, is what the Children want, and the Parents are bound to. For God having given Man an Understanding to direct his Actions, has allowed him a freedom of Will, and liberty of Acting, as properly belonging thereunto, within the bounds of that Law he is under. But whilst he is in an Estate, wherein he has not Understanding of his own to direct his Will, he is not to have any Will of his own to follow: He that understands for him, must will for him too; he must prescribe to his Will, and regulate his Actions; but when he comes to the Estate that made his Father a Freeman, the Son is a Freeman too.

59. This holds in all the Laws a Man is under, whether Natural or Civil. Is a Man under the Law of Nature? What made him Free of that Law? What gave him a free disposing of his Property, according to his own Will, within the compass of that Law? I answer; a State of Maturity wherein he might be supposed capable to know that Law, that so he might keep his Actions within the Bounds of it. When he has acquired that State, he is presumed to know how far that Law is to be his Guide, and how far he may make use of his Freedom, and so comes to have it; till then, some body else must guide him, who is presumed to know, how far the Law allows a Liberty. If such a State of Reason, such an Age of Discretion made him Free, the same shall make his Son Free too. Is a Man under the Law of England? What made him Free of that Law? That is, to have the Liberty to dispose of his Actions and Possessions according to his own Will, within the Permission of that Law? A Capacity of knowing that Law. Which is supposed by that Law, at the Age of one and twenty Years, and in some Cases sooner. If this made the Father Free, it shall make the Son Free too. Till then we see the Law allows the Son to have no Will, but he is to be guided by the Will of his Father or Guardian, who is to understand for him. And if the Father die, and fail to substitute a Deputy in his Trust; if he hath not provided a Tutor, to govern his Son, during his Minority, during his want of Understanding, the Law takes care to do it, some other must govern him, and be a Will to him, till he hath attained to a State of Freedom, and his Understanding be fit to take the Government of his Will. But after that, the Father and Son are equally Free as much as Tutor and Pupil after Nonage; equally Subjects of the same Law together, without any Dominion left in the Father over the Life, Liberty, or Estate of his Son, whether they be only in the State and under the Law of Nature, or under the positive Laws of an Establish'd Government.

60. But if, through defects that may happen out of the ordinary course of Nature, any one comes not to such a degree of Reason, wherein he might be supposed capable of knowing the Law, and so living within the Rules of it, he is never capable of being a Free Man, he is never let loose to the dispose of his own Will (because he knows no bounds to it, has not Understanding, its proper Guide) but is continued under the Tuition and Government of others, all the time his own Understanding is incapable of that Charge. And so Lunatics and Idiots are never set free from the Government of their Parents; Children, who are not as yet

come

come unto those Years whereat they may have ; and Innocents which are excluded by a natural defect from ever having ; Thirdly, Madmen, which for the present cannot possibly have the use of right Reason to guide themselves, have for their Guide, the Reason that guideth other Men which are Tutors over them, to seek and procure their good for them, says Hooker, Eccl. Pol. lib. 1. Sect. 7. All which seems no more than that Duty, which God and Nature has laid on Man, as well as other Creatures, to preserve their Off-spring, till they can be able to shift for themselves, and will scarce amount to an instance or proof of Parents Regal Authority.

61. Thus we are born Free, as we are born Rational; not that we have actually the Exercise of either : Age that brings one, brings with it the other too. And thus we see how natural Freedom and Subjection to Parents may consist together, and are both founded on the same Principle. A Child is Free by his Father's Title, by his Father's Understanding, which is to govern him, till he hath it of his own. The Freedom of a Man at years of Discretion, and the Subjection of a Child to his Parents, whilst yet short of that Age, are so consistent, and so distinguishable, that the most blinded Contenders for Monarchy, by Right of Fatherhood, cannot miss this Difference ; the most obstinate cannot but allow their Consistency. For were their Doctrine all true, were the right Heir of Adam now known, and by that Title settled a Monarch in his Throne, invested with all the absolute unlimited Power Sir R. F. talks of; if he should die as soon as his Heir were Born, must not the Child, notwithstanding he were never so Free, never so much Sovereign, be in Subjection to his Mother and Nurse, to Tutors and Governors, till Age and Education brought him Reason and Ability to govern himself, and others ? The Necessities of his Life, the Health of his Body, and the Information of his Mind would require him to be directed by the Will of others and not his own ; and yet will any one think, that this Restraint and Subjection were inconsistent with, or spoiled him of that Liberty or Sovereignty he had a Right to, or gave away his Empire to those who had the Government of his Nonage ? This Government over him only prepared him the better and sooner for it. If any body should ask me, when my Son is of Age to be Free ? I shall answer, Just when his Monarch is of Age to govern. But at what time, says the judicious Hooker, Eccl. Pol. l. 1. Sect. 6. a Man may be said to have attain'd so far forth the use of Reason, as sufficeth to make him capable of those Laws whereby he is then bound to guide his Actions ; this is a great deal more easie for sense to discern, than for any one by Skill and Learning to determine.

62. Commonwealths themselves take notice of, and allow, that there is a time when Men are to begin to act like Free Men, and therefore till that time require not Oaths of Fealty, or Allegiance, or other publick owning of, or Submission to the Government of their Countries.

63. The Freedom then of Man, and Liberty of acting according to his own Will, is grounded on his having Reason, which is able to instruct him in that Law he is to govern himself by, and make him know how far he is left to the Freedom of his own Will. To turn him loose to an unrestrain'd Liberty, before he has Reason to guide him, is not the allowing him the privilege of his Nature to be Free ; but to thrust him out amongst Brutes, and abandon him to a State as wretched, and as much beneath that of a Man, as theirs. This is that which puts the Authority into the Parents hands to govern the Minority of their Children. God hath made it their business to imploy this Care on their Off-spring, and hath placed in them suitable Inclinations of Tendernefs, and concern to temper this Power, to apply it, as his Wisdom designed it, to the Childrens good, as long as they should need to be under it.

64. But what reason can hence advance this care of the Parents due to their Off-spring into an absolute Arbitrary Dominion of the Father, whose Power reaches no farther, than by such a Discipline, as he finds most effectual, to give such Strength and Health to their Bodies, such vigour and rectitude to their Minds, as may best fit his Children to be most useful to themselves and others ; and, if it be necessary to his Condition, to make them Work, when they are able, for their own Subsistence. But in this Power the Mother too has her share with the Father.

65. Nay this Power so little belongs to the Father by any peculiar right of Nature, but only as he is Guardian of his Children, that when he quits his care of them, he loses his Power over them, which goes along with their Nourishment and

and Education, to which it is inseparably annexed; and it belongs as much to the *Foster-Father* of an exposed Child, as to the Natural Father of another. So little Power does the bare *act of begetting* give a Man over his Issue; if all his Care ends there, and this be all the Title he hath to the Name and Authority of a Father. And what will become of this *Paternal Power* in that part of the World, where one Woman hath more than one Husband at a Time? Or in those parts of *America*, where, when the Husband and Wife part, which happens frequently, the Children are all left to the Mother, follow her, and are wholly under her Care and Provision? If the Father die whilst the Children are young, do they not naturally every where owe the same Obedience to their *Mother*, during their Minority, as to their Father were he alive? And will any one say, that the Mother hath a Legislative Power over her Children? that she can make standing Rules, which shall be of perpetual Obligation, by which they ought to regulate all the concerns of their Property, and bound their Liberty all the course of their Lives? Or can she enforce the Observation of them with Capital Punishments? For this is the proper *Power of the Magistrate*, of which the Father hath not so much as the shadow. His Command over his Children is but Temporary, and reaches not their Life or Property: It is but a help to the weakness and imperfection of their Nonage, a Discipline necessary to their Education: And though a *Father* may dispose of his own Possessions as he pleases, when his Children are out of danger of perishing for Want, yet *his Power* extends not to the Lives or Goods, which either their own Industry, or anothers bounty has made theirs; nor to their Liberty neither, when they are once arrived to the enfranchisement of the Years of Discretion. The *Father's Empire* then ceases, and he can from thence forwards no more dispose of the liberty of his Son, than that of any other Man: And it must be far from an absolute or perpetual Jurisdiction, from which a Man may withdraw himself, having Licence from Divine Authority to leave *Father and Mother* and cleave to his *Wife*.

66. But though there be a time when a *Child* comes to be as *Free* from Subjection to the Will and Command of his Father, as the Father himself is Free from Subjection to the Will of any body else, and they are each under no other restraint, but that which is common to them both, whether it be the Law of Nature, or municipal Law of their Country: Yet this Freedom exempts not a Son from that *Honour* which he ought, by the Law of God and Nature, to pay his *Parents*. God having made the Parents Instruments in his great design of continuing the Race of Mankind, and the occasions of Life to their Children; as he hath laid on them an obligation to Nourish, preserve, and bring up their Off-spring; So he has laid on the Children a perpetual obligation of *honouring their Parents*, which containing in it an inward Esteem and Reverence to be shewn by all outward Expressions, ties up the Child from any thing, that may ever injure or affront, disturb, or endanger the Happiness or Life of those, from whom he received his; and engages him in all actions of Defence, Relief, Assistance and Comfort of those, by whose means he entred into Being, and has been made capable of any Enjoyments of Life. From this Obligation no State, no Freedom can absolve Children. But this is very far from giving Parents a Power of Command over their Children, or an Authority to make Laws and dispose as they please, of their Lives or Liberties. 'Tis one thing to owe Honour, Respect, Gratitude and Assistance; another to require an absolute Obedience and Submission. The *Honour due to Parents*, a Monarch in his Throne owes his Mother, and yet this lessens not his Authority, nor subjects him to her Government.

67. The subjection of a Minor places in the Father a temporary Government, which terminates with the Minority of the Child: and the *Honour due from a Child*, places in the Parents a perpetual Right to Respect, Reverence, Support and Compliance too, more or less, as the Father's Care, Cost, and Kindness in his Education, has been more or less. This ends not with Minority, but holds in all Parts and Conditions of a Man's Life. The want of distinguishing these two Powers, *viz.* That which the Father hath in the Right of *Tuition*, during Minority; and the Right of *Honour* all his Life, may perhaps have caused a great part of the Mistakes about this Matter. For to speak properly of them, the first of these is rather the Privilege of Children, and Duty of Parents, than any Prerogative of paternal Power. The Nourishment and Education of their Children, is a Chareg

a Charge so incumbent on Parents for their Children's Good, that nothing can absolve them from taking Care of it. And tho' the *Power of commanding and chastising* them go along with it, yet God hath woven into the Principles of human Nature such a Tenderneſs for their Off-ſpring, that there is little Fear that Parents ſhould uſe their Power with too much Rigour; the Exceſs is ſeldom on the ſevere ſide, the ſtrong byaſs of Nature drawing the other way. And therefore God Almighty when he would expreſs his gentle Dealing with the *Israelites*, he tells them, that tho' he chaſten'd them, *he chaſten'd them as a Man chaſtens his Son*, Deut. viii. 5. i. e. with Tenderneſs and Affection, and kept them under no ſeverer Diſcipline, than what was abſolutely beſt for them, and had been leſs Kindneſs to have ſlacken'd. This is that Power to which *Children* are commanded *Obedience*, that the Pains and Care of their Parents may not be increaſed, or ill rewarded.

68. On the other ſide, *Honour* and *Support* all that which Gratitude requires to return for the Benefits received by and from them is the indiſpenſible Duty of the Child, and the proper Privilege of the Parents. This is intended for the Parents Advantage, as the other is for the Child's; though Education, the Parents Duty, ſeems to have moſt Power, becauſe the Ignorance and Infirmities of Childhood ſtand in need of Reſtraint and Correction; which is a viſible Exerciſe of Rule, and a kind of Dominion. And that Duty which is comprehended in the Word *Honour*, requires leſs Obedience, though the Obligation be ſtronger on grown, than younger Children. For who can think the Command, *Children obey your Parents*, requires in a Man, that has Children of his own, the ſame Submiſſion to his Father, as it does in his yet young Children to him; and that by this Precept he were bound to obey all his Father's Commands, if, out of a Conceit of Authority, he ſhould have the Indiſcretion to treat him ſtill as a Boy?

69. The firſt part then of *Paternal Power*, or rather Duty, which is *Education*, belongs ſo to the Father, that it terminates at a certain ſeaſon; when the Buſineſs of Education is over it ceaſes of itſelf, and is alſo alienable before. For a Man may put the Tuition of his Son in other Hands; and he that has made his Son an *Apprentice* to another, has diſcharged him, during that time, of a great part of his Obedience both to himſelf and to his Mother. But all the *Duty of Honour*, the other part, remains never the leſs entire to them; nothing can cancel that: It is ſo inſeparable from them both, that the Father's Authority cannot diſpoſſeſs the Mother of this Right, nor can any Man diſcharge his Son from *honouring* her that bore him. But both theſe are very far from a Power to make Laws, and enforcing them with Penalties, that may reach Eſtate, Liberty, Limbs and Life. The Power of Commanding ends with Nonage; and though after that, *Honour* and Reſpect, Support and Defence, and whatſoever Gratitude can oblige a Man to, for the higheſt Benefits he is naturally capable of; be always due from a Son to his Parents; yet all this puts no Scepter into the Father's Hand, no ſovereign Power of Commanding. He has no Dominion over his Son's Property, or Actions; nor any Right, that his Will ſhould preſcribe to his Sons in all things; however it may become his Son in many things, not very inconvenient to him and his Family, to pay a Deference to it.

70. A Man may owe *Honour* and Reſpect to an ancient, or wiſe Man; Defence to his Child or Friend; Relief and Support to the Diſtreſſed; and Gratitude to a Benefactor, to ſuch a degree, that all he has, all he can do, cannot ſufficiently pay it: But all theſe give no Authority, no Right to any one, of making Laws over him from whom they are owing. And 'tis plain, all this is due not only to the bare Title of Father; not only becauſe, as has been ſaid, it is owing to the Mother too; but becauſe theſe Obligations to Parents, and the Degrees of what is required of Children, may be varied by the different Care and Kindneſs, Trouble and Expence, which is often employed upon one Child more than another.

71. This ſhews the Reaſon how it comes to paſs, that *Parents in Societies*, where they themſelves are Subjects, retain a *Power over their Children*, and have as much Right to their Subjection, as thoſe who are in the ſtate of Nature. Which could not poſſibly be, if all Political Power were only Paternal, and that in truth they were one and the ſame thing: For then, all Paternal Power being in

the Prince, the Subject could naturally have none of it. But these two Powers, *Political* and *Paternal*, are so perfectly distinct and separate; are built upon so different Foundations, and given to so different Ends, that every Subject that is a Father, has as much a Paternal Power over his Children, as the Prince has over his: And every Prince, that has Parents, owes them as much filial Duty and Obedience, as the meanest of his Subjects do to theirs; and can therefore contain not any part or Degree of that kind of Dominion, which a Prince or Magistrate has over his Subject.

72. Though the Obligation on the Parents to *bring up* their Children, and the Obligation on Children to *honour* their Parents, contain all the Power on the one Hand, and Submission on the other, which are proper to this Relation; yet there is another Power ordinarily in the Father, whereby he has a tie on the Obedience of his Children; which though it be common to him with other Men, yet the Occasions of shewing it, almost constantly happening to Fathers in their private Families, and the Instances of it elsewhere being rare, and less taken notice of, it passes in the World for a part of *Paternal Jurisdiction*. And this is the Power Men generally have to *bestow their Estates* on those who please them best. The Possession of the Father being the Expectation and Inheritance of the Children, ordinarily in certain Proportions, according to the Law and Custom of each Country; yet it is commonly in the Father's Power to bestow it with a more sparing or liberal Hand, according as the Behaviour of this or that Child hath comported with his Will and Humour.

73. This is no small Tie on the Obedience of Children: And there being always annexed to the Enjoyment of Land, a Submission to the Government of the Country, of which that Land is a part; it has been commonly suppos'd, That a Father could oblige his Posterity to that Government, of which he himself was a Subject, and that his Compact held them; whereas, it being only a necessary Condition annexed to the Land, and the Inheritance of an Estate which is under that Government, reaches only those who will take it on that Condition, and so is no natural Tie or Engagement, but a voluntary Submission. For every Man's Children being by Nature as free as himself, or any of his Ancestors ever were, may, whilst they are in that Freedom, choose what Society they will join themselves to, what Common-wealth they will put themselves under. But if they will enjoy the *Inheritance* of their Ancestors, they must take it on the same Terms their Ancestors had it, and submit to all the Conditions annex'd to such a Possession. By this Power indeed Fathers oblige their Children to Obedience to themselves, even when they are past Minority, and most commonly too subject them to this or that Political Power. But neither of these by any peculiar Right of *Fatherhood*, but by the Reward they have in their Hands to enforce and recompence such a Compliance; and is no more Power than what a French Man has over an English Man, who by the Hopes of an Estate he will leave him, will certainly have a strong Tie on his Obedience: And if when it is left him, he will enjoy it, he must certainly take it upon the Conditions annex'd to the Possession of Land in that Country where it lies, whether it be France or England.

74. To conclude then, though the Father's Power of commanding extends no farther than the Minority of his Children, and to a Degree only fit for the Discipline and Government of that Age; and though that Honour and Respect, and all that which the *Latins* called *Piety*, which they indispensibly owe to their Parents all their Life-time, and in all Estates, with all that Support and Defence is due to them, gives the Father no Power of Governing, i. e. making Laws and enacting Penalties on his Children; though by all this he has no Dominion over the Property or Actions of his Son: Yet 'tis obvious to conceive how easie it was, in the first Ages of the World, and in Places still, where the thinness of People gives Families leave to separate into unpossessed Quarters, and they have room to remove or plant themselves in yet vacant Habitations; for the Father of the Family to become the Prince of it; he had been a Ruler from the beginning of the Infancy

It is no improbable Opinion therefore, which the Arch-Philosopher was of, That the chief Person in every Household was always, as it were, a King: So when Numbers of Households joyn'd themselves in civil Societies together, Kings were the first kind of Governours amongst them, which is also,

fancy of his Children: and since without some Government it would be hard for them to live together, it was likeliest it should, by the express or tacit Consent of the Children when they were grown up, be in the Father, where it seemed without any Change barely to continue; when indeed nothing more was required to it, than the permitting the *Father* to exercise alone in his Family, that executive Power of the Law of Nature, which every free Man naturally hath, and by that Permission resigning up to him a Monarchical Power whilst they remained in it. But that this was not by any *paternal Right*, but only by the Consent of his Children, is evident from hence, That no Body doubts, but if a Stranger, whom Chance or Business had brought to his Family, had there kill'd any of his Children, or committed any other Fact, he might condemn and put him to death, or otherwise have punish'd him, as well as any of his Children; which it was impossible he should do by virtue of any *paternal Authority* over one who was not his Child, but by virtue of that Executive Power of the Law of Nature, which, as a Man, he had a Right to: And he alone could punish him in his Family, where the Respect of his Children had laid by the Exercise of such a Power, to give way to the Dignity and Authority they were willing should remain in him, above the rest of his Family.

75. Thus 'twas easie, and almost natural for Children by a tacit, and scarce avoidable Consent, to make way for the *Father's Authority and Government*. They had been accustomed in their Childhood to follow his Direction, and to refer their little Differences to him; and when they were Men, who fitter to rule them? Their little Properties, and less Covetousness, seldom afforded greater Controversies; and when any should arise, where could they have a fitter Umpire than he, by whose Care they had every one been sustain'd and brought up, and who had a Tenderneſs for them all? 'Tis no wonder that they made no Distinction betwixt Minority and full Age; nor looked after one and twenty, or any other Age that might make them the free Disposers of themselves and Fortunes, when they could have no Desire to be out of their Pupilage: The Government they had been under, during it, continued still to be more their Protection than Restraint; And they could no where find a greater Security to their Peace, Liberties, and Fortunes, than in the *Rule of a Father*.

76. Thus the natural *Fathers of Families*, by an insensible Change, became the *politick Monarchs* of them too: And as they chanced to live long, and leave able and worthy Heirs, for several Successions, or otherwise; so they laid the Foundations of Hereditary, or Elective Kingdoms, under several Constitutions and Manners, according as Chance, Contrivance, or Occasions happen'd to mould them. But if Princes have their Titles in their Fathers Right, and it be a sufficient Proof of the natural *Right of Fathers* to political Authority, because they commonly were those in whose Hands we find, *de facto*, the Exercise of Government: I say, if this Argument be good, it will as strongly prove, that all Princes, nay Princes only, ought to be Priests, since 'tis as certain, that in the Beginning, *The Father of the Family was Priest, as that he was Ruler in his own Household*.

as it seemeth, the reason why the Name of Fathers continued still in them, who, of Fathers, were made Rulers; as also the ancient Custom of Governours to do as Melchizedec, and being Kings, to exercise the Office of Priests, which Fathers did, at the first grew perhaps by the same Occasion. Howbeit, this is not the only kind of Regiment that has been received in the World. The Inconveniences of one kind have caused sundry others to be devised; so that in a word, all publick Regiment of what kind soever, seemeth evidently to have risen from the deliberate Advice, Consultation and Composition between Men, judging it convenient and behoveful; there being no Impossibility in Nature considered by itself, but that Man might have lived without any publick Regiment. Hooker's Eccl. P. L. 1. Sect. 10.

C H A P. VII.

Of Political or Civil Society.

77. **G**OD having made Man such a Creature, that, in his own Judgment, it was not good for him to be alone, put him under strong Obligations of Necessity, Convenience, and Inclination to drive him into Society, as well as fitted him with Understanding and Language to continue and enjoy it. The first Society was between Man and Wife, which gave beginning to that between Parents and Children; to which, in time, that between Master and Servant came to be added: And though all these might, and commonly did meet together, and make up but one Family, wherein the Master or Mistress of it had some sort of Rule proper to a Family; each of these, or all together, came short of political Society, as we shall see, if we consider the different Ends, Ties, and Bounds of each of these.

78. *Conjugal Society* is made by a voluntary Compact between Man and Woman; and tho' it consist chiefly in such a Communion and Right in one anothers Bodies as is necessary to its chief End, Procreation; yet it draws with it mutual Support and Assistance, and a Communion of Interests too, as necessary not only to unite their Care and Affection, but also necessary to their common Off-spring, who have a Right to be nourished, and maintained by them, till they are able to provide for themselves.

79. For the end of *Conjunction, between Male and Female*, being not barely Procreation, but the Continuation of the Species; this Conjunction betwixt Male and Female ought to last, even after Procreation, so long as is necessary to the Nourishment and Support of the young Ones, who are to be sustained by those that got them, till they are able to shift and provide for themselves. This Rule, which the infinite wise Maker hath set to the Works of his Hands, we find the inferior Creatures steadily obey. In those viviparous Animals which feed on Grass, the *Conjunction between Male and Female* lasts no longer than the very Act of Copulation; because the Teat of the Dam being sufficient to nourish the Young, till it be able to feed on Grass, the Male only begets, but concerns not himself for the Female or Young, to whose Sustenance he can contribute nothing. But in Beasts of Prey the *Conjunction* lasts longer: because the Dam not being able well to subsist her self, and nourish her numerous Off-spring by her own Prey alone, a more laborious, as well as more dangerous way of living, than by feeding on Grass, the Assistance of the Male is necessary to the Maintenance of their common Family, which cannot subsist till they are able to prey for themselves, but by the joynt Care of Male and Female. The same is to be observed in all Birds (except some domestick Ones, where Plenty of Food excuses the Cock from feeding, and taking Care of the young Brood) whose Young needing Food in the Nest, the Cock and Hen continue Mates, till the Young are able to use their Wing, and provide for themselves.

80. And herein I think lies the chief, if not the only Reason, why the Male and Female in Mankind are tyed to a longer Conjunction than other Creatures, viz. Because the Female is capable of conceiving, and *de facto* is commonly with Child again, and brings forth too a new Birth, long before the former is out of a Dependency for Support on his Parents Help, and able to shift for himself, and has all the Assistance is due to him from his Parents; whereby the Father, who is bound to take Care for those he hath begot, is under an Obligation to continue in conjugal Society with the same Woman longer than other Creatures, whose Young being able to subsist of themselves, before the time of Procreation returns again, the conjugal Bond dissolves of it self, and they are at Liberty, till *Hymen* at his usual Anniversary Season summons them again to chuse new Mates. Wherein one cannot but admire the Wisdom of the great Creator, who having given to Man Foresight, and an Ability to lay up for the future, as well as to supply the present Necessity, hath made it necessary, that Society of Man and Wife should be more lasting, than of Male and Female amongst other Creatures; that so their Industry might be encouraged, and their Interest better united, to make Provision and lay up

up Goods for their common Issue, which uncertain Mixture, or easy and frequent Solutions of conjugal Society would mightily disturb.

81. But though these are Ties upon *Mankind*, which make the *Conjugal Bonds* more firm and lasting in Man, than the other Species of Animals; yet it would give one Reason to enquire, why this *Compact*, where Procreation and Education are secured, and Inheritance taken Care for, may not be made determinable, either by Consent, or at a certain time, or upon certain Conditions, as well as any other voluntary *Compacts*, there being no Necessity in the Nature of the thing, nor to the Ends of it, that it should always be for Life; I mean, to such as are under no Restraint of any positive Law, which ordains all such Contracts to be perpetual.

82. But the Husband and Wife, though they have but one common Concern, yet having different Understandings, will unavoidably sometimes have different Wills too; it therefore being necessary that the last Determination, *i. e.* the Rule, should be placed somewhere; it naturally falls to the Man's Share, as the abler and the stronger. But this reaching but to the things of their common Interest and Property, leaves the Wife in the full and free Possession of what by Contract is her peculiar Right, and gives the Husband no more Power over her Life than she has over his. The *Power of the Husband* being so far from that of an absolute Monarch, that the *Wife* has in many Cases a Liberty to separate from him; where natural Right, or their Contract allows it, whether that Contract be made by themselves in the State of Nature, or by the Customs or Laws of the Country they live in; and the Children upon such Separation fall to the Father or Mother's Lot, as such Contract does determine.

83. For all the Ends of *Marriage* being to be obtained under politick Government, as well as in the State of Nature, the Civil Magistrate doth not abridge the Right or Power of either naturally necessary to those Ends, *viz.* Procreation and mutual Support and Assistance whilst they are together; but only decides any Controversy that may arise between Man and Wife about them. If it were otherwise, and that absolute *Sovereignty* and Power of Life and Death naturally belong'd to the Husband, and were necessary to the Society between Man and Wife, there could be no Matrimony in any of those Countries where the Husband is allow'd no such absolute Authority. But the Ends of Matrimony requiring no such Power in the Husband, the Condition of *Conjugal Society* put it not in him, it being not at all necessary to that State. *Conjugal Society* could subsist and attain its Ends without it; nay, Community of Goods, and the Power over them, mutual Assistance and Maintenance, and other things belonging to *Conjugal Society*, might be varied and regulated by that Contract which unites Man and Wife in that Society, as far as may consist with Procreation and the bringing up of Children till they could shift for themselves; nothing being necessary to any Society, that is not necessary to the Ends for which it is made.

84. The Society betwixt Parents and Children, and the distinct Rights and Powers belonging respectively to them, I have treated of so largely, in the foregoing Chapter, that I shall not here need to say any thing of it. And I think it is plain, that it is far different from a politick Society.

85. *Master* and *Servant* are Names as old as History, but given to those of far different Condition; for a Freeman makes himself a *Servant* to another, by selling him for a certain time, the Service he undertakes to do, in exchange for Wages he is to receive: And though this commonly puts him into the Family of his Master, and under the ordinary Discipline thereof; yet it gives the Master but a temporary Power over him, and no greater, than what is contained in the Contract between 'em. But there is another sort of *Servants*, which by a peculiar Name we call *Slaves*, who being Captives taken in a just War, are by the Right of Nature subjected to the absolute Dominion and arbitrary Power of their Masters. These Men having, as I say, forfeited their Lives, and with it their Liberties, and lost their Estates; and being in the State of *Slavery*, not capable of any Property, cannot in that State be considered as any part of *Civil Society*; the chief End whereof is the Preservation of Property.

86. Let us therefore consider a *Master of a Family* with all these subordinate Relations of *Wife*, *Children*, *Servants*, and *Slaves*, united under the Domestick Rule of a Family; which, what Resemblance soever it may have in its Order, Offices, and Number too, with a little Commonwealth, yet is very far from it, both
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in its Constitution, Power and End: Or if it must be thought a Monarchy, and the *Paterfamilias* the absolute Monarch in it, absolute Monarchy will have but a very shattered and short Power, when 'tis plain, by what has been said before, That the *Master of the Family* has a very distinct and differently limited Power, both as to Time and Extent, over those several Persons that are in it; for excepting the Slave (and the Family is as much a Family, and his Power as *Paterfamilias* as great, whether there be any Slaves in his Family or no) he has no Legislative Power of Life and Death over any of them, and none too but what a *Mistress of a Family* may have as well as he. And he certainly can have no absolute Power over the whole Family, who has but a very limited one over every Individual in it. But how a Family, or any other Society of Men differ from that, which is properly *political Society*, we shall best see, by considering wherein *political Society* it self consists.

87. Man being born, as has been proved, with a Title to perfect Freedom, and an uncontrouled Enjoyment of all the Rights and Privileges of the Law of Nature, equally with any other Man, or Number of Men in the World, hath by Nature a Power, not only to preserve his Property, that is, his Life, Liberty and Estate, against the Injuries and Attempts of other Men; but to judge of, and punish the Breaches of that Law in others, as he is perswaded the Offence deserves, even with Death itself, in Crimes where the Heinousness of the Fact, in his Opinion, requires it. But because no *political Society* can be, nor subsist without having in itself the Power to preserve the Property, and in order thereunto, punish the Offences of all those of that Society; there, and there only is *political Society*, where every one of the Members hath quitted this natural Power, resign'd it up into the Hands of the Community in all Cases that exclude him not from appealing for Protection to the Law established by it. And thus all private Judgment of every particular Member being excluded, the Community comes to be Umpire, by settled standing Rules, indifferent, and the same to all Parties; and by Men having Authority from the Community, for the Execution of those Rules, decides all the Differences that may happen between any Members of that Society concerning any Matter of Right; and punishes those Offences which any Member hath committed against the Society, with such Penalties as the Law has established; whereby it is easie to discern, who are, and who are not, in *political Society* together. Those who are united into one Body, and have a common establish'd Law and Judicature to appeal to, with Authority to decide Controversies between them, and punish Offenders, are in *Civil Society* one with another: But those who have no such common Appeal, I mean on Earth, are still in the state of Nature, each being, where there is no other, Judge for himself, and Executioner; which is, as I have before shew'd it, the perfect state of Nature.

88. And thus the Commonwealth comes by a Power to set down what Punishment shall belong to the several Transgressions which they think worthy of it, committed amongst the Members of that Society, (which is the *Power of making Laws*) as well as it has the Power to punish any Injury done unto any of its Members, by any one that is not of it, (which is the *power of War and Peace*;) and all this for the Preservation of the Property of all the Members of that Society, as far as is possible. But though every Man who has enter'd into civil Society, and is become a member of any Commonwealth has thereby quitted his Power to punish Offences, against the Law of Nature, in prosecution of his own private Judgment, yet with the Judgment of Offences, which he has given up to the Legislative in all Cases, where he can appeal to the Magistrate, he has given a Right to the Commonwealth to imploy his Force, for the execution of the Judgments of the Commonwealth, whenever he shall be called to it; which indeed are his own Judgments, they being made by himself, or his Representative. And herein we have the original of the *legislative and executive Power* of civil Society, which is to judge by standing Laws, how far Offences are to be punished, when committed within the Commonwealth; and also to determine, by occasional Judgments founded on the present Circumstances of the Fact, how far Injuries from without are to be vindicated; and in both these to imploy all the force of all the Members, when there shall be need.

89. Wherever therefore any number of Men are so united into one Society, as to quit every one his executive power of the Law of Nature, and to resign it to the

the publick, there and there only is a *political, or civil Society*. And this is done, wherever any number of Men, in the state of Nature, enter into Society to make one People, one Body politick, under one supream Government; or else when any one joyns himself to, and incorporates with any Government already made. For hereby he authorizes the Society, or which is all one, the Legislative thereof, to make Laws for him, as the publick good of the Society shall require; to the Execution whereof, his own Assistance (as to his own Decrees) is due. And this *passe* Men out of a state of Nature into that of a *Commonwealth*, by setting up a Judge on Earth, with Authority to determine all the Controversies, and redress the Injuries, that may happen to any Member of the Commonwealth; which Judge is the Legislative, or Magistrates appointed by it. And wherever there are any number of Men, however associated, that have no such decisive Power to appeal to, there they are still in the *state of Nature*.

90. Hence it is evident, that *absolute Monarchy*, which by some Men is counted the only Government in the World, is indeed *inconsistent with civil Society*, and so can be no form of Civil-Government at all. For the end of *civil Society*, being to avoid, and remedy those inconveniencies of the state of Nature, which necessarily follow from every Man's being Judge in his own Case, by setting up a known Authority, to which every one of that Society may appeal upon any Injury received, or Controversie that may arise, and which every one of the Society ought to obey; wherever any Persons are, who have not such an Authority to appeal to, for the decision of any Difference between them, there those Persons are still in the *state of Nature*. And so is every *absolute Prince* in respect of those who are under his *Dominion*.

91. For he being suppos'd to have all, both legislative and executive Power in himself alone, there is no Judge to be found, no appeal lies open to any one, who may fairly, and indifferently, and with Authority decide, and from whose Decision Relief and Redress may be expected of any Injury or Inconveniency, that may be suffered from the Prince, or by his Order: So that such a Man, however intitled, *Czar*, or *Grand Seignior*, or how you please, is as much in the *state of Nature*, with all under his Dominion, as he is with the rest of Mankind. For wherever any two Men are, who have no standing Rule, and common Judge to appeal to on Earth, for the determination of Controversies of Right betwixt them, there they are still in the *state of Nature*, and under all the inconveniencies of it, with only this woful Difference to the Subject, or rather Slave of an absolute Prince: That whereas, in the ordinary state of Nature, he has a Liberty to judge of his Right, and according to the best of his Power, to maintain it; now whenever his Property is invaded by the will and order of his Monarch, he has not only no Appeal, as those in Society ought to have, but as if he were degraded from the common state of rational Creatures, is denied a Liberty to judge of, or to defend his Right; and so is exposed to all the Misery and Inconveniencies, that a Man can fear from one, who being in the unrestrained state of Nature, is yet corrupted with Flattery, and armed with Power.

92. For he that thinks *absolute Power* purifies *Mens Bloods*, and corrects the baseness of human Nature, need read but the History of this, or any other Age to be convinced of the contrary. He that would have been insolent and injurious in

† The publick Power of all Society is above every Soul considered in the same Society; and the principal Use of that power is, to give Laws unto all that are under it, which Laws in such Cases we must obey, unless there be reason shew'd which may necessarily enforce, that the Law of Reason, or of God, doth injoyne the contrary. Hook. Eccl. Pol. L. 1. Sect. 16.

* To take away all such mutual Grievances, Injuries and Wrongs, i. e. such as attend Men in the state of Nature. There was no way but only by growing into Composition and Agreement amongst themselves, by ordaining some kind of Government publick, and by yielding themselves subject thereunto, that unto whom they granted Authority to rule and govern, by them the Peace, Tranquillity and happy Estate of the rest might be procured. Men always knew that where Force and Injury was offered, they might be Defenders of themselves; they knew that however Men may seek their own Commodity; yet if this were done with Injury unto others, it was not to be suffered, but by all Men, and all good Means to be withstood. Finally, they knew that no Man might in reason take upon him to determine his own Rights, and according to his own Determination proceed in Maintenance thereof, in as much as every Man is towards himself, and them whom he greatly affects, partial; and therefore that Strifes and Troubles would be endless, except they gave their common Consent all to be ordered by some, whom they should agree upon, without which Consent there would be no reason that one Man should take upon him to be Lord or Judge over another. Hooker's Eccl. Pol. L. 1. Sect. 10.

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the Woods of *America*, would not probably be much better in a Throne; where perhaps Learning and Religion shall be found out to justify all, that he shall do to his Subjects, and the Sword presently silence all those that dare question it. For what the *Protection of absolute Monarchy* is, what kind of Fathers of their Countries it makes Princes to be, and to what a degree of Happiness and Security it carries civil Society, where this sort of Government is grown to perfection, he that will look into the late Relation of *Ceylon*, may easily see.

93. In *absolute Monarchies* indeed, as well as other Governments of the World, the Subjects have an Appeal to the Law, and Judges to decide any Controversies, and restrain any Violence that may happen betwixt the Subjects themselves, one amongst another. This every one thinks necessary, and believes he deserves to be thought a declared Enemy to Society and Mankind, who should go about to take it away. But whether this be from a true Love of Mankind and Society, and such a Charity as we owe all one to another, there is Reason to doubt. For this is no more, than what every Man, who loves his own Power, Profit, or Greatness, may and naturally must do, keep those Animals from hurting, or destroying one another, who labour and drudge only for his Pleasure and Advantage; and so are taken care of, not out of any Love the Master has for them, but Love of himself, and the Profit they bring him. For if it be asked, what Security, what Fence is there, in such a State, against the Violence and Oppression of this absolute Ruler? The very Question can scarce be born. They are ready to tell you, that it deserves Death only to ask after Safety. Betwixt Subject and Subject, they will grant, there must be Measures, Laws and Judges, for their mutual Peace and Security: But as for the Ruler, he ought to be *absolute*, and is above all such Circumstances; because he has Power to do more Hurt and Wrong, 'tis right when he does it. To ask how you may be guarded from Harm, or Injury, on that side where the strongest Hand is to do it, is presently the voice of Faction and Rebellion. As if when Men quitting the state of Nature entered into Society, they agreed that all of them but one, should be under the restraint of Laws, but that he should still retain all the Liberty of the state of Nature, increased with Power, and made licentious by Impunity. This is to think, that Men are so foolish, that they take care to avoid what Mischiefs may be done them by *Pole-Cats*, or *Foxes*; but are content, nay think it Safety, to be devoured by *Lions*.

94. But whatever Flatterers may talk to amuse Peoples Understandings, it hinders not Men from feeling; and when they perceive, that any Man in what Station soever, is out of the Bounds of the civil Society which they are of, and that they have no Appeal on Earth against any Harm, they may receive from him, they are apt to think themselves in the state of Nature, in respect of him, whom they find to be so; and to take Care as soon as they can, to have that *Safety and Security in civil Society*, for which it was first instituted, and for which only they entered into it. And therefore, though perhaps at first, (as shall be shewed more at large hereafter in the following part of this Discourse) some one good and excellent Man having got a Preheminency amongst the rest, had this Difference paid to his Goodness and Vertue, as to a kind of natural Authority, that the chief Rule, with Arbitration of their Differences, by a tacit Consent devolved into his Hands, without any other Caution, but the Assurance they had of his Uprightness and Wisdom; yet when time, giving Authority, and (as some Men would persuade us,) Sacredness to Customs, which the negligent, and unforeseeing Innocence of the first Ages began, had brought in Successors of another Stamp, the People finding their Properties not secure under the Government, as then it was, (whereas Government has no other end but the preservation of * Property) could never be safe nor at rest, nor think themselves in civil Society, till the Legislature was placed in collective Bodies of Men, call them Senate, Parliament, or what you please. By which Means every single Person became subject, equally with other the mea-

* At the first, when some certain kind of Regiment was once appointed, it may be that nothing was then farther thought upon for the manner of governing, but all permitted unto their Wisdom and Discretion, which were to Rule, till by Experience they found this for all Parts very inconvenient, so as the thing which they had devised for a Remedy, did indeed but increase the Sore, which it should have cured. They saw, that to live by one Man's Will, became the cause of all Mens Misery. This constrained them to come unto Laws, wherein all Men might see their Duty beforehand, and know the Penalties of transgressing them. Hooker's Eccl. Pol. L. 1. Sect. 10.

nest Men, to those Laws, which he himself, as part of the Legislative, had established; nor could any one, by his own Authority avoid the force of the Law, when once made; nor by any pretence of Superiority plead Exemption, thereby to license his own, or the Miscarriages of any of his Dependents. † *No Man in civil Society can be exempted from the Laws of it.* For if any Man may do, what he thinks fit, and there be no Appeal on Earth, for Redress or Security against any Harm he shall do: I ask, whether he be not perfectly still in the state of Nature, and so can be *no Part or Member of that civil Society*; unless any one will say, the state of Nature and civil Society are one and the same thing, which I have never yet found any one so great a patron of. Anarchy as to affirm.

C H A P. VIII.

Of the Beginning of Political Societies.

95. **M**EN being, as has been said, by Nature, all free, equal, and independent, no one can be put out of this Estate, and subjected to the political Power of another, without his own Consent. The only Way whereby any one deffects himself of his natural Liberty, and puts on the *Bonds of civil Society* is by agreeing with other Men to joyn and unite into a Community, for their comfortable, safe, and peaceable Living one amongst another, in a secure Enjoyment of their Properties, and a greater Security against any, that are not of it. This any number of Men may do, because it injures not the Freedom of the rest; they are left as they were in the Liberty of the state of Nature. When any number of Men have so consented to make one Community or Government, they are thereby presently incorporated, and make one Body politick, wherein the Majority have a Right to act and conclude the rest.

96. For when any number of Men have, by the consent of every individual, made a Community, they have thereby made that Community one Body, with a Power to act as one Body, which is only by the Will and Determination of the Majority. For that which acts any Community, being only the consent of the individuals of it, and it being necessary to that which is one Body to move one way; it is necessary the Body should move that way whither the greater force carries it, which is the consent of the Majority: Or else it is impossible it should act or continue one Body, one Community, which the consent of every individual that united into it, agreed that it should; and so every one is bound by that consent to be concluded by the Majority. And therefore we see, that in Assemblies, impowered to act by positive Laws, where no number is set by that positive Law which impowers them, the Act of the Majority passes for the Act of the whole, and of course determines, as having by the Law of Nature and Reason, the Power of the whole.

97. And thus every Man, by consenting with others to make one Body Politick under one Government, puts himself under an Obligation, to every one of that Society, to submit to the determination of the Majority, and to be concluded by it; or else this original Compact, whereby he with others incorporates into one Society, would signify nothing, and be no Compact, if he be left Free, and under no other Ties, than he was in before in the State of Nature. For what appearance would there be of any Compact? What new Engagement if he were no farther tied by any decrees of the Society, than he himself thought fit, and did actually consent to? This would be still as great a Liberty, as he himself had before his Compact, or any one else in the State of Nature hath, who may submit himself, and consent to any acts of it if he thinks fit.

98. For if the consent of the Majority shall not, in Reason, be received, as the act of the whole, and conclude every individual; nothing but the consent of every in-

† Civil Law being the Act of the whole Body politick, doth therefore over-rule each several part of the same Body. Hooker *ibid.*

dividual can make any thing to be the act of the whole: But such a consent is next impossible ever to be had, if we consider the Infirmities of Health, and Avocations of Business, which in a Number, though much less than that of a Commonwealth, will necessarily keep many away from the publick Assembly. To which if we add the variety of Opinions, and contrariety of Interests, which unavoidably happen in all Collections of Men, the coming into Society upon such terms would be only like *Cato's* coming into the Theatre, only to go out again. Such a Constitution, as this, would make the mighty *Leviathan* of a shorter Duration, than the feeblest Creatures; and not let it outlast the day it was born in: Which cannot be supposed, till we can think, that Rational Creatures should desire and constitute Societies only to be dissolved. For where the majority cannot conclude the rest, there they cannot act as one Body, and consequently will be immediately dissolved again.

99. Whosoever therefore out of a state of Nature unite into a Community, must be understood to give up all the Power, necessary to the ends for which they unite into Society, to the majority of the Community, unless they expressly agreed in any number greater than the Majority. And this is done by barely agreeing to unite into one Political Society, which is all the Compact that is, or needs be, between the Individuals, that enter into, or make up a Commonwealth. And thus that, which begins and actually constitutes any Political Society, is nothing but the consent of any number of Freemen capable of a majority to unite and incorporate into such a Society. And this is that, and that only, which did, or could give beginning to any lawful Government in the World.

100. To this I find two Objections made.

First, That there are no Instances to be found in Story, of a Company of Men Independent, and equal one amongst another, that met together, and in this way began and set up a Government.

Secondly, 'Tis impossible of Right, that Men should do so, because all Men being born under Government, they are to submit to that, and are not at liberty to begin a new one.

101. To the first there is this to answer, That it is not at all to be wonder'd, that History gives us but a very little account of Men, that lived together in the State of Nature. The Inconveniencies of that Condition, and the Love, and want of Society no sooner brought any number of them together, but they presently united, and incorporated, if they designed to continue together. And if we may not suppose Men ever to have been in the State of Nature, because we hear not much of them in such a State, we may as well suppose the Armies of *Salmanasser*, or *Xerxes* were never Children, because we hear little of them, till they were Men, and embodied in Armies. Government is every where antecedent to Records, and Letters seldom come in amongst a People, till a long continuation of Civil Society has, by other more necessary Arts, provided for their Safety, Ease, and Plenty. And then they begin to look after the History of their Founders, and search into their Original, when they have out-lived the memory of it. For 'tis with Commonwealths as with particular Persons, they are commonly ignorant of their own Births and Infancies: And if they know any thing of their Original, they are beholding, for it, to the accidental Records, that others have kept of it. And those that we have, of the beginning of any Polities in the World, excepting that of the Jews, where God himself immediately interpos'd, and which favours not at all paternal Dominion, are all either plain instances of such a beginning, as I have mentioned, or at least have manifest footsteps of it.

102. He must shew a strange inclination to deny evident matter of Fact, when it agrees not with his Hypothesis, who will not allow, that the beginning of Rome and Venice were by the uniting together of several Men free and independent one of another, amongst whom there was no natural Superiority or Subjection. And if *Josephus Acosta's* word may be taken, he tells us, that in many parts of America there was no Government at all. There are great and apparent Conjectures, says he, that these Men, speaking of those of Peru, for a long time had neither Kings nor Commonwealths, but lived in Troops, as they do this day in Florida, the Cheriquanas, those of Brasil, and many other Nations, which have no certain Kings, but as occasion is offered in Peace or War, they choose their Captains as they please, l. i. c. 25. If it be said, that every Man there was born subject to his Father, or the head of his Family. That the subjection due from a Child to a Father, took not away his Freedom of uniting

ting into what Political Society he thought fit, has been already proved. But be that as it will, these Men, 'tis evident, were actually *Free*; and whatever Superiority some Politicians now would place in any of them, they themselves claimed it not: but by consent were all *equal*, till by the same consent they set Rulers over themselves. So that their *Politick Societies* all began from a voluntary Union, and the mutual agreement of Men freely acting in the choice of their Governors, and forms of Government.

103. And I hope those who went away from *Sparta* with *Palantus*, mentioned by *Justin* l. 3. c. 4. will be allowed to have been *Freemen-Independents* one of another, and to have set up a Government over themselves, by their own Consent. Thus I have given several Examples out of History, of *People Free and in the State of Nature*, that being met together incorporated and began a *Common-wealth*. And if the want of such instances be an Argument to prove that Government were not, nor could not be so begun, I suppose the Contenders for Paternal Empire were better let it alone, than urge it against natural Liberty. For if they can give so many instances, out of History, of Governments begun upon paternal Right, I think (though at best an Argument from what has been, to what should of right be, has no great force) one might, without any great danger, yield them the cause. But if I might advise them in the Case, they would do well not to search too much into the *Original of Governments*, as they have begun *de facto*, lest they should find at the foundation of most of them, something very little favourable to the design they promote, and such a Power as they contend for.

104. But to conclude, Reason being plain on our side, that Men are naturally Free, and the Examples of History shewing, that the Governments of the World, that were begun in Peace, had their beginning laid on that Foundation, and were made by the Consent of the People; There can be little room for doubt, either where the Right is, or what has been the Opinion, or Practice of Mankind, about the first erecting of Governments.

105. I will not deny, that if we look back as far as History will direct us, towards the *Original of Commonwealths*, we shall generally find them under the Government and Administration of one Man. And I am also apt to believe, that where a Family was numerous enough to subsist by itself, and continued entire together, without mixing with others, as it often happens, where there is much Land, and few People, the Government commonly began in the Father. For the Father having, by the Law of Nature, the same Power with every Man else to punish, as he thought fit, any Offences against that Law, might thereby punish his transgressing Children, even when they were Men, and out of their Pupilage; and they were very likely to submit to his Punishment, and all joyn with him against the Offender, in their turns, giving him thereby Power to Execute his Sentence against any transgression, and so in effect make him the Law-Maker, and Governor over all, that remained in Conjunction with his Family. He was fittest to be trusted; Paternal affection secured their Property, and Interest under his Care; and the Custom of obeying him, in their Childhood, made it easier to submit to him, rather than to any other. If therefore they must have one to rule them, as Government is hardly to be avoided amongst Men that live together; who so likely to be the Man, as he that was their common Father; unless Negligence, Cruelty, or any other defect of Mind, or Body made him unfit for it? But when either the Father died, and left his next Heir, for want of Age, Wisdom, Courage, or any other Qualities, less fit for Rule; or where several Families met, and consented to continue together; There 'tis not to be doubted, but they used their natural Freedom, to set up him, whom they judged the ablest, and most likely, to Rule well over them. Conformable hereunto we find the People of *America*, who (living out of the reach of the Conquering Swords, and spreading domination of the two great Empires of *Peru* and *Mexico*) enjoy'd their own natural Freedom, though, *ceteris paribus*, they commonly prefer the Heir of their deceased King; yet if they find him any way weak, or incapable, they pass him by, and set up the stoutest, and bravest Man for their Ruler.

106. Thus, though looking back as far as Records give us any account of peopling the World, and the History of Nations, we commonly find the Government to be in one Hand; yet it destroys not that which I affirm, viz. That the Beginning of politick Society depends upon the Consent of the Individuals, to joyn into,

and make one Society; who, when they are thus incorporated, might set up what Form of Government they thought fit. But this having given Occasion to Men to mistake, and think, that by Nature Government was monarchical, and belong'd to the Father, it may not be amiss here to consider, why People in the beginning generally pitch'd upon this Form, which though perhaps the Father's Preheminency might in the first Institution of some Commonwealths, give a rise to, and place in the beginning, the Power in one Hand; yet it is plain that the Reason, that continued the Form of Government in a single Person, was not any Regard, or Respect to paternal Authority; since all petty Monarchies, that is, almost all Monarchies, near their Original, have been commonly, at least upon occasion, *Elective*.

107. First then, in the beginning of things, the Father's Government of the Childhood of those sprung from him, having accustomed them to the Rule of one Man, and taught them that where it was exercised with Care and Skill, with Affection and Love to those under it, it was sufficient to procure and preserve to Men all the political Happiness they sought for in Society. It was no wonder that they should pitch upon, and naturally run into that Form of Government, which from their Infancy they had been all accustomed to; and which, by Experience, they had found both easie and safe. To which, if we add, that Monarchy being simple, and most obvious to Men, whom neither Experience had instructed in Forms of Government, nor the Ambition or Insolence of Empire had taught to beware of the Encroachments of Prerogative, or the Inconveniencies of absolute Power, which Monarchy in Succession was apt to lay claim to, and bring upon them; it was not at all strange, that they should not much trouble themselves, to think of Methods of restraining any Exorbitances of those to whom they had given the Authority over them, and of balancing the Power of Government, by placing several parts of it in different Hands. They had neither felt the Oppression of tyrannical Dominion, nor did the fashion of the Age, nor their Possessions, or way of living, (which afforded little Matter for Covetousness or Ambition) give them any Reason to apprehend or provide against it; and therefore 'tis no wonder they put themselves into such a Frame of Government, as was not only, as I said, most obvious and simple, but also best suited to their present State and Condition; which stood more in need of Defence against foreign Invasions and Injuries, than of Multiplicity of Laws. The Equality of a simple poor way of living, confining their Desires within the narrow Bounds of each Man's small Property, made few Controversies, and so no need of many Laws to decide them, or Variety of Officers to superintend the Process, or look after the Execution of Justice, where there were but few Trespasses, and few Offenders. Since then those, who liked one another so well as to joyn into Society, cannot but be supposed to have some Acquaintance and Friendship together, and some Trust one in another; they could not but have greater Apprehensions of others, than of one another: And therefore their first Care and Thought cannot but be supposed to be, how to secure themselves against foreign Force. 'Twas natural for them to put themselves under a Frame of Government, which might best serve to that End; and chuse the wisest and bravest Man to conduct them in their Wars, and lead them out against their Enemies, and in this chiefly be their Ruler.

108. Thus we see, that the Kings of the Indians in America, which is still a Pattern of the first Ages in Asia and Europe, whilst the Inhabitants were too few for the Country, and want of People and Money gave Men no Temptation to enlarge their Possessions of Land, or contest for wider Extent of Ground, are little more than Generals of their Armies; and though they command absolutely in War, yet at home and in time of Peace they exercise very little Dominion, and have but a very moderate Sovereignty, the Resolutions of Peace and War being ordinarily either in the People, or in a Council. Though the War itself, which admits not of Plurality of Governours, naturally devolves the Command into the King's sole Authority.

109. And thus in Israel it self, the chief Business of their Judges, and first Kings seems to have been to be Captains in War, and Leaders of their Armies; which, (besides what is signified by going out and in before the People, which was, to march forth to War, and home again in the Heads of their Forces) appears plainly in the Story of Jephtha. The Ammonites making War upon Israel, the Gileadites in fear

fear send to *Jephtha*, a Bastard of their Family whom they had cast off, and articulate with him, if he will assist them against the *Ammonites*, to make him their Ruler; which they do in these Words, *And the People made him Head and Captain over them*, Judg. xi. 11. which was, as it seems, all one as to be Judge. *And he judged Israel*, Judg. xii. 7. that is, was their Captain-General six Years. So when *Jotham* upbraids the *Shechemites* with the Obligation they had to *Gideon*, who had been their Judge and Ruler, he tells them, *He fought for you, and adventured his Life for, and delivered you out of the Hands of Midian*, Judg. ix. 17. Nothing mentioned of him, but what he did as a General: and indeed that is all is found in his History, or in any of the rest of the Judges. And *Abimelech* particularly is called King, tho' at most he was but their General. And when, being weary of the ill Conduct of *Samuel's* Sons, the Children of *Israel* desired a King, like all the Nations to judge them, and to go out before them, and to fight their Battels, 1 Sam. viii. 20. God granting their Desire, says to *Samuel*, *I will send thee a Man, and thou shalt anoint him to be Captain over my People Israel, that he may save my People out of the Hands of the Philistines*, c. ix. v. 16. As if the only Business of a King had been to lead out their Armies, and fight in their Defence; and accordingly at his Inauguration pouring a Vial of Oyl upon him, declares to *Saul*, that the Lord had anointed him to be Captain over his Inheritance, c. x. v. 1. And therefore those, who after *Saul's* being solemnly chosen and saluted King by the Tribes at *Mispah*, were unwilling to have him their King, make no other Objection but this, *How shall this Man save us?* v. 27. as if they should have said, This Man is unfit to be our King, not having Skill and Conduct enough in War, to be able to defend us. And when God resolved to transfer the Government to *David*, it is in these Words, *But now thy Kingdom shall not continue: The Lord hath sought him a Man after his own Heart, and the Lord hath commanded him to be Captain over his People*, d. xiii. v. 14. As if the whole Kingly Authority were nothing else but to be their General: And therefore the Tribes who had stuck to *Saul's* Family, and opposed *David's* Reign, when they came to *Hebron* with Terms of Submission to him, they tell him, amongst other arguments they had to submit to him as to their King, That he was in effect their King in *Saul's* time, and therefore they had no reason but to receive him as their King now. Also (say they) in time past, when *Saul* was King over us, thou wast he that leddest out and broughtest in Israel, and the Lord said unto thee, thou shalt feed my People Israel, and thou shalt be a Captain over Israel.

110. Thus, whether a Family by degrees grew up into a Commonwealth, and the fatherly Authority being continued on to the elder Son, every one in his turn growing up under it, tacitly submitted to it, and the Balance and Equality of it not offending any one, every one acquiesced, till time seemed to have confirmed it, and settled a right of Succession by Prescription; or whether several Families, or the Descendants of several Families, whom Chance, Neighbourhood, or Business brought together, uniting into Society, the need of a General, whose Conduct might defend them against their Enemies in War, and the great Confidence the Innocence and Sincerity of that poor but vertuous Age, (such as are almost all those which begin Governments, that ever come to last in the World) gave Men one of another, made the first Beginners of Commonwealths generally put the Rule into one Man's Hand, without any other express Limitation or Restraint, but what the Nature of the thing, and the End of Government required: Which ever of those it was that at first put the Rule into the Hand of a single Person, certain it is no body was intrusted with it but for the publick Good and Safety, and to those Ends in the Infancies of Commonwealths commonly used it. And unless those who had it had done so, young Societies could not have subsisted; without such nursing Fathers tender and careful of the Publick Weale, all Governments would have sunk under the Weakness and Infirmities of their Infancy, and the Prince and the People had soon perished together.

111. But though the Golden Age (before vain Ambition, and *amor sceleratus habendi*, evil Concupiscence had corrupted Mens Minds into a Mistake of true Power and Honour) had more Virtue, and consequently better Governours, as well as less vicious Subjects; and there was then no stretching Prerogative on the one side, to oppress the People; nor consequently on the other, any Dispute about Privilege, to lessen or restrain the Power of the Magistrate, and so no Contest betwixt Rulers and People about Governours or Government: Yet, when Ambition

tion and Luxury in future Ages * would retain and increase the Power, without doing the Business for which it was given; and aided by Flattery, taught Princes to have distinct and separate Interests from their People, Men found it necessary to examine more carefully the Original and Rights of Government; and to find out ways to restrain the Exorbitances, and prevent the Abuses of that Power, which they having intrusted in another's Hands only for their own Good they found was made use of to hurt them.

112. Thus we may see how probable it is, that People that were naturally free, and by their own Consent either submitted to the Government of their Father, or united together out of different Families to make a Government, should generally put the Rule into one Man's Hands, and chuse to be under the Conduct of a single Person, without so much as by express Conditions limiting or regulating his Power, which they thought safe enough in his Honesty and Prudence. Though they never dream'd of Monarchy being *Jure Divino*, which we never heard of among Mankind, till it was revealed to us by the Divinity of this last Age; nor ever allowed paternal Power to have a Right to Dominion, or to be the Foundation of all Government. And thus much may suffice to shew, that as far as we have any Light from History, we have reason to conclude, that all peaceful beginnings of Government have been laid in the Consent of the People. I say peaceful, because I shall have occasion in another Place to speak of Conquest, which some esteem a way of beginning of Governments.

The other Objection I find urged against the beginning of Politics, in the way I have mentioned, is this, viz.

113. That all Men being born under Government, some or other, it is impossible any of them should ever be free, and at liberty to unite together, and begin a new one, or ever be able to erect a lawful Government.

If this Argument be good; I ask, how came so many lawful Monarchies into the World? For if any body, upon this Supposition, can shew me any one Man in any Age of the World free to begin a lawful Monarchy; I will be bound to shew him ten other free Men at liberty, at the same time to unite and begin a new Government under a regal, or any other Form. It being Demonstration, that if any one, born under the Dominion of another, may be so free as to have a Right to command others in a new and distinct Empire; every one that is born under the Dominion of an other may be so free too, and may become a Ruler, or Subject, of a distinct separate Government. And so by this their own Principle, either all Men, however born, are free, or else there is but one lawful Prince, one lawful Government in the World. And then they have nothing to do but barely to shew us, which that is. Which when they have done, I doubt not but all Mankind will easily agree to pay Obedience to him.

114. Though it be a sufficient Answer to their Objection to shew, that it involves them in the same Difficulties that it doth those, they use it against; yet I shall endeavour to discover the weakness of this Argument a little farther.

All Men, say they, are born under Government, and therefore they cannot be at Liberty to begin a new one. Every one is born a Subject to his Father, or his Prince, and is therefore under the perpetual tie of Subjection and Allegiance. 'Tis plain Mankind never owned nor considered any such natural Subjection that they were born in, to one or to the other that tied them, without their own Consents, to a Subjection to them and their Heirs.

115. For there are no Examples so frequent in History, both sacred and prophane, as those of Men withdrawing themselves, and their Obedience, from the Jurisdiction they were born under, and the Family or Community they were bred up in, and setting up new Governments in other Places; from whence sprang all that number of petty Commonwealths in the Beginning of Ages, and which always

* At first, when some certain kind of Regiment was once approved, it may be nothing was then farther thought upon for the manner of governing, but all permitted unto their Wisdom and Discretion which were to Rule, till by Experience they found this for all Parts very inconvenient, so as the thing which they had devised for a Remedy, did indeed but increase the Sore which it should have cured. They saw, that to live by one Man's Will, became the Cause of all Mens Misery. This constrained them to come unto Laws wherein all Men might see their Duty before hand, and know the Penalties of transgressing them. Hooker's Eccl. Pol. L. 1. Sect. 10.

multiplied, as long as there was room enough, till the stronger, or more fortunate, swallowed the weaker; and those great ones again breaking to Pieces, dissolved into lesser Dominions. All which are so many Testimonies against paternal Sovereignty, and plainly prove, That it was not the natural right of the Father descending to his Heirs, that made Governments in the Beginning, since it was impossible, upon that Ground, there should have been so many little Kingdoms; all must have been but only one universal Monarchy, if Men had not been at Liberty to separate themselves from their Families, and the Government, be it what it will, that was set up in it, and go and make distinct Commonwealths and other Governments, as they thought fit.

116. This has been the practice of the World from its first beginning to this day; Nor is it now any more Hindrance to the freedom of Mankind, that they are born under constituted and ancient Polities, that have established Laws, and set Forms of Government, than if they were born in the Woods, amongst the unconfin'd Inhabitants, that run loose in them. For those, who would persuade us, that by being born under any Government, we are naturally Subjects to it, and have no more any Title or Pretence to the freedom of the state of Nature, have no other reason (bating that of paternal Power, which we have already answer'd) to produce for it, but only, because our Fathers or Progenitors passed away their natural Liberty, and thereby bound up themselves and their Posterity to a perpetual Subjection to the Government, which they themselves submitted to. 'Tis true, that whatever Engagements or Promises any one has made for himself, he is under the Obligation of them, but cannot by any Compact whatsoever, bind his Children or Posterity. For his Son, when a Man, being altogether as free as the Father, any Act of the Father can no more give away the liberty of the Son, than it can of any Body else: He may indeed annex such Conditions to the Land, he enjoyed as a Subject of any Commonwealth, as may oblige his Son to be of that Community, if he will enjoy those Possessions which were his Father's; because that Estate being his Father's Property, he may dispose, or settle it, as he pleases.

117. And this has generally given the occasion to mistake in this Matter; because Commonwealths not permitting any part of their Dominions to be dismembred, nor to be enjoyed by any but those of their Community, the Son cannot ordinarily enjoy the Possession of his Father, but under the same Terms his Father did; by becoming a member of the Society; whereby he puts himself presently under the Government, he finds there established, as much as any other Subject of that Commonwealth. And thus the Consent of Freemen, born under Government, which only makes them Members of it, being given separately in their Turns, as each comes to be of Age, and not in a Multitude together; People take no Notice of it, and thinking it not done at all, or not necessary, conclude they are naturally Subjects as they are Men.

118. But, 'tis plain, Governments themselves understand it otherwise; they claim no Power over the Son, because of that they had over the Father; nor look on Children as being their Subjects, by their Fathers being so. If a Subject of England have a Child, by an English Woman in France, whose Subject is he? Not the King of England's; for he must have leave to be admitted to the Privileges of it. Nor the King of France's: For how then has his Father a Liberty to bring him away, and breed him as he pleases? And whoever was judged as a Traitor or Deserter, if he left, or warr'd against a Country, for being barely born in it of Parents that were Aliens there? 'Tis plain then, by the practice of Governments themselves, as well as by the Law of right Reason, that a Child is born a Subject of no Country or Government. He is under his Father's Tuition and Authority, till he comes to Age of Discretion; and then he is a Freeman, at Liberty what Government he will put himself under; what Body politic he will unite himself to. For if an Englishman's Son, born in France, be at Liberty, and may do so, 'tis evident there is no Tye upon him by his Father's being a Subject of this Kingdom; nor is he bound up, by any Compact of his Ancestors. And why then hath not his Son, by the same Reason, the same Liberty, though he be born any where else? Since the Power that a Father hath naturally over his Children, is the same, wherever they be born; and the Tyes of natural Obligations, are not bounded by the positive limits of Kingdoms and Commonwealths.

119. Every Man being, as has been shewed, *naturally free*, and nothing being able to put him into Subjection to any earthly Power, but only his own *Consent*, it is to be consider'd, what shall be understood to be a *sufficient Declaration* of a Man's *Consent*, to make him *subject* to the Laws of any Government. There is a common distinction of an *express* and a *tacit Consent*, which will concern our present Case. No Body doubts but an *express Consent*, of any Man, entering into any Society, makes him a perfect member of that Society, a Subject of that Government. The Difficulty is, what ought to be look'd upon as a *tacit Consent*, and how far it binds, *i. e.* how far any one shall be looked on to have consented, and thereby submitted to any Government, where he has made no Expressions of it at all. And to this I say, that every Man, that hath any Possessions, or Enjoyment, of any part of the Dominions of any Government, doth thereby give his *tacit Consent*, and is as far forth obliged to Obedience to the Laws of that Government, during such Enjoyment, as any one under it; whether this his Possession be of Land, to him and his Heirs for ever, or a Lodging only for a Week; or whether it be barely travelling freely on the Highway; and in Effect, it reaches as far as the very being of any one within the Territories of that Government.

120. To understand this the better, it is fit to consider, that every Man, when he, at first, incorporates himself into any Commonwealth, he, by his uniting himself thereunto, annexed also, and submits to the Community those Possessions, which he has, or shall acquire, that do not already belong to any other Government. For it would be a direct Contradiction, for any one, to enter into Society with others for the securing and regulating of Property: And yet to suppose his Land, whose Property is to be regulated by the Laws of the Society, should be exempt from the Jurisdiction of that Government, to which he himself, the Proprietor of the Land, is a Subject. By the same Act therefore, whereby any one unites his Person, which was before free, to any Commonwealth; by the same he unites his Possessions, which were before free, to it also; and they become, both of them, Person and Possession, subject to the Government and Dominion of that Commonwealth, as long as it hath a Being. Whoever therefore, from thenceforth, by Inheritance, Purchase, Permission, or otherways, enjoys any part of the Land, so annexed to, and under the Government of that Commonwealth, must take it with the Condition it is under; that is, of submitting to the Government of the Commonwealth, under whose Jurisdiction it is, as far forth as any Subject of it.

121. But since the Government has a direct Jurisdiction only over the Land, and reaches the Possessor of it, (before he has actually incorporated himself in the Society) only as he dwells upon, and enjoys that: The Obligation any one is under, by Virtue of such Enjoyment, to submit to the Government, begins and ends with the Enjoyment; so that whenever the Owner, who has given nothing but such a *tacit Consent* to the Government, will, by Donation, Sale, or otherwise, quit the said Possession, he is at Liberty to go and incorporate himself into any other Commonwealth; or to agree with others to begin a new one, *in vacuis locis*, in any part of the World, they can find free and unpossessed: Whereas he, that has once, by actual Agreement, and any *express Declaration*, given his *Consent* to be of any Commonwealth, is perpetually and indispensably obliged to be, and remain unalterably a Subject to it, and can never be again in the Liberty of the state of Nature; unless, by any Calamity, the Government, he was under, comes to be dissolved; or else by some publick Act cuts him off from being any longer a Member of it.

122. But submitting to the Laws of any Country, living quietly, and enjoying Privileges and Protection under them, makes not a Man a Member of that Society: This is only a local Protection and Homage due to, and from all those, who, not being in a state of War, come within the Territories belonging to any Government, to all Parts whereof the force of its Law extends. But this no more makes a Man a Member of that Society, a perpetual Subject of that Commonwealth, than it would make a Man a Subject to another, in whose Family he found it convenient to abide for some time; though, whilst he continued in it, he were obliged to comply with the Laws, and submit to the Government, he found there. And thus we see, that *Foreigners*, by living all their Lives under another Government, and enjoying the Privileges and Protection of it, though they are bound, even in Conscience, to submit to its Administration, as far forth as any Denison; yet do

not

not thereby come to be *Subjects or Members of that Commonwealth*. Nothing can make any Man so, but his actually entering into it by positive Engagement, and expresse Promise and Compact. This is that, which I think, concerning the beginning of political Societies, and that *Consent which makes any one a Member of any Commonwealth*.

C H A P. IX.

Of the Ends of Political Society and Government.

123. **I**F Man in the state of Nature be so free, as has been said; if he be absolute Lord of his own Person and Possessions, equal to the greatest and subject to no Body, why will he part with his Freedom? Why will he give up this Empire, and subject himself to the Dominion and Controul of any other Power? To which 'tis obvious to answer, that though in the state of Nature he hath such a Right, yet the Enjoyment of it is very uncertain, and constantly exposed to the Invasion of others. For all being Kings as much as he, every Man his Equal and the greater Part no strict Observers of Equity and Justice, the enjoyment of the Property he has in this State, is very unsafe, very unsecure. This makes him willing to quit this Condition, which however free, is full of Fears and continual Dangers: And 'tis not without Reason, that he seeks out, and is willing to joyn in Society with others, who are already united, or have a Mind to unite, for the mutual *Preservation* of their Lives, Liberties and Estates, which I call by the general Name, *Property*.

124. The great and *chief End* therefore, of Mens uniting into Commonwealths, and putting themselves under Government, is the *Preservation of their Property*. To which in the state of Nature there are many things wanting.

First, There wants an *establish'd*, settled, known *Law*, received and allowed by common Consent to be the Standard of right and wrong, and the common Measure to decide all Controversies between them. For though the Law of Nature be plain and intelligible to all rational Creatures; yet Men being biassed by their Interest, as well as ignorant for want of Study of it, are not apt to allow of it as a Law binding to them in the application of it to their particular Cases.

125. *Secondly*, In the state of Nature there wants a *known and indifferent Judge*, with Authority to determine all Differences according to the established Law. For every one in that State being both Judge and Executioner of the Law of Nature, Men being partial to themselves, Passion and Revenge is very apt to carry them too far, and with too much Heat, in their own Cases; as well as Negligence, and unconcernedness, to make them too remiss in others Mens,

126. *Thirdly*, In the state of Nature there often wants *Power* to back and support the Sentence when right, and to give it due *Execution*. They who by any Injustice offended, will seldom fail, where they are able, by Force to make good their Injustice; such Resistance many times makes the Punishment dangerous, and frequently destructive, to those who attempt it.

127. Thus Mankind, notwithstanding all the Privileges of the state of Nature, being but in an ill Condition, while they remain in it, are quickly driven into Society. Hence it comes to pass, that we seldom find any number of Men live any time together in this State. The Inconveniencies that they are therein exposed to, by the irregular, and uncertain exercise of the Power every Man has of punishing the transgressions of others, make them take Sanctuary under the established Laws of Government, and therein seek the *preservation of their Property*. 'Tis this makes them so willingly give up every one his single Power of punishing, to be exercised by such alone, as shall be appointed to it, amongst them; and by such Rules as the Community, or those authorized by them to that purpose, shall agree on. And in this we have the original *right and rise of both the Legislative and Executive Power*, as well as of the Governments, and Societies themselves.

128. For in the State of Nature, to omit the liberty he has of innocent Delights, a Man has two Powers.

The first is to do whatsoever he thinks fit for the preservation of himself, and others within the permission of the *Law of Nature*; by which Law common to them all, he and all the rest of *Mankind are one Community*, make up one Society, distinct from all other Creatures. And were it not for the Corruption and Viciousness of degenerate Men, there would be no need of any other; no Necessity that Men should separate from this great and natural Community, and by positive agreements combine into smaller and divided Associations.

The other Power a Man has in the state of Nature, is the power to punish the *Crimes* committed against that Law. Both these he gives up, when he joins in a private, if I may so call it, or particular Political Society, and incorporates into any Commonwealth, separate from the rest of Mankind.

129. The first Power, viz. of doing whatsoever he thought fit for the preservation of himself, and the rest of Mankind, he gives up to be regulated by Laws made by the Society, so far forth as the preservation of himself, and the rest of that Society shall require; which Laws of the Society in many things confine the liberty he had by the Law of Nature.

130. Secondly, The Power of punishing he wholly gives up, and engages his natural Force, (which he might before employ in the Execution of the Law of Nature, by his own single Authority, as he thought fit) to assist the Executive Power of the Society, as the Law thereof shall require. For being now in a new State, wherein he is to enjoy many Conveniencies, from the Labour, Assistance, and Society of others in the same Community, as well as Protection from its whole Strength; he is to part also with as much of his natural Liberty, in providing for himself, as the Good, Prosperity, and Safety of the Society shall require; which is not only necessary, but just; since the other Members of the Society do the like.

131. But though Men when they enter into Society, give up the Equality, Liberty, and Executive Power they had in the State of Nature, into the hands of the Society, to be so far disposed of by the Legislative, as the good of the Society shall require; yet it being only with an intention in every one the better to preserve himself his Liberty and Property; (For no rational Creature can be supposed to change his condition with an intention to be worse) the Power of the Society, or Legislative constituted by them, can never be supposed to extend farther than the common good; but is obliged to secure every ones Property, by providing against those three defects above-mentioned, that made the State of Nature so unsafe and uneasy. And so whoever has the Legislative or supreme Power of any Commonwealth, is bound to govern by establish'd standing Laws, promulgated and known to the People, and not by Extemporary Decrees; by indifferent and upright Judges, who are to decide Controversies by those Laws; And to employ the force of the Community at home, only in the Execution of such Laws, or abroad to prevent or redress Foreign Injuries, and secure the Community from Inroads and Invasion. And all this to be directed to no other End, but the Peace, Safety, and publick good of the People.

C H A P. X.

Of the Forms of a Commonwealth.

132. **T**HE Majority having, as has been shew'd, upon Mens first uniting into Society, the whole Power of the Community, naturally in them, may employ all that Power in making Laws for the Community from time to time, and executing those Laws by Officers of their own appointing; and then the Form of the Government is a perfect Democracy: Or else may put the Power of making Laws into the hands of a few select Men, and their Heirs or Successors; and then it is an Oligarchy: Or else into the hands of one Man, and then it is a Monarchy: If to him and his Heirs, it is an Hereditary Monarchy: If to him only for Life, but upon his Death the Power only of nominating a Successor to return to them; an Elective Monarchy. And so accordingly of these the Community may make compounded and mixed Forms of Government, as they think good. And if the Legislative Power be at first given by the Majority to one or more Persons only

for their Lives, or any limited time, and then the supream Power to revert to them again; when it is so reverted, the Community may dispose of it again anew into what hands they please, and so constitute a new Form of Government. For the *Form of Government depending upon the placing the supream Power, which is the Legislative*, it being impossible to conceive that an inferior Power should prescribe to a superior, or any but the supream make Laws, according as the Power of making Laws is placed, such is the *Form of the Common-wealth*.

133. By *Commonwealth*, I must be understood all along to mean, not a Democracy, or any Form of Government, but any *Independent Community* which the Latines signified by the word *Civitas*, to which the word which best answers in our Language, is *Commonwealth*, and most properly expresses such a Society of Men, which Community or City in English does not, for there may be subordinate Communities in a Government; and City amongst us has a quite different Notion from Commonwealth: And therefore to avoid Ambiguity, I crave leave to use the word *Commonwealth* in that Sense, in which I find it used by King James the first, and I take it to be its genuine signification; which if any Body dislike, I consent with him to change it for a better.

C H A P. XI.

Of the Extent of the Legislative Power.

134. **T**HE great end of Mens entering into Society, being the Enjoyment of their Properties in Peace and Safety, and the great instrument and means of that being the Laws establish'd in that Society; the *first and fundamental positive Law of all Commonwealths, is the establishing of the Legislative Power*; as the *first and fundamental natural Law*, which is to govern even the Legislative it self, is the *preservation of the Society*, and (as far as will consist with the publick good) of every person in it. This *Legislative* is not only the *supream Power* of the Commonwealth, but sacred and unalterable in the hands where the Community have once placed it; nor can any Edict of any Body else, in what form soever conceived, or by what Power soever backed, have the force and obligation of a Law, which has not its *Sanction from that Legislative*, which the publick has chosen and appointed. For without this the Law could not have that, which is absolutely necessary to its being a Law, **the consent of the Society*, over whom no Body can have a Power to make Laws, but by their own Consent, and by Authority received from them; and therefore all the *Obedience*, which by the most solemn Ties any one can be obliged to Pay, ultimately terminates in this *Supream Power*, and is directed by those Laws which it enacts: Nor can any Oaths to any foreign Power whatsoever, or any Domestick Subordinate Power, discharge any Member of the Society from his *Obedience to the Legislative*, acting pursuant to their Trust; nor oblige him to any Obedience contrary to the Laws so enacted, or farther than they do allow; it being ridiculous to imagine one can be tied ultimately to obey any Power in the Society, which is not the *Supream*.

135. Though the *Legislative*, whether placed in one or more, whether it be always in being, or only by intervals, tho' it be the *supream Power* in every Commonwealth; yet,

First, It is not, nor can possibly be absolutely *Arbitrary* over the Lives and Fortunes of the People. For it being but the joint Power of every Member of the

* The lawful Power of making Laws to Command whole Politick Societies of Men, belonging so properly unto the same imire Societies, that for any Prince or Potentate of what kind soever upon Earth, to exercise the same of himself, and not by express Commission immediately and personally received from God, or else by authority derived at the first from their Consent, upon whose persons they impose Laws, it is no better than mere Tyranny. Laws they are not therefore which publick approbation hath not made so. Hooker's Eccl. Pol. L. 1. Sect. 10. Of this point therefore we are to Note, that such Men naturally have no full and perfect Power to Command whole Politick Multitudes of Men, therefore utterly without our Consent, we could in such sort be at no Man's Commandments living. And so be commanded we do consent when that Society, whereof we be a part, hath at any time before consented, without revoking the same after by the like universal agreement.

Laws therefore human, of what kind soever, are available by consent. Ibid.

Society given up to that Person, or Assembly, which is Legislator; it can be no more than those Persons had in a state of Nature before they enter'd into Society, and gave up to the Community. For no Body can transfer to another more Power, than he has in himself; and no Body has an absolute Arbitrary Power over himself, or over any other, to destroy his own Life, or take away the Life or Property of another. A Man, as has been proved, cannot subject himself to the Arbitrary Power of another; and having in the State of Nature no Arbitrary Power over the Life, Liberty, or Possession of another, but only so much as the Law of Nature gave him for the preservation of himself, and the rest of Mankind; this is all he doth, or can give up to the Commonwealth, and by it to the Legislative Power, so that the Legislative can have no more than this. Their Power in the utmost bounds of it, is limited to the publick good of the Society. It is a Power, that hath no other end but Preservation, and therefore can never † have a right to destroy, enslave, or designedly to impoverish the Subjects. The Obligations of the Law of Nature, cease not in Society, but only in many Cases are drawn closer, and have by human Laws known Penalties annexed to them, to enforce their Observation. Thus the Law of Nature stands as an Eternal Rule to all Men, Legislators as well as others. The Rules that they make for other Men's Actions, must, as well as their own, and other Men's Actions, be conformable to the Law of Nature, i. e. to the Will of God, of which that is a Declaration, and the fundamental Law of Nature being the preservation of Mankind, no Human Sanction can be good, or valid against it.

136. Secondly, * The Legislative, or supream Authority, cannot assume to its self a Power to Rule by Extemporary Arbitrary Decrees, but is bound to dispense Justice, and decide the Rights of the Subject by promulgated standing Laws, and known Authoris'd Judges. For the Law of Nature being unwritten, and so no where to be found but in the minds of Men, they who through Passion or Interest shall miscite, or misapply it, cannot so easily be convinced of their mistake where there is no establish'd Judge: And so it serves not, as it ought to determine the Rights, and fence the Properties of those that live under it, especially where every one is Judge, Interpreter, and Executioner of it too, and that in his own Case: And he that has right on his side, having ordinarily but his own single Strength, hath not force enough to defend himself from Injuries, or to punish Delinquents. To avoid these Inconveniencies, which disorder Mens Properties in the state of Nature, Men unite into Societies, that they may have the united strength of the whole Society to secure and defend their Properties, and may have standing Rules to bound it, by which every one may know, what is his. To this end it is that Men give up all their natural Power to the Society, which they enter into, and the Community put the Legislative Power into such hands as they think fit, with this Trust, that they shall be govern'd by declared Laws, or else their Peace, Quiet, and Property will still be at the same uncertainty, as it was in the state of Nature.

137. Absolute Arbitrary Power, or governing without settled standing Laws, can neither of them consist with the ends of Society and Government, which Men would not quit the freedom of the state of Nature for, and tie themselves up under, were it not to preserve their Lives, Liberties and Fortunes; and by

† Two Foundations there are which bear up publick Societies, the one a natural inclination, whereby all Men desire sociable Life and Fellowship; the other an Order, expressly or secretly agreed upon, touching the manner of their union in living together; the latter is that which we call the Law of a Commonwealth, the very Soul of a Politick Body, the parts whereof are by Law animated, held together, and set on work in such Actions as the common good requireth. Laws Politick, ordain'd for external order and regiment amongst Men, are never framed as they should be, unless presuming the will of Man to be inwardly Obstinate, Rebellious, and Averse from all Obedience to the sacred Laws of his Nature; in a word, unless presuming Man to be in regard of his depraved Mind, little better than a wild Beast, they do accordingly provide notwithstanding, so to frame his outward Actions, that they be no hindrance unto the common good, for which Societies are instituted. Unless they do this they are not perfect. Hooker's Eccl. Pol. L. 1. Sect. 10.

* Human Laws are measures in respect of Men whose Actions they must direct, howbeit such measures they are as have also their higher Rules to be measured by, which Rules are two, the Law of God, and the Law of Nature; so that Laws Human must be made according to the general Laws of Nature, and without contradiction to any positive Law of Scripture, otherwise they are ill made. Ibid. L. 3. Sect. 9.

To constrain Men to any thing inconvenient doth seem unreasonable. Ibid. L. 1. Sect. 10.

stated Rules of Right and Property to secure their Peace and Quiet. It cannot be suppos'd that they should intend, had they a Power so to do, to give to any one, or more, an *absolute Arbitrary Power* over their Persons and Estates, and put a force into the Magistrates hand to execute his unlimited Will arbitrarily upon them. This were to put themselves into a worse condition than the state of Nature, wherein they had a Liberty to defend their Right against the Injuries of others, and were upon equal terms of force to maintain it, whether invaded by a single Man, or many in Combination. Whereas by supposing they have given up themselves to the *absolute Arbitrary Power* and Will of a Legillator, they have disarmed themselves, and armed him, to make a prey of them when he pleases. He being in a much worse condition, who is expos'd to the Arbitrary Power of one Man, who has the Command of 100000, than he that is expos'd to the Arbitrary Power of 100000 single Men; no Body being secure, that his Will, who has such a Command, is better, than that of other Men, though his force be 100000 times stronger. And therefore whatever form the Commonwealth is under, the ruling Power ought to govern by *declared and received Laws*, and not by *extemporary Dictates* and undetermin'd Resolutions. For then Mankind will be in a far worse condition, than in the state of Nature, if they shall have armed one, or a few Men with the joint Power of a Multitude, to force them to obey at pleasure the exorbitant and unlimited decrees of their sudden Thoughts, or unrestrain'd, and till that moment unknown Wills, without having any measures set down which may guide and justify their Actions. For all the Power the Government has, being only for the good of the Society, as it ought not to be *Arbitrary* and at Pleasure, so it ought to be exercised by *established and promulgated Laws*; that both the People may know their Duty, and be safe and secure within the limits of the Law; and the Rulers too kept within their due Bounds, and not be tempted, by the Power they have in their hands, to imploy it to such Purposes, and by such Measures, as they would not have known, and own not willingly.

138. *Thirdly*, The *supream Power* cannot take from any Man any part of his *Property* without his own Consent. For the preservation of Property being the end of Government, and that for which Men enter into Society, it necessarily supposes and requires, that the People should *have Property*, without which they must be suppos'd to lose that, by entering into Society, which was the end for which they entered into it, too gross an absurdity for any Man to own. Men therefore in Society *having Property*, they have such a right to the Goods, which by the Law of the Community are theirs, that no Body hath a right to take their Substance or any part of it from them, without their own Consent; without this they have no *Property* at all. For I have truly no *Property* in that, which another can by right take from me, when he pleases, against my Consent. Hence it is a mistake to think, that the *Supream or Legislative Power* of any Commonwealth, can do what it will, and dispose of the Estates of the Subject *Arbitrarily*, or take any part of them at Pleasure. This is not much to be fear'd in Governments where the *Legislative* consists, wholly or in part, in Assemblies which are variable, whose Members upon the dissolution of the Assembly, are Subjects under the common Laws of their Country, equally with the rest. But in Governments, where the *Legislative* is in one lasting Assembly always in Being, or in one Man, as in absolute Monarchies, there is danger still, that they will think themselves to have a distinct interest, from the rest of the Community; and so will be apt to increase their own Riches and Power, by taking what they think fit from the People. For a Man's *Property* is not at all secure, though there be good and equitable Laws to set the bounds of it, between him and his fellow Subjects, if he who Commands those Subjects, have Power to take from any private Man, what part he pleases of his *Property*, and use and dispose of it as he thinks good.

139. But Government into whatsoever hands it is put, being as I have before shew'd, intrusted with this Condition, and for this End, that Men might have and secure their *Properties*, the Prince, or Senate, however it may have Power to make Laws, for the regulating of *Property*, between the Subjects one amongst another, yet can never have a Power to take to themselves the whole, or any part of the Subjects *Property*, without their own Consent. For this would be in effect to leave them no *Property* at all. And to let us see, that even *absolute Power*, where

where it is necessary, is *not Arbitrary* by being absolute, but is still limited by that Reason, and confined to those Ends, which required it in some Cases to be absolute, we need look no farther than the common practice of Martial Discipline. For the preservation of the Army, and in it of the whole Commonwealth, requires an *absolute Obedience* to the Command of every superior Officer, and it is justly Death to disobey or dispute the most dangerous or unreasonable of them; but yet we see, that neither the Serjeant, that could Command a Soldier to march up to the mouth of a Cannon, or stand in a Breach, where he is almost sure to perish, can command that Soldier to give him one Penny of his Money; nor the General, that can condemn him to Death for deserting his Post, or for not obeying the most desperate Orders, can yet with all his *absolute Power* of Life and Death, dispose of one Farthing of that Soldier's Estate, or seize one jot of his Goods; whom yet he can command any Thing, and hang for the least Disobedience. Because such a blind Obedience is necessary to that end, for which the Commander has his Power, *viz.* the preservation of the rest; but the disposing of his Goods has nothing to do with it.

140. 'Tis true, Governments cannot be supported without great Charge, and 'tis fit every one who enjoys his share of the Protection, should pay out of his Estate his proportion for the maintenance of it. But still it must be with his own Consent, *i. e.* the Consent of the Majority, giving it either by themselves, or their Representatives chosen by them. For if any one shall claim a *Power to lay* and levy *Taxes* on the People, by his own Authority, and without such consent of the People, he thereby invades the *Fundamental Law of Property*, and subverts the end of Government. For what Property have I in that, which another may by right take, when he pleases to himself?

141. *Fourthly*, The *Legislative* cannot transfer the *Power of making Laws* to any other hands. For it being but a delegated Power from the People, they who have it, cannot pass it over to others. The People alone can appoint the Form of the Commonwealth, which is by Constituting the *Legislative*, and appointing in whose hands that shall be. And when the People have said, we will submit to Rules, and be govern'd by *Laws* made by such Men, and in such Forms, no Body else can say other Men shall make *Laws* for them; nor can the People be bound by any *Laws*, but such as are Enacted by those whom they have Chosen, and Authorized to make *Laws* for them. The Power of the *Legislative* being derived from the People by a positive voluntary Grant and Institution, can be no other, than what that positive Grant conveyed, which being only to make *Laws*, and not to make *Legislators*, the *Legislative* can have no Power to transfer their Authority of making *Laws*, and place it in other hands.

142. These are the *Bounds* which the trust, that is put in them by the Society, and the Law of God and Nature, have set to the *Legislative Power* of every Commonwealth, in all Forms of Government.

First, They are to govern by *promulgated establish'd Laws*, not to be varied in particular Cases, but to have one Rule for Rich and Poor, for the Favourite at Court, and the Country Man at Plough.

Secondly, These *Laws* also ought to be designed for no other end ultimately, but the good of the People.

Thirdly, They must not raise *Taxes* on the *Property of the People*, without the Consent of the People, given by themselves, or their Deputies. And this properly concerns only such Governments where the *Legislative* is always in Being, or at least where the People have not reserv'd any part of the *Legislative* to Deputies, to be from time to time chosen by themselves.

Fourthly, The *Legislative* neither must nor can transfer the *Power of making Laws* to any Body else, or place it any where, but where the People have.

C H A P. XII.

Of the Legislative, Executive, and Federative Power of the Commonwealth.

143. **T**HE *Legislative Power* is that, which has a right to direct how the Force of the Commonwealth shall be employ'd for preserving the Community and the Members of it. But because those Laws which are constantly to be Executed, and whose force is always to continue, may be made in a little time; therefore there is no need, that the *Legislative* should be always in Being, not having always business to do. And because it may be too great a temptation to human frailty apt to grasp at Power, for the same Persons, who have the Power of making Laws, to have also in their hands the Power to execute them, whereby they may exempt themselves from Obedience to the Laws they make, and suit the Law, both in its making, and execution, to their own private advantage, and thereby come to have a distinct interest from the rest of the Community, contrary to the end of Society and Government: Therefore in well order'd Commonwealths, where the good of the whole is so considered, as it ought, the *Legislative Power* is put into the hands of divers Persons, who duly Assembled, have by themselves, or jointly with others, a Power to make Laws, which when they have done, being separated again, they are themselves subject to the Laws, they have made; which is a new and near tie upon them, to take Care, that they make them for the publick good.

144. But because the Laws, that are at once, and in a short time made, have a constant and lasting Force, and need a perpetual Execution, or an attendance thereunto: Therefore 'tis necessary there should be a Power always in Being, which should see to the Execution of the Laws that are made, and remain in Force. And thus the *Legislative* and *Executive Power* come often to be separated.

145. There is another Power in every Commonwealth, which one may call *natural*, because it is that which answers to the Power every Man naturally had before he entered into Society. For though in a Commonwealth the Members of it are distinct Persons still in reference to one another, and as such are governed by the Laws of the Society; yet in reference to the rest of Mankind, they make one Body, which is, as every Member of it before was, still in the state of Nature with the rest of Mankind. Hence it is, that the Controversies that happen between any Man of the Society with those that are out of it, are managed by the Publick; and an injury done to a Member of their Body, engages the whole in the reparation of it. So that under this Consideration, the whole Community is one Body in the state of Nature, in respect of all other States or Persons out of its Community.

146. This therefore contains the Power of War and Peace, Leagues and Alliances, and all the Transactions, with all Persons and Communities without the Commonwealth, and may be called *Federative*, if any one pleases. So the thing be understood, I am indifferent as to the Name.

147. These two Powers, *Executive* and *Federative*, though they be really distinct in themselves, yet one comprehending the Execution of the Municipal Laws of the Society within its self, upon all that are parts of it; the other the management of the security and interest of the publick without, with all those that it may receive benefit or damage from, yet they are always almost united. And though this *Federative Power* in the well or ill management of it be of great moment to the Commonwealth, yet it is much less capable to be directed by antecedent, standing, positive Laws, than the *Executive*; and so must necessarily be left to the Prudence and Wisdom of those, whose hands it is in, to be managed for the publick good. For the Laws that concern Subjects one amongst another, being to direct their Actions, may well enough precede them. But what is to be done in reference to *Foreigners*, depending much upon their Actions, and the variation of designs and interests, must be left in great part to the Prudence of those, who have this Power committed to them, to be managed by the best of their Skill, for the advantage of the Commonwealth.

148. Though,

148. Though, as I said, the *Executive* and *Federative Power* of every Community be really distinct in themselves, yet they are hardly to be separated, and placed at the same time, in the hands of distinct Persons. For both of them requiring the force of the Society for their Exercise, it is almost impracticable to place the Force of the Commonwealth in distinct, and not subordinate hands; or that the *Executive* and *Federative Power* should be placed in Persons, that might act separately, whereby the Force of the Publick would be under different Commands, which would be apt sometime or other to cause Disorder and Ruine.

C H A P. XIII.

Of the Subordination of the Powers of the Commonwealth.

149. **T**Hough in a constituted Commonwealth, standing upon its own Basis, and acting according to its own Nature, that is, acting for the preservation of the Community, there can be but *one supream Power*, which is the *Legislative*, to which all the rest are and must be Subordinate, yet the Legislative being only a Fiduciary Power to act for certain ends, there remains still in the People a *supream Power* to remove or alter the *Legislative*, when they find the *Legislative* act contrary to the trust reposed in them. For all Power given with trust for the attaining an end, being limited by that end, whenever that end is manifestly neglected, or opposed, the trust must necessarily be forfeited, and the Power devolve into the Hands of those that gave it, who may place it anew where they shall think best for their safety and security. And thus the Community perpetually retains a *supream Power* of saving themselves from the attempts and designs of any body, even of their Legislators, whenever they shall be so foolish, or so wicked, as to lay and carry on designs against the Liberties and Properties of the Subject. For no Man or Society of Men, having a Power to deliver up their *Preservation*, or consequently the means of it, to the absolute Will and arbitrary Dominion of another; when ever any one shall go about to bring them into such a slavish Condition, they will always have a right to preserve, what they have not a Power to part with; and to rid themselves of those, who invade this Fundamental, Sacred, and unalterable Law of *Self-preservation*, for which they enter'd into Society. And thus the Community may be said in this respect to be *always the supream Power*, but not as considered under any Form of Government, because this Power of the People can never take place till the Government be dissolved.

150. In all Cases, whilst the Government subsists, the *Legislative* is the *supream Power*. For what can give Laws to another, must needs be superior to him; and since the Legislative is no otherwise Legislative of the Society, but by the right it has to make Laws for all the parts, and for every Member of the Society, prescribing Rules to their Actions, and giving power of Execution, where they are transgressed, the *Legislative* must needs be the *Supream*, and all other Powers in any Members or parts of the Society, derived from and subordinate to it.

151. In some Commonwealths where the *Legislative* is not always in Being, and the *Executive* is vested in a single Person, who has also a share in the Legislative; there that single Person in a very tolerable Sense may also be called *Supream*, not that he has in himself all the *supream Power*, which is that of Law-making: But because he has in him the *supream Execution*, from whom all inferiour Magistrates derive all their several subordinate Powers, or at least the greatest part of them; having also no Legislative superiour to him, there being no Law to be made without his Consent, which cannot be expected should ever subject him to the other part of the Legislative, he is properly enough in this Sense *Supream*. But yet it is to be observed, that though *Oaths of Allegiance* and Fealty are taken to him, 'tis not to him as *supream Legislator*, but as *supream Executor* of the Law, made by a joint Power of him with others; *Allegiance* being nothing but an *Obedience according to Law*, which when he violates, he has no right to Obedience, nor can claim it otherwise than as the publick Person vested with the Power of the Law, and

and is to be consider'd as the Image, Phantom, or Representative of the Commonwealth, acted by the will of the Society, declared in its Laws; and thus he has no Will, no Power, but that of the Law. But when he quits this Representation, this publick Will, and acts by his own private Will, he degrades himself, and is but a single private Person without Power, and without Will, that has any Right to *Obedience*; the Members owing no *Obedience* but to the publick Will of the Society.

152. The *executive Power* placed any where but in a Person, that has also a Share in the Legislative, is visibly subordinate and accountable to it, and may be at pleasure changed and displaced; so that it is not the *supream Executive Power*, that is exempt from *Subordination*, but the *supreme Executive Power* vested in one, who having a Share in the Legislative, has no distinct superior Legislative to be subordinate and accountable to, farther than he himself shall joyn and consent; so that he is no more subordinate than he himself shall think fit, which one may certainly conclude will be but very little. Of other *ministerial and subordinate Powers* in a Commonwealth, we need not speak, they being so multiply'd with infinite Variety, in the different Customs and Constitutions of distinct Commonwealths, that it is impossible to give a particular Account of them all. Only thus much, which is necessary to our present Purpose, we may take Notice of concerning them, that they have no manner of Authority any of them, beyond what is by positive Grant and Commission, delegated to them, and are all of them accountable to some other Power in the Commonwealth.

153. It is not necessary, no nor so much as convenient, that the *Legislative* should be *always in Being*. But absolutely necessary that the *Executive Power* should, because there is not always need of new Laws to be made, but always need of Execution of the Laws that are made. When the *Legislative* hath put the *Execution* of the Laws, they make, into other Hands, they have a Power still to resume it out of those Hands, when they find Cause, and to punish for any mal-administration against the Laws. The same holds also in regard of the *federative Power*, that and the *Executive* being both *ministerial and subordinate to the Legislative*, which as has been shew'd in a constituted Commonwealth, is the *supream*. The *Legislative* also in this Case being suppos'd to consist of several Persons; (for if it be a single Person, it cannot but be always in Being, and so will as *Supream*, naturally have the *Supream Executive Power*, together with the *Legislative*) may *assemble and exercise their Legislature*, at the Times, that either their original Constitution, or their own Adjournment appoints, or when they please; if neither of these hath appointed any time, or there be no other Way prescribed to convoke them. For the *supream Power* being placed in them by the People, 'tis always in them, and they may exercise it when they please, unless by their original Constitution they are limited to certain Seasons, or by an Act of their *supream Power*, they have adjourned to a certain time; and when that time comes, they have a Right to *assemble and act* again.

154. If the *Legislative*, or any part of it be made up of *Representatives* chosen for that time by the People, which afterwards return into the ordinary state of Subjects, and have no Share in the Legislature but upon a new Choice, this Power of chusing must also be exercised by the People, either at certain appointed Seasons, or else when they are summon'd to it; and in this latter Case, the Power of convoking the *Legislative*, is ordinarily placed in the *Executive*, and has one of these two Limitations in respect of time: That either the original Constitution requires their *assembling and acting* at certain Intervals, and then the *executive Power* does nothing but *ministerially* issue Directions for their electing and assembling, according to due Forms: Or else it is left to his Prudence to call them by new Elections, when the Occasions or Exigencies of the Publick require the Amendment of old, or making of new Laws, or the redress or prevention of any Inconveniencies, that lie on, or threaten the People.

155. It may be demanded here, What if the *Executive Power* being possessed of the Force of the Commonwealth, shall make use of that Force to hinder the *meeting and acting of the Legislative*, when the original Constitution, or the publick Exigencies require it? I say using Force upon the People without Authority, and contrary to the Trust put in him, that does so, is a state of War with the People, who have a Right to *reinstate their Legislature in the Exercise of their Power*. For

having erected a Legislative, with an Intent they should exercise the Power of making Laws, either at certain set times, or when there is need of it, when they are hinder'd by any Force from, what is so necessary to the Society, and wherein the safety and Preservation of the People consists, the People have a Right to remove it by Force. In all States and Conditions the true remedy of Force without Authority, is to oppose Force to it. The use of Force without Authority, always puts him that uses it into a *state of War*, as the Aggressor, and renders him liable to be treated accordingly.

156. The Power of *assembling and dismissing the Legislative*, placed in the Executive, gives not the Executive a superiority over it, but is a fiduciary Trust placed in him, for the safety of the People, in a Case where the uncertainty, and variableness of human Affairs could not bear a steady fixed Rule. For it not being possible, that the first framers of the Government should, by any foresight, be so much Masters of future Events, as to be able to prefix so just periods of Return and Duration to the *Assemblies of the Legislative*, in all times to come, that might exactly answer all the Exigencies of the Commonwealth; the best Remedy could be found for this Defect, was to trust this to the Prudence of one who was always to be present, and whose Business it was to watch over the publick Good. Constant frequent Meetings of the Legislative, and long Continuations of their Assemblies, without necessary Occasion, could not but be burthensome to the People, and must necessarily in time produce more dangerous Inconveniencies, and yet the quick turn of Affairs might be sometimes such as to need their present Help: Any Delay of their *convening* might endanger the publick; and sometimes too their Business might be so great, that the limited time of their sitting might be too short for their Work, and rob the publick of that Benefit which could be had only from their mature Deliberation. What then could be done in this Case to prevent the Community from being exposed some time or other to eminent Hazard, on one side or the other, by fixed Intervals and Periods, set to the *meeting and acting of the Legislative*, but to intrust it to the Prudence of some, who being present, and acquainted with the state of publick Affairs, might make use of this Prerogative for the publick Good? And where else could this be so well placed as in his Hands, who was intrusted with the Execution of the Laws for the same End? Thus supposing the Regulation of Times for the *assembling and sitting of the Legislative*, not settled by the original Constitution, it naturally fell into the Hands of the Executive, not as an arbitrary Power depending on his good Pleasure, but with this trust always to have it exercised only for the publick Weal, as the Occurrences of Times and change of Affairs might require. Whether *settled Periods of their convening*, or a Liberty left to the Prince for *convoking the Legislative*, or perhaps a Mixture of both, hath the least Inconvenience attending it, 'tis not my Business here to inquire, but only to shew, that though the Executive Power may have the Prerogative of *convoking and dissolving such Conventions of the Legislative*, yet it is not thereby superior to it.

157. Things of this World are in so constant a Flux, that nothing remains long in the same State. Thus People, Riches, Trade, Power, change their Stations, flourishing mighty Cities come to ruine, and prove in time neglected desolate Corners, whilst other unfrequented Places grow into populous Countries, fill'd with Wealth and Inhabitants. But things not always changing equally, and private Interest often keeping up Customs and Privileges, when the Reasons of them are ceased, it often comes to pass, that in Governments, where part of the Legislative consists of *Representatives* chosen by the People, that in tract of time this Representation becomes very unequal and disproportionate to the Reasons it was at first establish'd upon. To what gross Absurdities the following of Custom, when Reason has left it, may lead, we may be satisfied, when we see the bare Name of a Town, of which there remains not so much as the Ruines, where scarce so much Housing as a Sheepcoat, or more Inhabitants than a Shepherd is to be found, sends as many Representatives to the grand Assembly of Law-makers, as a whole County numerous in People, and powerful in Riches. This Strangers stand amazed at, and every one must confess needs a Remedy. Though most think it hard to find one, because the Constitution of the Legislative being the original and supream Act of the Society, antecedent to all positive Laws in it, and depending wholly on the People, no inferior Power can

can alter it. And therefore the *People*, when the *Legislative* is once constituted, *having* in such a Government as we have been speaking of, *no Power* to act as long as the Government stands; this Inconvenience is thought incapable of a Remedy.

158. *Salus Populi Suprema Lex*, is certainly so just and fundamental a Rule, that he, who sincerely follows it, cannot dangerously err. If therefore the Executive, who has the Power of convoking the Legislative, observing rather the true Proportion, than Fashion of Representation, regulates, not by old Custom, but true Reason, the Number of Members, in all Places, that have a Right to be distinctly represented, which no part of the People however incorporated can pretend to, but in Proportion to the Assistance which it affords to the Publick, it cannot be judg'd to have set up a new Legislative, but to have restored the old and true one, and to have rectified the Disorders, which Succession of time had insensibly, as well as inevitably introduced. For it being the Interest, as well as Intention of the People, to have a fair and equal Representative; whoever brings it nearest to that, is an undoubted Friend to, and Establisher of the Government, and cannot miss the Consent and Approbation of the Community. Prerogative being nothing but a Power in the Hands of the Prince, to provide for the publick Good, in such Cases, which depending upon unforeseen and uncertain Occurrences, certain and unalterable Laws could not safely direct; whatsoever shall be done manifestly for the good of the People, and the establishing the Government upon its true Foundations, is and always will be just Prerogative. The Power of erecting new Corporations, and therewith new Representatives, carries with it a Supposition, that in time the Measures of Representation might vary, and those Places have a just Right to be represented which before had none; and by the same Reason, those cease to have a Right, and be too inconsiderable for such a Privilege, which before had it. 'Tis not a Change from the present State, which perhaps Corruption or Decay has introduced, that makes an Inroad upon the Government, but the Tendency of it to injure or oppress the People, and to set up one Part, or Party, with a Distinction from, and an unequal Subjection of the rest. Whatsoever cannot but be acknowledged to be of Advantage to the Society, and People in general, upon just and lasting Measures, will always, when done, justify itself; and whenever the People shall chuse their Representatives upon just and undeniably equal Measures, suitable to the original Frame of the Government, it cannot be doubted to be the Will and Act of the Society, whoever permitted or caused them so to do.

CHAP. XIV.

Of PREROGATIVE.

159. **W**HERE the Legislative and Executive Power are in distinct Hands, (as they are in all moderated Monarchies, and well-framed Governments) there the Good of the Society requires, that several things should be left to the Discretion of him, that has the Executive Power. For the Legislators not being able to foresee and provide by Laws, for all that may be useful to the Community, the Executor of the Laws having the Power in his Hands, has by the common Law of Nature a Right to make use of it for the good of the Society, in many Cases, where the municipal Law has given no Direction, till the Legislative can conveniently be assembled to provide for it. Many things there are, which the Law can by no means provide for, and those must necessarily be left to the Discretion of him that has the executive Power in his Hands, to be ordered by him as the publick Good and Advantage shall require: Nay, 'tis fit that the Laws themselves should in some Cases give way to the executive Power, or rather to this fundamental Law of Nature and Government, *viz.* That as much as may be, all the Members of the Society are to be preserved. For since many Accidents may happen, wherein a strict and rigid Observation of the Laws may do harm; (as not to pull down an innocent Man's House to stop the Fire, when the next to it is burning) and a Man may come sometimes within the

reach of the Law, which makes no Distinction of Persons, by an Action that may deserve Reward and Pardon; 'tis fit the Ruler should have a Power, in many Cases, to mitigate the Severity of the Law, and pardon some Offenders: For the End of Government being the Preservation of all, as much as may be, even the Guilty are to be spared, where it can prove no Prejudice to the Innocent.

160. This Power to act according to Discretion, for the Publick Good, without the Prescription of the Law, and sometimes even against it, is that which is called *Prerogative*. For since in some Governments the Law-making Power is not always in Being, and is usually too numerous, and so too slow, for the Dispatch requisite to Execution: and because also it is impossible to foresee, and so by Laws to provide for all Accidents and Necessities that may concern the Publick; or to make such Laws as will do no harm, if they are executed with an inflexible Rigour, on all Occasions, and upon all Persons that may come in their way, therefore there is a Latitude left to the Executive Power, to do many things of Choice which the Laws do not prescribe.

161. This Power, whilst employed for the Benefit of the Community, and suitably to the Trust and Ends of the Government, is *undoubted Prerogative*, and never is questioned. For the People are very seldom or never scrupulous or nice in the Point; they are far from examining *Prerogative*, whilst it is in any tolerable Degree employ'd for the use it was meant, that is, for the Good of the People, and not manifestly against it. But if there comes to be a *Question* between the Executive Power and the People, about a thing claimed as a *Prerogative*; the Tendency of the Exercise of such *Prerogative* to the Good or Hurt of the People will easily decide that Question.

162. It is easie to conceive, that in the Infancy of Governments, when Commonwealths differed little from Families in Number of People, they differ'd from them too but little in Number of Laws: And the Governours, being as the Fathers of them, watching over them for their Good, the Government was almost all *Prerogative*. A few establish'd Laws serv'd the Turn, and the Discretion and Care of the Ruler supply'd the rest. But when Mistake or Flattery prevail'd with weak Princes to make use of this Power for private Ends of their own, and not for the publick Good, the People were fain by expresse Laws to get *Prerogative* determin'd in those Points wherein they found Disadvantage from it: And thus declared *Limitations of Prerogative* were by the People found necessary in Cases which they and their Ancestors had left, in the utmost Latitude, to the Wisdom of those Princes, who made no other but a right use of it, that is, for the Good of their People.

163. And therefore they have a very wrong Notion of Government, who say, that the People have *incroach'd upon the Prerogative*, when they have got any part of it to be defined by positive Laws. For in so doing they have not pulled from the Prince any thing that of right belong'd to him, but only declared, that that Power which they indefinitely left in his or his Ancestors Hands, to be exercised for their Good, was not a thing which they intended him when he used it otherwise. For the End of Government being the good of the Community, whatsoever Alterations are made in it, tending to that End, cannot be an *Incroachment* upon any body, since no body in Government can have a right tending to any other end. And those only are *Incroachments* which prejudice or hinder the publick good. Those who say otherwise, speak as if the Prince had a distinct and separate Interest from the Good of the Community, and was not made for it, the Root and Source from which spring almost all those Evils and Disorders which happen in Kingly Governments. And indeed if that be so, the People under his Government are not a Society of rational Creatures, entered into a Community for their mutual Good; they are not such as have set Rulers over themselves, to guard, and promote that good; but are to be looked on as an Herd of inferior Creatures under the Dominion of a Master, who keeps them and works them for his own Pleasure or Profit. If Men were so void of Reason, and brutish, as to enter into Society upon such Terms, *Prerogative* might indeed be, what some Men would have it, an arbitrary Power to do things hurtful to the People.

164. But since a rational Creature cannot be supposed when free, to put himself into Subjection to another, for his own Harm: (Though where he finds a good

good and wise Ruler, he may not perhaps think it either necessary or useful, to set precise Bounds to his Power in all things) *Prerogative* can be nothing but the Peoples permitting their Rulers to do several things of their own free Choice, where the Law was silent, and sometimes too against the direct Letter of the Law, for the publick good; and their acquiescing in it when so done. For as a good Prince, who is mindful of the Trust put into his Hands, and careful of the Good of his People, cannot have too much *Prerogative*, that is, Power to do good: So a weak and ill Prince, who would claim that Power which his Predecessors exercised without the Direction of the Law, as a *Prerogative* belonging to him by Right of his Office, which he may exercise at his pleasure, to make or promote an Interest distinct from that of the publick, gives the People an Occasion to claim their Right, and limit that Power, which, whilst it was exercised for their Good, they were content should be tacitly allowed.

165. And therefore he that will look into the *History of England*, will find, that *Prerogative* was always largest in the Hands of our wisest and best Princes; because the People observing the whole Tendency of their Actions to be the publick good, contested not what was done without Law to that end; or if any human Frailty or Mistake (for Princes are but Men, made as others) appear'd in some small Declinations from that end; yet 'twas visible, the main of their Conduct tended to nothing but the Care of the publick. The People therefore finding reason to be satisfied with these Princes, whenever they acted without or contrary to the Letter of the Law, acquiesced in what they did, and, without the least Complaint, let them enlarge their *Prerogative* as they pleased, judging rightly, that they did nothing herein to the prejudice of their Laws, since they acted conformable to the Foundation and End of all Laws, the publick good.

166. Such God-like Princes indeed had some Title to arbitrary Power, by that Argument, that would prove absolute Monarchy the best Government, as that which God himself governs the Universe by; because such Kings partake of his Wisdom and Goodness. Upon this is founded that saying, That the Reigns of good Princes have been always most dangerous to the Liberties of their People. For when their Successors, managing the Government with different Thoughts, would draw the Actions of those good Rulers into Precedent, and make them the Standard of their *Prerogative*, as if what had been done only for the good of the People, was a Right in them to do, for the Harm of the People, if they so pleased; it has often occasioned Contest, and sometimes publick Disorders, before the People could recover their original Right, and get that to be declared not to be *Prerogative*, which truly was never so: Since it is impossible that any body in the Society should ever have a Right to do the People Harm; though it be very possible, and reasonable, that the People should not go about to set any Bounds to the *Prerogative* of those Kings or Rulers, who themselves transgressed not the Bounds of the publick Good. For *Prerogative is nothing but the Power of doing publick Good without a Rule.*

167. The Power of calling Parliaments in England, as to precise Time, Place, and Duration, is certainly a *Prerogative* of the King, but still with this trust, that it shall be made use of for the good of the Nation, as the Exigencies of the Times, and Variety of Occasions shall require. For it being impossible to foresee which should always be the fittest place for them to assemble in, and what the best Season; the Choice of these was left with the Executive Power, as might be most subservient to the publick Good, and best suit the Ends of Parliaments.

168. The old Question will be asked in this Matter of *Prerogative*. But who shall be Judge when this Power is made a right use of? I answer: Between an Executive Power in Being, with such a *Prerogative*, and a Legislative that depends upon his Will for their convening, there can be no Judge on Earth: As there can be none between the Legislative and the People, should either the Executive, or the Legislative, when they have got the Power in their Hands, design, or go about to enslave or destroy them. The People have no other Remedy in this, as in all other Cases where they have no Judge on Earth, but to appeal to Heaven. For the Rulers, in such Attempts, exercising a Power the People never put into their Hands, (who can never be supposed to consent that any body should rule over them for their harm) do that which they have not a Right to do. And where the Body of the People, or any single Man is deprived of their Right, or is under

the Exercise of a Power without Right, and have no Appeal on Earth; then they have a Liberty to appeal to Heaven, whenever they judge the Cause of sufficient Moment. And therefore tho' the *People cannot be Judge*, so as to have by the Constitution of that Society any superior Power, to determine and give effective Sentence in the Case; yet they have, by a Law antecedent and paramount to all positive Laws of Men, reserv'd that ultimate Determination to themselves which belongs to all Mankind, where there lies no Appeal on Earth, viz. to judge, whether they have just Cause to make their Appeal to Heaven. And this Judgment they cannot part with, it being out of a Man's Power so to submit himself to another, as to give him a Liberty to destroy him; God and Nature never allowing a Man so to abandon himself, as to neglect his own Preservation: And since he cannot take away his own Life, neither can he give Another power to take it. Nor let any one think, this lays a perpetual Foundation for Disorder; for this operates not, till the Inconveniency is so great that the Majority feel it, and are weary of it, and find a Necessity to have it amended. But this the Executive Power, or wise Princes never need come in the Danger of: And 'tis the thing of all others, they have most need to avoid, as of all others the most perilous.

C H A P. XV.

Of Paternal, Political, and Despotical Power, consider'd together.

169. **T**Hough I have had occasion to speak of these separately before, yet the great Mistakes of late about Government, having, as I suppose, arisen from confounding these distinct Powers one with another, it may not, perhaps, be amiss to consider them here together.

170. First then, *paternal or parental Power* is nothing but that which Parents have over their Children, to govern them for the Childrens good, till they come to the use of Reason, or a State of Knowledge, wherein they may be supposed capable to understand that Rule, whether it be the Law of Nature, or the municipal Law of their Country, they are to govern themselves by: Capable, I say, to know it, as well as several others, who live as Freemen under that Law. The Affection and Tendernefs which God hath planted in the Breasts of Parents towards their Children, makes it evident, that this is not intended to be a severe arbitrary Government, but only for the Help, Instruction, and Preservation of their Offspring. But happen it as it will, there is, as I have proved, no reason why it should be thought to extend to Life and Death, at any time over their Children, more than over any body else; neither can there be any pretence why this *parental Power* should keep the Child when grown to a Man, in subjection to the Will of his Parents, any farther than the having received Life and Education from his Parents, obliges him to Respect, Honour, Gratitude, Assistance, and Support all his Life to both Father and Mother. And thus, 'tis true, the *Paternal* is a natural Government, but not at all extending it self to the Ends and Jurisdictions of that, which is Political. The *Power of the Father doth not reach* at all to the *Property* of the Child, which is only in his own disposing.

171. Secondly, *Political Power* is that Power, which every Man having in the state of Nature, has given up into the hands of the Society, and therein to the Governours, whom the Society hath set over itself, with this exprefs or tacit Trust, That it shall be employed for their good, and the preservation of their Property: Now this *Power*, which every Man has in the *state of Nature*, and which he parts with to the Society, in all such Cases, where the Society can secure him, is to use such means, for the preserving of his own Property, as he thinks good, and Nature allows him; and to punish the Breach of the Law of Nature in others so, as (according to the best of his Reason) may most conduce to the preservation of himself, and the rest of Mankind. So that the *end and measure of this Power*, when in every Man's hands in the state of Nature, being the preservation of all of his Society, that is, all Mankind in general, it can have no other *end or measure*, when in the hands of the Magistrate, but to preserve the Members of that

that Society in their Lives, Liberties, and Possessions; and so cannot be an Absolute, Arbitrary Power over their Lives and Fortunes, which are as much as possible to be preserved; but a Power to make Laws, and annex such Penalties to them, as may tend to the preservation of the whole, by cutting off those Parts, and those only, which are so corrupt, that they threaten the sound and healthy, without which no severity is lawful. And this Power has its Original only from Compact and Agreement, and the mutual Consent of those who make up the Community.

172. Thirdly, *Despotical Power* is an Absolute, Arbitrary Power one Man has over another, to take away his Life, whenever he pleases. This is a Power, which neither Nature gives, for it has made no such distinction between one Man and another; nor Compact can convey, for Man not having such an Arbitrary Power over his own Life, cannot give another Man such a Power over it; but it is the effect only of *Forfeiture*, which the Aggressor makes of his own Life, when he puts himself into the state of War with another. For having quitted Reason, which God hath given to be the Rule betwixt Man and Man, and the common bond whereby human kind is united into one Fellowship and Society; and having renounced the way of Peace which that teaches, and made use of the Force of War, to compass his unjust ends upon another; where he has no right, and so revolting from his own Kind to that of Beasts, by making Force, which is theirs, to be his Rule of Right, he renders himself liable to be destroyed by the injur'd Person, and the rest of Mankind, that will join with him in the execution of Justice, as any other wild Beast, or noxious Brute with whom Mankind can have neither Society nor Security. And thus *Captives*, taken in a just and lawful War, and such only, are subject to a *Despotical Power*, which as it arises not from Compact, so neither is it capable of any, but is the state of War continued. For what Compact can be made with a Man that is not Master of his own Life? What Condition can he perform? And if he be once allowed to be Master of his own Life, the *Despotical, Arbitrary Power* of his Master ceases. He that is Master of himself, and his own Life, has a right too to the means of preserving it; so that as soon as Compact enters, *Slavery ceases*, and he so far quits his absolute Power, and puts an end to the state of War, who enters into Conditions with his Captive.

173. Nature gives the first of these, viz. *Paternal Power to Parents* for the Benefit of their Children during their Minority, to supply their want of Ability, and understanding how to manage their Property. (By Property I must be understood here, as in other places, to mean that Property which Men have in their Persons as well as Goods) *Voluntary Agreement* gives the second, viz. *Political Power to Governors* for the Benefit of their Subjects, to secure them in the Possession and Use of their Properties. And *Forfeiture* gives the third *Despotical Power to Lords* for their own Benefit, over those who are stripp'd of all Property.

174. He, that shall consider the distinct rise and extent, and the different ends of these several Powers, will plainly see, that *paternal Power* comes as far short of that of the *Magistrate*, as *Despotical* exceeds it; and that *absolute Dominion*, however placed, is so far from being one kind of civil Society, that it is as inconsistent with it, as *Slavery* is with Property. *Paternal Power* is only where Minority makes the Child incapable to manage his Property; *Political* where Men have Property in their own Disposal; and *Despotical* over such as have no Property at all.

CHAP. XVI.

Of CONQUEST.

175. **T**Hough Governments can originally have no other Rise than that before mentioned, nor *Polities* be founded on any thing but the Consent of the People; yet such has been the Disorders *Ambition* has fill'd the World with, that in the noise of War, which makes so great a part of the History of Mankind, this Consent is little taken notice of: And therefore many have mistaken the Force of Arms, for the Consent of the People; and reckon Conquest as one of the Originals

Originals of Government. But *Conquest* is as far from setting up any Government, as demolishing an House is from building a new one in the Place. Indeed it often makes way for a new Frame of a Commonwealth, by destroying the former; but, without the Consent of the People, can never erect a new one.

176. That the *Aggressor*, who puts himself into the state of War with another, and *unjustly invades* another Man's Right, *can*, by such an unjust War, *never* come to have a right over the *Conquered*, will be easily agreed by all Men, who will not think, that Robbers and Pyrates have a Right of Empire over whomsoever they have Force enough to master, or that Men are bound by Promises, which unlawful Force extorts from them. Should a Robber break into my House, and with a Dagger at my Throat, make me seal Deeds to convey my Estate to him, would this give him any Title? Just such a Title by his Sword, has an *unjust Conquerour*, who forces me into Submission. The Injury and the Crime is equal, whether committed by the wearer of a Crown, or some petty Villain. The Title of the Offender, and the Number of his Followers make no difference in the Offence, unless it be to aggravate it. The only difference is, Great Robbers punish little ones, to keep them in their Obedience, but the great ones are rewarded with Laurels and Triumphs, because they are too big for the weak hands of Justice in this World, and have the Power in their own Possession, which should punish Offenders. What is my Remedy against a Robber, that so broke into my House? *Appeal* to the Law for Justice. But perhaps Justice is deny'd, or I am crippled and cannot stir, Robbed and have not the means to do it. If God has taken away all means of seeking Remedy, there is nothing left but patience. But my Son, when able, may seek the Relief of the Law, which I am denied: He or his Son may renew his *Appeal*, till he recover his Right. But the *Conquered*, or their Children have no Court, no Arbitrator on Earth to appeal to. Then they may *Appeal*, as *Jephtha* did to *Heaven*, and repeat their *Appeal*, till they recovered the native Right of their Ancestors, which was, to have such a Legislative over them, as the Majority should approve, and freely acquiesce in. If it be objected, this would cause endless trouble; I answer, No more than Justice does, where she lies open to all that appeal to her. He that troubles his Neighbour without a Cause, is punished for it by the Justice of the Court he appeals to. And he that *appeals to Heaven*, must be sure he has Right on his side; and a Right too that is worth the Trouble and Cost of the Appeal, as he will answer at a Tribunal, that cannot be deceived, and will be sure to retribute to every one according to the Mischiefs he hath created to his Fellow Subjects; that is, any part of Mankind. From whence 'tis plain, that he that *Conquers in an unjust War* can thereby have no Title to the Subjection and Obedience of the *Conquered*.

177. But supposing Victory favours the right side, let us consider a *Conquerour in a lawful War*, and see what Power he gets, and over whom.

First, 'Tis plain he gets no Power by his Conquest over those that *Conquered with him*. They that fought on his side cannot suffer by the Conquest, but must at least be as much Freemen as they were before. And most commonly they serve upon Terms, and on Condition to share with their Leader, and enjoy a part of the Spoil, and other Advantages that attend the Conquering Sword: Or at least have a part of the subdued Country bestowed upon them. And the conquering People are not I hope to be Slaves by Conquest, and wear their Laurels only to shew they are Sacrifices to their Leaders Triumph. They that found absolute Monarchy upon the Title of the Sword make their Heroes, who are the Founders of such Monarchies, arrant *Draw-can-Sirs*, and forget they had any Officers and Soldiers that fought on their Side in the Battles they won, or assisted them in the subduing, or shared in possessing the Countries they master'd. We are told by some, that the *English* Monarchy is founded in the *Norman* Conquest, and that our Princes have thereby a Title to absolute Dominion: Which if it were true, (as by the History it appears otherwise) and that *William* had a Right to make War on this Island; yet his Dominion by Conquest could reach no farther than to the *Saxons* and *Britains*, that were then Inhabitants of this Country. The *Normans* that came with him, and helped to conquer, and all descended from them, are Freemen and no Subjects by Conquest: let that give what Dominion it will. And if I, or any Body else shall claim Freedom, as derived from them, it will be very hard to prove the contrary: And 'tis plain, the Law that has made no distinction between

tween the one and the other, intends not there should be any Difference in their Freedom or Privileges.

178. But supposing, which seldom happens, that the Conquerors and conquered never incorporate into one People, under the same Laws and Freedom, let us see next *what Power a lawful Conqueror has over the Subdued*. And that I say is purely despotical. He has an absolute Power over the Lives of those, who by an unjust War have forfeited them; but not over the Lives or Fortunes of those, who engaged not in the War, nor over the Possessions even of those, who were actually engaged in it.

179. Secondly, I say then the Conqueror gets no Power but only over those, who have actually assisted, concurr'd, or consented to that unjust Force, that is used against him. For the People having given to their Governours no Power to do an unjust thing, such as is to make an unjust War, (for they never had such a Power in themselves :) They ought not to be charged, as guilty of the Violence and Unjustice, that is committed in an Unjust War, any farther, than they actually abet it; no more, than they are to be thought guilty of any Violence or Oppression their Governours should use upon the People themselves, or any part of their Fellow Subjects, they having impowered them no more to the one, than to the other. Conquerours, 'tis true, seldom trouble themselves to make the distinction, but they willingly permit the Confusion of War to sweep all together; but yet this alters not the Right: For the Conqueror's Power over the Lives of the Conquered, being only because they have used Force to do, or maintain an Injustice, he can have that Power only over those, who have concurred in that Force, all the rest are innocent; and he has no more Title over the People of that Country, who have done him no Injury, and so have made no forfeiture of their Lives, than he has over any other, who without any Injuries or Provocations, have lived upon fair Terms with him.

180. Thirdly, The Power a Conqueror gets over those he overcomes in a just War, is perfectly despotical; he has an absolute Power over the Lives of those, who by putting themselves in a state of War, have forfeited them; but he has not thereby a Right and Title to their Possessions. This I doubt not, but at first Sight will seem a strange Doctrine, it being so quite contrary to the practice of the World; there being nothing more familiar in speaking of the Dominion of Countries, than to say such an one conquer'd it. As if Conquest, without any more ado, convey'd a Right of Possession. But when we consider, that the Practice of the strong and powerful, how universal soever it may be, is seldom the rule of Right, however it be one part of the Subjection of the Conquered, not to argue against the Conditions, cut out to them by the Conquering Sword.

181. Though in all War there be usually a complication of Force and Damage, and the Aggressor seldom fails to harm the Estate, when he uses Force against the Persons of those he makes War upon; yet 'tis the use of Force only that puts a Man into the state of War. For whether by Force he begins the Injury, or else having quietly, and by fraud, done the Injury, he refuses to make Reparation and by Force maintains it, (which is the same thing, as at first to have done it by Force) 'tis the unjust use of Force, that makes the War. For he that breaks open my House, and violently turns me out of Doors; or having peaceably got in, by Force keeps me out, does in Effect the same thing; supposing we are in such a state, that we have no common Judge on Earth, whom I may appeal to, and to whom we are both obliged to submit: For of such I am now speaking. 'Tis the unjust use of Force then, that puts a Man into the state of War with another, and thereby he, that is guilty of it, makes a forfeiture of his Life. For quitting Reason, which is the Rule given between Man and Man, and using Force the way of Beasts, he becomes liable to be destroyed by him he uses Force against, as any savage ravenous Beast, that is dangerous to his Being.

182. But because the miscarriages of the Father are no faults of the Children, and they may be rational and peaceable, notwithstanding the brutishness and injustice of the Father; the Father, by his Miscarriages and Violence, can forfeit but his own Life, but involves not his Children in his Guilt or Destruction. His Goods, which Nature that willeth the preservation of all Mankind as much as is possible, hath made to belong to the Children to keep them from perishing, do still continue to belong to his Children. For supposing them not to have joy'd

in the War, either through Infancy, Absence, or Choice, they have done nothing to forfeit them: *nor has the Conqueror any Right* to take them away, by the bare Title of having subdued him, that by Force attempted his Destruction; though perhaps he may have some Right to them, to repair the Damages, he has sustained by the War, and the Defence of his own Right; which how far it reaches to the possessions of the Conquered, we shall see by and by. So that he that by Conquest has a Right over a Man's Person to destroy him if he pleases, has *not* thereby a Right over his Estate to possess and enjoy it. For it is the brutal Force the Aggressor has used, that gives his Adversary a Right to take away his Life, and destroy him if he pleases, as a noxious Creature, but 'tis Damage sustain'd that alone gives him Title to another Man's Goods: For though I may kill a Thief that sets on me in the Highway, yet I may not (which seems less) take away his Money, and let him go; this would be Robbery on my side. His Force, and the state of War he put himself in, made him forfeit his Life, but gave me no Title to his Goods. The Right then of Conquest extends only to the Lives of those who joyn'd in the War, *not to their Estates*, but only in order to make Reparation for the Damages received, and the Charges of the War, and that too with Reservation of the right of the innocent Wife and Children.

§ 183. Let the Conqueror have as much Justice on his Side, as could be supposed, he has no Right to seize more than the vanquished could forfeit; his Life is at the Victor's Mercy, and his Service, and Goods he may appropriate, to make himself Reparation; but he cannot take the Goods of his Wife and Children; they too had a Title to the Goods he enjoy'd, and their Shares in the Estate he possessed. For Example, 'tis in the state of Nature (and all Commonwealths are in the state of Nature one with another) have injured another Man, and refusing to give Satisfaction, it comes to a state of War, wherein my defending by Force, what I had gotten unjustly, makes me the Aggressor. I am conquered: My Life, 'tis true, as forfeit, is at mercy, but not my Wives and Childrens. They made not the War, nor assisted in it. I could not forfeit their Lives, they were not mine to forfeit. My Wife had a Share in my Estate, that neither could I forfeit. And my Children also, being born of me, had a Right to be maintained out of my Labour or Substance. Here then is the Case; The Conqueror has a Title to Reparation for Damages received, and the Children have a Title to their Father's Estate for their Subsistence. For as to the Wife's share, whether her own Labour, or Compact gave her a Title to it, 'tis plain, her Husband could not forfeit what was hers. What must be done in the Case? I answer; The fundamental Law of Nature being, that all, as much as may be, should be preserved, it follows, that if there be not enough fully to satisfy both, *viz.* for the Conqueror's Losses, and Childrens Maintenance, he that hath, and to spare, must remit something of his full Satisfaction, and give way to the pressing and preferable Title of those, who are in Danger to perish without it.

§ 184. But supposing the Charge and Damages of the War are to be made up to the Conqueror, to the utmost Farthing; and that the Children of the Vanquished, spoiled of all their Father's Goods, are to be left to starve and perish; yet the satisfying of what shall, on this Score, be due to the Conqueror, will scarce give him a Title to any Country he shall conquer. For the Damages of War can scarce amount to the value of any considerable Tract of Land, in any part of the World, where all the Land is possessed, and none lies waste. And if I have not taken away the Conqueror's Land, which, being vanquished, it is impossible I should; scarce any other Spoil I have done him, can amount to the Value of mine, supposing it equally cultivated, and of an Extent any way coming near, what I had over run of his. The destruction of a Years Product or two, (for it seldom reaches four or five) is the utmost Spoil, that usually can be done. For as to Money, and such Riches, and Treasure taken away, these are none of Nature's Goods, they have but a phantastical imaginary Value: Nature has put no such upon them: They are of no more account by her Standard, than the Wampompeke of the Americans to an European Prince, or the Silver Money of Europe would have been formerly to an American. And five Years product is not worth the perpetual Inheritance of Land, where all is possessed, and none remains waste, to be taken up by him, that is disseiz'd: Which will be easily granted, if one do but take away the imaginary value of Money, the disproportion being more, than between five and

and five hundred. Though, at the same time, half a Years product is more worth than the Inheritance, where there being more Land, than the Inhabitants possess, and make use of, any one has Liberty to make use of the Waste: But there Conquerors take little Care to possess themselves of the *Lands of the Vanquished*. No Damage therefore, that Men in the state of Nature (as all Princes and Governments are in reference to one another) suffer from one another, can give a Conqueror Power to dispossess the Posterity of the Vanquished, and turn them out of that Inheritance, which ought to be the Possession of them and their Descendants to all Generations. The Conqueror indeed will be apt to think himself Master: And 'tis the very Condition of the Subdued not to be able to dispute their Right. But if that be all, it gives no other Title than what bare Force gives to the stronger over the weaker: And, by this reason, he that is strongest will have a Right to whatever he pleases to seize on.

185. Over those then that joyned with him in the War, and over those of the subdued Country that opposed him not, and the Posterity even of those that did, the Conqueror, even in a just War, hath, by his Conquest no *Right of Dominion*: They are free from any Subjection to him, and if their former Government be dissolved, they are at Liberty to begin and erect another to themselves.

186. The Conqueror, 'tis true, usually, by the Force he has over them, compels them, with a Sword at their Breasts, to stoop to his Conditions, and submit to such a Government as he pleases to afford them; but the Enquiry is, What Right he has to do so? If it be said, they submit by their own Consent, then this allows their own *Consent* to be necessary to give the Conqueror a Title to rule over them. It remains only to be considered, whether *Promises extorted by Force*, without Right, can be thought Consent, and how far they bind. To which I shall say, they bind not at all; because whatsoever another gets from me by Force, I still retain the Right of, and he is obliged presently to restore. He that forces my Horse from me, ought presently to restore him, and I have still a Right to retake him. By the same Reason, he that forced a *Promise* from me, ought presently to restore it, *i. e.* quit me of the Obligation of it; or I may resume it myself, *i. e.* chuse whether I will perform it. For the Law of Nature laying an Obligation on me only by the Rules she prescribes, cannot oblige me by the Violation of her Rules: Such is the extorting any thing from me by Force. Nor does it at all alter the Case to say, *I gave my Promise*, no more than it excuses the Force, and passes the Right, when I put my Hand in my Pocket, and deliver my Purse my self to a Thief, who demands it with a Pistol at my Breast.

187. From all which it follows, that the *Government of a Conqueror*, imposed by Force on the Subdued, against whom he had no Right of War, or who joyned not in the War against him, where he had Right, has no Obligation upon them.

188. But let us suppose, that all the Men of that Community being all Members of the same Body politick, may be taken to have joyn'd in that unjust War wherein they are subdued, and so their Lives are at the Mercy of the Conqueror.

189. I say, this concerns not their Children who are in their Minority. For since a Father hath not, in himself, a Power over the Life or Liberty of his Child, no act of his can possibly forfeit it. So that the Children, whatever may have happened to the Fathers, are Freemen, and the absolute Power of the Conqueror reaches no farther than the Persons of the Men that were subdued by him, and dies with them; and should he govern them as Slaves, subjected to his absolute arbitrary Power, he has no such *Right of Dominion over their Children*. He can have no Power over them but by their own Consent, whatever he may drive them to say or do; and he has no lawful Authority, whilst Force, and not Choice, compels them to Submission.

190. Every Man is born with a double Right: First, A *Right of Freedom to his Person*, which no other Man has a Power over, but the free Disposal of it lies in himself. Secondly, A *Right before any other Man, to inherit with his Brethren his Father's Goods*.

191. By the first of these, a Man is naturally free from Subjection to any Government, tho' he be born in a place under its Jurisdiction. But if he disclaim the lawful Government of the Country he was born in, he must also quit the Right that belong'd to him by the Laws of it, and the Possessions there descending to him from his Ancestors, if it were a Government made by their Consent.

192. By the second, the *Inhabitants* of any Country, who are descended, and derive a Title to their Estates from those who are subdued, and had a Government forced upon them against their free Consents, retain a Right to the Possession of their Ancestors, though they consent not freely to the Government, whose hard Conditions were by Force imposed on the Possessors of that Country. For the first Conqueror never having had a Title to the Land of that Country, the People who are the Descendants of, or claim under those who were forced to submit to the Yoke of a Government by Constraint, have always a Right to shake it off, and free themselves from the Usurpation or Tyranny which the Sword hath brought in upon them, till their Rulers put them under such a Frame of Government as they willingly and of choice consent to. Who doubts but the *Gracian* Christians, Descendants of the ancient Possessors of that Country, may justly cast off the Turkish Yoke which they have so long groaned under, whenever they have an Opportunity to do it? For no Government can have a Right to Obedience from a People who have not freely consented to it; which they can never be supposed to do, till either they are put in a full state of Liberty, to chuse their Government and Governors, or at least till they have such standing Laws, to which they have by themselves or their Representatives given their free Consent, and also till they are allow'd their due Property, which is so to be Proprietors of what they have, that no body can take away any part of it without their own Consent, without which, Men under any Government are not in the state of Freemen, but are direct Slaves under the Force of War.

193. But granting that the Conqueror in a just War has a Right to the Estates, as well as Power over the Persons, of the Conquered; which, 'tis plain, he hath not: Nothing of absolute Power will follow from hence, in the Continuance of the Government: Because the Descendants of these being all Freemen, if he grants them Estates and Possessions to inhabit his Country, (without which it would be worth nothing) whatsoever he grants them, they have, so far as it is granted, Property in. The Nature whereof is, that without a Man's own Consent it cannot be taken from him.

194. Their Persons are free by a native Right, and their Properties, be they more or less, are their own, and at their own dispose, and not at his; or else it is no Property. Supposing the Conqueror gives to one Man a thousand Acres, to him and his Heirs for ever, to another he lets a thousand Acres for his Life, under the Rent of 50*l.* or 500*l.* per Anni. Has not the one of these a Right to his thousand Acres for ever, and the other, during his Life, paying the said Rent? And hath not the Tenant for Life a Property in all that he gets over and above his Rent, by his Labour and Industry during the said Term, supposing it be double the Rent? Can any one say, the King, or Conqueror, after his Grant, may by his Power of Conqueror take away all, or part of the Land from the Heirs of one, or from the other during his Life, he paying the Rent? Or can he take away from either, the Goods or Money they have got upon the said Land, at his pleasure? If he can, then all free and voluntary Contracts cease, and are void in the World; there needs nothing to dissolve them at any time, but Power enough: And all the Grants and Promises of Men in Power, are but Mockery and Collusion. For can there be any thing more ridiculous than to say, I give you and yours this for ever; and that in the surest and most solemn way of conveyance can be devised: And yet it is to be understood, that I have Right, if I please, to take it away from you again to Morrow?

195. I will not dispute now whether Princes are exempt from the Laws of their Country; but this I am sure, they owe Subjection to the Laws of God, and Nature. No Body, no Power, can exempt them from the Obligations of that eternal Law. Those are so great, and so strong, in the Case of Promises, that Omnipotency itself can be tied by them. Grants, Promises, and Oaths, are Bonds that hold the Almighty: Whatever some Flatterers say to Princes of the World, who all together, with all their People joyned to them, are, in Comparison of the Great God, but as a Drop of the Bucket, or a Dust on the Balance, inconsiderable, nothing!

196. The short of the Case in Conquest is this, The Conqueror, if he have a just Cause, has a despotical Right over the Persons of all, that actually aided, and concurred in the War against him, and a Right to make up his Damage and Cost

out of their Labour and Estates, so he injure not the Right of any other. Over the rest of the People, if there were any that consented not to the War, and over the Children of the Captives themselves, or the Possessions of either, he has no Power; and so can have, by virtue of Conquest, no lawful Title himself to Dominion over them, or derive it to his Posterity; but is an Aggressor, if he attempts upon their Properties, and thereby puts himself in a state of War against them, and has no better a Right of Principality, he, nor any of his Successors, than *Hingar*, or *Hubba*, the *Danes* had here in *England*; or *Spartacus*, had he conquered *Italy*, would have had; which is to have their Yoke cast off, as soon as God shall give those under their Subjection Courage and Opportunity to do it. Thus, notwithstanding whatever Title the Kings of *Assyria* had over *Judah*, by the Sword, God assisted *Hezekiah* to throw off the Dominion of that conquering Empire. And the Lord was with *Hezekiah*, and he prospered; wherefore he went forth, and he rebelled against the King of *Assyria*, and served him not, 2 Kings xviii. 7. Whence it is plain, that shaking off a Power, which Force, and not Right hath set over any one, though it hath the Name of *Rebellion*, yet is no Offence before God, but is that which he allows and countenances, though even Promises and Covenants, when obtain'd by Force, have intervened. For 'tis very probable, to any one that reads the Story of *Abaz* and *Hezekiah* attentively, that the *Assyrians* subdued *Abaz*, and deposed him, and made *Hezekiah* King in his Father's Lifetime; and that *Hezekiah* by Agreement had done him Homage, and paid him Tribute all this time.

C H A P. XVII.

OF USURPATION.

197. **A**S Conquest may be called a foreign Usurpation, so Usurpation is a kind of domestick Conquest, with this Difference, that an Usurper can never have Right on his side, it being no Usurpation, but where one is got into the Possession of what another has Right to. This, so far as it is Usurpation, is a Change only of Persons, but not of the Forms and Rules of the Government: For if the Usurper extend his Power beyond what of Right belonged to the lawful Princes, or Governors of the Commonwealth, 'tis Tyranny added to Usurpation.

198. In all lawful Governments, the Designation of the Persons, who are to bear Rule, is as natural and necessary a part as the Form of the Government itself, and is that which had its Establishment originally from the People; the Anarchy being much alike, to have no Form of Government at all; or to agree, that it shall be monarchical, but to appoint no way to design the Person that shall have the Power, and be the Monarch. Hence all Commonwealths, with the Form of Government established, have Rules also of appointing those, who are to have any share in the publick Authority, and settled Methods of conveying the Right to them. For the Anarchy is much alike to have no Form of Government at all; or to agree that it shall be monarchical, but to appoint no way to know or design the Person that shall have the Power, and be the Monarch. Whoever gets into the Exercise of any part of the Power, by other ways than what the Laws of the Community have prescribed, hath no Right to be obeyed, though the Form of the Commonwealth be still preserved; since he is not the Person the Laws have appointed, and consequently not the Person the People have consented to. Nor can such an Usurper, or any deriving from him, ever have a Title, till the People are both at liberty to consent, and have actually consented to allow, and confirm in him the Power he hath till then usurped.

C H A P.

C H A P. XVIII.

Of TYRANNY.

199. **A**S Usurpation is the Exercise of Power, which another hath a Right to; so Tyranny is the Exercise of Power beyond Right, which no body can have a Right to. And this is making use of the Power any one has in his Hands; not for the Good of those who are under it, but for his own private separate Advantage. When the Governor, however intituled, makes not the Law, but his Will, the Rule; and his Commands and Actions are not directed to the Preservation of the Properties of his People, but the Satisfaction of his own Ambition, Revenge, Covetousness, or any other irregular Passion.

200. If one can doubt this to be Truth, or Reason, because it comes from the obscure Hand of a Subject, I hope the Authority of a King will make it pass with him. King James the First, in his Speech to the Parliament 1603, tells them thus, *I will ever prefer the Weal of the Publick, and of the whole Commonwealth, in making of good Laws and Constitutions, to any particular and private Ends of mine. Thinking ever the Wealth and Weal of the Commonwealth to be my greatest Weal and worldly Felicity; a Point wherein a lawful King doth directly differ from a Tyrant. For I do acknowledge, that the special and greatest point of Difference that is between a rightful King, and an usurping Tyrant, is this, That whereas the proud and ambitious Tyrant doth think, his Kingdom and People are only ordained for Satisfaction of his Desires and unreasonable Appetites; the righteous and just King doth by the contrary acknowledge himself to be ordained for the procuring of the Wealth and Property of his People. And again, in his Speech to the Parliament 1609, he hath these Words, The King binds himself by a double Oath, to the Observation of the fundamental Laws of his Kingdom. Tacitly, as by being a King, and so bound to protect as well the People, as the Laws of his Kingdom, and expressly by his Oath at his Coronation; so as every just King, in a settled Kingdom, is bound to observe that Paction made to his People, by his Laws in framing his Government agreeable thereunto, according to that Paction which God made with Noah after the Deluge. Hereafter, Seed-time and Harvest, and Cold and Heat, and Summer and Winter, and Day and Night, shall not cease while the Earth remaineth. And therefore a King governing in a settled Kingdom, leaves to be a King, and degenerates into a Tyrant, as soon as he leaves off to rule according to his Laws. And a little after, Therefore all Kings that are not Tyrants, or perjured, will be glad to bound themselves within the Limits of their Laws. And they that perswade them the contrary, are Vipers, and Pests both against them and the Commonwealth. Thus that learned King, who well understood the Notions of things, makes the Difference betwixt a King and a Tyrant to consist only in this, That one makes the Laws the Bounds of his Power, and the Good of the Publick, the End of his Government; the other makes all give way to his own Will and Appetite.*

201. 'Tis a Mistake to think this Fault is proper only to Monarchies; other Forms of Government are lyable to it, as well as that. For wherever the Power, that is put in any Hands for the Government of the People, and the Preservation of their Properties is applied to other Ends, and made use of to impoverish, harass, or subdue them to the arbitrary and irregular Commands of those that have it: There it presently becomes Tyranny, whether those that thus use it are one or many. Thus we read of the Thirty Tyrants at Athens, as well as One at Syracuse; and the intolerable Dominion of the Decemviri at Rome was nothing better.

202. Where-ever Law ends, Tyranny begins, if the Law be transgressed to another's harm. And whosoever in Authority exceeds the Power given him by the Law, and makes use of the Force, he has under his Command, to compass that upon the Subject, which the Law, allows not, ceases in that to be a Magistrate, and acting without Authority, may be opposed, as any other Man, who by force invades the Right of another. This is acknowledged in subordinate Magistrates. He that hath Authority to seize my Person in the Street, may be opposed as a Thief and a Robber, if he indeavours to break into my House to execute a Writ, notwithstanding

notwithstanding that I know, he has such a Warrant, and such a Legal Authority, as will empower him to Arrest me abroad. And why this should not hold in the highest, as well as in the most Inferiour Magistrate, I would gladly be informed. Is it reasonable, that the Eldest Brother, because he has the greatest part of his Father's Estate, should thereby have a Right to take away any of his younger Brother's Portions? Or that a Rich Man, who possessed a whole Country, should from thence have a Right to seize, when he pleased, the Cottage and Garden of his poor Neighbour? The being rightfully possessed of great Power and Riches exceeding beyond the greatest part of the Sons of Adam, is so far from being an Excuse, much less a Reason, for Rapine and Oppression, which the endangering another without Authority is, that it is a great Aggravation of it. For the exceeding the Bounds of Authority, is no more a Right in a great, than a petty Officer; no more justifiable in a King than a Constable: But is so much the worse in him, in that he has more trust put in him, has already a much greater share than the rest of his Brethren, and is supposed, from the advantages of his Education, Imployment, and Counsellors, to be more knowing in the measures of Right and Wrong.

203. May the Commands then of a Prince be Opposed? May he be resisted as often as any one shall find himself aggrieved, and but imagine he has not Right done him? This will unhinge and overturn all Politics, and instead of Government and Order, leave nothing but Anarchy and Confusion.

204. To this I answer: That Force is to be opposed to nothing, but to unjust and unlawful Force; whoever makes any opposition in any other Case, draws on himself a just Condemnation both from God and Man; and so no such Danger or Confusion will follow, as is often suggested. For,

205. First, As in some Countries, the Person of the Prince by the Law is Sacred; and so whatever he commands or does, his Person is still free from all Question or Violence, not liable to Force, or any Judicial Censure or Condemnation. But yet opposition may be made to the illegal Acts of any inferiour Officer, or other commissioned by him; unless he will by actually putting himself into a state of War with his People, dissolve the Government, and leave them to that Defence, which belongs to every one in the state of Nature. For of such things who can tell what the end will be? And a Neighbour Kingdom has shewed the World an odd Example. In all other Cases, the Sacredness of the Person exempts him from all Inconveniences, whereby he is secure, whilst the Government stands, from all violence and harm whatsoever; Than which there cannot be a wiser Constitution. For the harm he can do in his own Person not being likely to happen often, nor to extend it self far; nor being able by his single strength to subvert the Laws, nor oppress the Body of the People, should any Prince have so much Weakness, and ill Nature as to be willing to do it, the Inconveniency of some particular mischiefs, that may happen sometimes, when a heady Prince comes to the Throne, are well recompenced, by the peace of the Publick, and security of the Government, in the Person of the Chief Magistrate, thus set out of the reach of danger: It being safer for the Body, that some few private Men should be sometimes in danger to suffer, than that the Head of the Republick should be easily, and upon slight occasions exposed.

206. Secondly, But this Privilege belonging only to the King's Person, hinders not, but they may be questioned, opposed, and resisted, who use unjust Force, though they pretend a Commission from him, which the Law authorizes not. As is plain in the Case of him, that has the King's Writ to Arrest a Man, which is a full Commission from the King; and yet he that has it cannot break open a Man's House to do it, nor execute this Command of the King upon certain Days, nor in certain Places, though this Commission have no such exception in it, but they are the Limitations of the Law, which if any one transgresses, the King's Commission excuses him not. For the King's Authority being given him only by the Law, he cannot empower any one to act against the Law, or justify him, by his Commission in so doing. The Commission, or Command of any Magistrate, where he has no Authority, being as void and insignificant, as that of any private Man. The difference between the one and the other, being that the Magistrate has some Authority so far, and to such ends, and the private Man has none at all. For 'tis not the Commission, but the Authority, that gives the Right of acting; and against

the Law, there can be no Authority. But, notwithstanding such Resistance, the King's Person and Authority are still both secured, and so no danger to Governor or Government.

207. Thirdly, Supposing a Government wherein the Person of the Chief Magistrate is not thus Sacred; yet this Doctrine of the lawfulness of resisting all unlawful exercises of his Power, will not upon every slight occasion endanger him, or imbroil the Government. For where the injured Party may be relieved, and his Damages repaired by Appeal to the Law, there can be no pretence for Force, which is only to be used where a Man is intercepted from appealing to the Law. For nothing is to be accounted Hostile Force, but where it leaves not the remedy of such an Appeal. And 'tis such Force alone, that puts him that uses it into a state of War, and makes it lawful to resist him. A Man with a Sword in his Hand demands my Purse in the High-way, when perhaps I have not 12 d. in my Pocket; This Man I may lawfully kill. To another I deliver 100 l. to hold only whilst I alight, which he refuses to restore me, when I am got up again, but draws his Sword to defend the possession of it by Force, if I endeavour to retake it. The mischief this Man does me, is a hundred, or possibly a thousand times more, than the other perhaps intended me, (whom I killed before he really did me any) and yet I might lawfully kill the one, and cannot so much as hurt the other lawfully. The Reason whereof is plain; because the one using Force, which threatened my Life, I could not have time to appeal to the Law to secure it. And when it was gone, 'twas too late to appeal. The Law could not restore Life to my dead Carcass: The Loss was irreparable; which to prevent, the Law of Nature gave me a Right to destroy him, who had put himself into a state of War with me, and threatened my Destruction. But in the other Case, my Life not being in danger, I may have the benefit of appealing to the Law, and have Reparation for my 100 l. that way.

208. Fourthly, But if the unlawful acts done by the Magistrate, be maintained (by the Power he has got) and the remedy which is due by Law, be by the same Power obstructed; yet the Right of Resisting, even in such manifest Acts of Tyranny, will not suddenly, or on slight occasions, disturb the Government. For if it reach no farther than some private Mens Cases, though they have a right to defend themselves and to recover by force, what by unlawful Force is taken from them; yet the Right to do so, will not easily engage them in a Contest, wherein they are sure to perish; it being as impossible for one, or a few oppressed Men to disturb the Government, where the Body of the People do not think themselves concerned in it, as for a raving mad Man, or heady Malecontent to overturn a well-settled State; the People being as little apt to follow the one, as the other.

209. But if either these illegal Acts have extended to the Majority of the People; or if the Mischief and Oppression has light only on some few, but in such Cases, as the Precedent, and Consequences seem to threaten all, and they are perswaded in their Consciences, that their Laws, and with them their Estates, Liberties, and Lives are in danger, and perhaps their Religion too, how they will be hindered from resisting illegal force, used against them, I cannot tell. This is an Inconvenience, I confess, that attends all Governments whatsoever, when the Governours have brought it to this pass, to be generally suspected of their People; the most dangerous state which they can possibly put themselves in; wherein they are the less to be pitied, because it is so easy to be avoided; It being as impossible for a Governor, if he really means the good of his People, and the preservation of them, and their Laws together, not to make them see and feel it; as it is for the Father of a Family, not to let his Children see he loves, and takes care of them.

210. But if all the World shall observe Pretences of one kind, and Actions of another; Arts used to elude the Law, and the trust of Prerogative (which is an Arbitrary Power in some things left in the Prince's hand to do good, not harm to the People) employed, contrary to the end, for which it was given: If the People shall find the Ministers and subordinate Magistrates chosen suitable to such ends, and favoured, or laid by proportionably, as they promote, or oppose them: If they see several Experiments made of arbitrary Power, and that Religion underhand favoured, (though publicly proclaimed against) which is readiest to introduce it; and the Operators in it supported, as much as may be; and when that

that cannot be done, yet approved still, and liked the better: If a long Train of *Actings* shew the Councils all tending that way, how can a Man any more hinder himself from being perswaded in his own Mind, which way things are going; or from casting about how to save himself, than he could from believing the Captain of the Ship he was in, was carrying him, and the rest of the Company to *Algiers*, when he found him always steering that Course, though cross Winds, Leaks in his Ship, and want of Men and Provisions did often force him to turn his Course another way for some time, which he steadily returned to again, as soon as the Wind, Weather, and other Circumstances would let him?

C H A P. XIX.

Of the Dissolution of Government.

211. **H**E that will with any clearness speak of the *Dissolution of Government*, ought in the first place to distinguish between the *Dissolution of the Society*, and the *Dissolution of the Government*. That which makes the Community, and brings Men out of the loose state of Nature, into one *Politick Society*, is the Agreement which every one has with the rest to incorporate, and act as one Body, and so be one distinct Commonwealth. The usual, and almost only way whereby this Union is dissolved, is the Inroad of Foreign Force making a Conquest upon them. For in that Case, (not being able to maintain and support themselves, as one *intire and independent Body*) the Union belonging to that Body which consisted therein, must necessarily cease, and so every one return to the state he was in before, with a liberty to shift for himself, and provide for his own Safety as he thinks fit in some other Society. Whenever the *Society is dissolved*, 'tis certain the Government of that Society cannot remain. Thus Conquerours Swords often cut up Governments by the Roots, and mangle Societies to pieces, separating the subdued or scattered Multitude from the Protection of, and Dependence on that Society which ought to have preserved them from violence. The World is too well instructed in, and too forward to allow of this way of dissolving of Governments to need any more to be said of it; and there wants not much Argument to prove that where the *Society is dissolved*, the Government cannot remain; that being as impossible, as for the Frame of an House to subsist, when the Materials of it are scattered, and dissipated by a Whirl-wind; or jumbled into a confused heap by an Earth-quake.

212. Besides this over-turning from without, *Governments are dissolved from within*.

First, When the *Legislative is altered*. Civil Society being a state of Peace, amongst those who are of it, from whom the state of War is excluded by the *Umpirage*, which they have provided in their *Legislative*, for the ending all Differences, that may arise amongst any of them, 'tis in their *Legislative*, that the Members of a Commonwealth are united, and combined together into one coherent living Body. This is the *Soul that gives Form, Life, and Unity* to the Commonwealth: From hence the several Members have their mutual Influence, Sympathy, and Connexion: And therefore when the *Legislative* is broken, or dissolved, Dissolution and Death follows. For the *Essence and Union of the Society* consisting in having one Will, the *Legislative*, when once established by the Majority, has the declaring, and as it were keeping of that Will. The *Constitution of the Legislative* is the first and fundamental Act of Society, whereby provision is made for the *Continuation of their Union*, under the Direction of Persons, and Bonds of Laws, made by Persons authorized thereunto, by the Consent and Appointment of the People, without which no one Man, or number of Men, amongst them, can have Authority of making Laws, that shall be binding to the rest. When any one or more, shall take upon them to make Laws, whom the People have not appointed so to do, they make Laws without Authority, which the People are not therefore bound to Obey; by which means they come again to be out of Subjection, and may constitute to themselves a new *Legislative*, as they think best, being in full liberty to resist the force of those, who without Authority would impose

any thing upon them. Every one is at the disposal of his own Will, when those who had by the delegation of the Society, the declaring of the publick Will, are excluded from it, and others usurp the Place, who have no such Authority or Delegation.

213. This being usually brought about by such in the Commonwealth, who misuse the Power they have; it is hard to consider it aright, and know at whose door to lay it, without knowing the Form of Government in which it happens. Let us suppose then the Legislative placed in the Concurrence of three distinct Persons.

1. A single hereditary Person having the constant, supream, executive Power, and with it the Power of Convoking and Dissolving the other two within certain Periods of Time.

2. An Assembly of Hereditary Nobility.

3. An Assembly of Representatives chosen *pro tempore*, by the People: Such a Form of Government supposed, it is evident,

214. *First*, That when such a single Person, or Prince sets up his own arbitrary Will in place of the Laws, which are the will of the Society, declared by the Legislative, then the *Legislative is changed*. For that being in effect the Legislative, whose Rules and Laws are put in execution, and required to be obeyed; when other Laws are set up, and other Rules pretended, and enforced, than what the Legislative, constituted by the Society, have enacted, 'tis plain, that the *Legislative is changed*. Whoever introduces new Laws, not being thereunto authorized by the fundamental appointment of the Society, or subverts the old, disowns and overturns the Power by which they were made, and so sets up a *new Legislative*.

215. *Secondly*, When the Prince hinders the Legislative from assembling in its due time, or from acting freely, pursuant to those ends, for which it was constituted, the *Legislative is altered*. For 'tis not a certain number of Men, no, nor their meeting, unless they have also Freedom of debating, and Leisure of perfecting, what is for the good of the Society, wherein the Legislative consists; when these are taken away or altered, so as to deprive the Society of the due exercise of their Power, the *Legislative is truly altered*. For it is not Names, that constitute Governments, but the Use and Exercise of those Powers, that were intended to accompany them, so that he, who takes away the Freedom, or hinders the acting of the Legislative in its due Seasons, in effect takes away the *Legislative*, and puts an end to the Government.

216. *Thirdly*, When by the arbitrary Power of the Prince, the Electors, or ways of Election are altered, without the Consent, and contrary to the common Interest of the People, there also the *Legislative is altered*. For if others, than those whom the Society hath authorized thereunto, do chuse, or in another Way, than what the Society hath prescribed, those chosen are not the Legislative appointed by the People.

217. *Fourthly*, the Delivery also of the People into the Subjection of a foreign Power, either by the Prince, or by the Legislative, is certainly a *Change of the Legislative*, and so a *Dissolution of the Government*. For the end why People entered into Society being to be preserved one intire, free, independent Society, to be governed by its own Laws; this is lost, whenever they are given up into the Power of another.

218. Why in such a Constitution as this, the *Dissolution of the Government* in these Cases is to be imputed to the Prince, is evident; because he having the Force, Treasure and Offices of the State to employ, and often perswading himself, or being flattered by others, that as supream Magistrate he is incapable of controul; he alone is in a Condition to make great Advances toward such Changes, under pretence of lawful Authority, and has it in his Hands to terrifie or suppress Opposers, as factious, seditious, and Enemies to the Government: Whereas no other part of the Legislative, or People is capable by themselves to attempt any alteration of the Legislative, without open and visible Rebellion, apt enough to be taken notice of, which when it prevails, produces Effects very little different from foreign Conquest. Besides the Prince in such a form of Government, having the Power of dissolving the other parts of the Legislative, and thereby rendering them private Persons, they can never in Opposition to him, or without his Concurrence, alter the Legislative by a Law, his Consent being necessary to give

give any of their Decrees that Sanction. But yet so far as the other parts of the Legislative any Way contribute to any Attempt upon the Government, and do either promote, or not, what lies in them, hinder such Designs, they are guilty, and partake in this, which is certainly the greatest Crime Men can be guilty of one towards another.

219. There is one Way more whereby such a Government may be dissolved, and that is, when he who has the supream executive Power, neglects and abandons that Charge, so that the Laws already made can no longer be put in Execution. This is demonstratively to reduce all to Anarchy, and so effectually to *dissolve the Government*. For Laws not being made for themselves, but to be by their execution, the Bonds of the Society, to keep every part of the Body politic in its due Place and Function, when that totally ceases, the *Government visibly ceases*, and the People become a confused Multitude, without Order or Connexion. Where there is no longer the administration of Justice, for the securing of Mens Rights, nor any remaining Power within the Community to direct the Force, or provide for the Necessities of the Publick, there certainly is *no Government left*. Where the Laws cannot be executed, it is all one, as if there were no Laws, and a Government without Laws, is, I suppose, a Mystery in Politicks, unconceivable to human Capacity, and inconsistent with human Society.

220. In these and the like Cases, *when the Government is dissolved*, the People are at Liberty to provide for themselves, by erecting a new Legislative, differing from the other, by the change of Persons, or Form, or both, as they shall find it most for their Safety and Good. For the *Society* can never, by the Fault of another, lose the Native and Original Right it has to preserve it self, which can only be done by a settled Legislative, and a fair and impartial execution of the Laws made by it. But the state of Mankind is not so miserable that they are not capable of using this Remedy, till it be too late to look for any. To tell *People* they *may provide for themselves*, by erecting a new Legislative, when by Oppression, Artifice, or being delivered over to a foreign Power, their old one is gone, is only to tell them, they may expect Relief, when it is too late, and the evil is past Cure. This is in effect no more, than to bid them first be Slaves, and then to take care of their Liberty; and when their Chains are on, tell them, they may act like Freeman. This, if barely so, is rather Mockery, than Relief; and Men can never be secure from Tyranny, if there be no means to escape it, till they are perfectly under it: And therefore it is, that they have not only a Right to get out of it, but to prevent it.

221. There is therefore Secondly another Way whereby *Governments are dissolved*, and that is, when the Legislative, or the Prince either of them act contrary to their Trust.

First, The *Legislative acts against the Trust* reposed in them, when they endeavour to invade the Property of the Subject, and to make themselves, or any part of the Community, Masters, or arbitrary Disposers of the Lives, Liberties, or Fortunes of the People.

222. The Reason why Men enter into Society, is the preservation of their Property; and the End why they chuse and authorize a Legislative, is, that there may be Laws made, and Rules set, as Guards and Fences to the Properties of all the Members of the Society, to limit the Power, and moderate the Dominion of every part and member of the Society. For since it can never be supposed to be the will of the Society, that the Legislative should have a Power to destroy that, which every one designs to secure, by entering into Society, and for which the People submitted themselves to Legislators of their own making, whenever the *Legislators endeavour to take away, and destroy the property of the People*, or to reduce them to Slavery under arbitrary Power, they put themselves into a state of War with the People, who are thereupon absolved from any farther Obedience, and are left to the common Refuge, which God hath provided for all Men, against Force and Violence. Whensoever therefore the *Legislative* shall transgress this fundamental Rule of Society; and either by Ambition, Fear, Folly or Corruption, *endeavour to grasp themselves, or put into the Hands of any other an absolute Power over the Lives, Liberties, and Estates of the People*; By this breach of Trust they *forfeit the Power*, the People had put into their Hands, for quite contrary ends, and it devolves to the People, who have a Right to resume their original Liberty,

and, by the establishment of a new Legislative, (such as they shall think fit) provide for their own Safety and Security, which is the end for which they are in Society. What I have said here, concerning the Legislative in general, holds true also concerning the supreme Executor, who having a double Trust put in him, both to have a part in the Legislative, and the supreme Execution of the Law, acts against both, when he goes about to set up his own arbitrary Will, as the Law of the Society. He *acts* also *contrary to his Trust*, when he either employs the Force, Treasure, and Offices of the Society, to corrupt the *Representatives*, and gain them to his Purposes; or openly pre-ingles the *Electors*, and prescribes to their Choice, such, whom he has by Sollicitations, Threats, Promises, or otherwise won to his Designs; and employs them to bring in such, who have promised before-hand, what to Vote, and what to Enact. Thus to regulate Candidates and Electors, and new model the ways of Election, what is it but to cut up the Government by the Roots, and poison the very Fountain of publick Security? For the People having reserved to themselves the Choice of their *Representatives*, as the Fence to their Properties, could do it for no other end, but that they might always be freely chosen, and so chosen, freely act and advise, as the necessity of the Commonwealth, and the publick Good should, upon examination, and mature Debate, be judged to require. This, those who give their Votes before they hear the Debate, and have weighed the Reasons on all sides, are not capable of doing. To prepare such an Assembly as this, and endeavour to set up the declared Abettors of his own Will, for the true *Representatives* of the People, and the Law-makers of the Society, is certainly as great a *breach of Trust*, and as perfect a Declaration of a Design to subvert the Government, as is possible to be met with. To which, if one shall add Rewards and Punishments visibly imploy'd to the same end, and all the Arts of perverted Law made use of, to take off and destroy all, that stand in the way of such a Design, and will not comply and consent to betray the Liberties of their Country, 'twill be past doubt what is doing. What Power they ought to have in the Society, who thus imploy it contrary to the Trust went along with it in its first Institution, is easie to determine; and one cannot but see, that he, who has once attempted any such thing as this, cannot any longer be trusted.

223. To this perhaps it will be said, that the People being ignorant, and always discontented, to lay the foundation of Government in the unsteady Opinion and uncertain Humour of the People, is to expose it to certain Ruin; And *no Government will be able long to subsist*, if the People may set up a new Legislative, whenever they take offence at the old one. To this I answer, quite the contrary. People are not so easily got out of their old Forms, as some are apt to suggest. They are hardly to be prevailed with to amend the acknowledg'd Faults, in the Frame they have been accusom'd to. And if there be any original Defects, or adventitious ones introduced by time, or Corruption; 'tis not an easie thing to get them changed, even when all the World sees there is an Opportunity for it. This Slowness and Adversion in the People to quit their old Constitutions, has, in the many Revolutions which have been seen in this Kingdom, in this and former Ages still kept us to, or, after some interval of fruitless Attempts, still brought us back again to our old Legislative of King, Lords and Commons: And whatever Provocations have made the Crown be taken from some of our Princes Heads, they never carried the People so far, as to place it in another Line.

224. But 'twill be said, this *Hypothesis* lays a ferment for frequent Rebellion. To which I Answer,

First, No more than any other *Hypothesis*. For when the People are made miserable, and find themselves *exposed to the ill Usage of arbitrary Power*, cry up their Governors, as much as you will, for Sons of Jupiter, let them be Sacred and Divine, descended, or authoriz'd from Heaven; give them out for whom or what you please, the same will happen. *The People generally ill treated*, and contrary to right, will be ready upon any Occasion to ease themselves of a Burden, that sits heavy upon them. They will wish, and seek for the Opportunity, which in the change, weakness and accidents of human Affairs, seldom delays long to offer it self. He must have lived but a little while in the World, who has not seen Examples of this in his time; and he must have read very little, who cannot produce Examples of it in all sorts of Governments in the World.

225. Secondly,

225. Secondly, I answer, such *Revolutions* happen not upon every little Mismanagement in publick Affairs. *Great Mistakes* in the ruling Part, many wrong and inconvenient Laws, and all the *Slips* of human Frailty will be *born by the People* without Mutiny or Murmur. But if a long train of Abuses, Prevarications and Artifices, all tending the same Way, make the Design visible to the People, and they cannot but feel, what they lie under, and see, whither they are going; 'tis not to be wonder'd, that they should then rouse themselves, and endeavour to put the rule into such Hands, which may secure to them the ends for which Government was at first erected; and without which, ancient Names, and specious Forms, are so far from being better, that they are much worse, than the state of Nature, or pure Anarchy; the Inconveniencies being all as great and as near, but the Remedy farther off and more difficult.

226. Thirdly, I answer, That *this Doctrine* of a Power in the People of providing for their Safety a-new, by a new Legislative, when their Legislators have acted contrary to their Trust, by invading their Property, is *the best Fence against Rebellion*, and the probablest Means to hinder it. For *Rebellion* being an Opposition, not to Persons, but Authority, which is founded only in the Constitutions and Laws of the Government; those whoever they be, who by Force break through, and by Force justify their Violation of them, are truly and properly *Rebels*. For when Men by entering into Society and Civil-Government, have excluded Force, and introduced Laws for the preservation of Property, Peace, and Unity amongst themselves, those who set up Force again in Opposition to the Laws, do *rebellare*, that is, bring back again the state of War, and are properly Rebels: Which they who are in Power, (by the Pretence they have to Authority, the temptation of Force they have in their Hands, and the Flattery of those about them) being likeliest to do; the properest Way to prevent the Evil, is to shew them the Danger and Injustice of it, who are under the greatest Temptation to run into it.

227. In both the forementioned Cases, when either the Legislative is changed, or the Legislators act contrary to the End for which they were constituted; those who are guilty are *guilty of Rebellion*. For if any one by Force takes away the establish'd Legislative of any Society, and the Laws by them made, pursuant to their Trust, he thereby takes away the Umpirage, which every one had consented to, for a peaceable decision of all their Controversies, and a Bar to the state of War amongst them. They, who remove, or change the Legislative, take away this decisive Power, which no Body can have, but by the appointment and consent of the People; and so destroying the Authority, which People did, and no Body else can set up, and introducing a Power, which the People hath not authoriz'd, they actually *introduce a state of War*, which is that of Force without Authority: And thus by removing the Legislative establish'd by the Society, (in whose Decisions the People acquiesced and united, as to that of their own Will) they untie the Knot, and *expose the People anew to the state of War*. And if those, who by Force take away the Legislative, are *Rebels*, the *Legislators* themselves, as has been shewn, can be no less esteemed so; when they, who were set up for the protection, and preservation of the People, their Liberties and Properties, shall by Force invade and endeavour to take them away; and so they putting themselves into a state of War with those, who made them the Protectors and Guardians of their Peace, are properly, and with the greatest Aggravation, *Rebellantes, Rebels*.

228. But if they, who say it *lays a Foundation for Rebellion*, mean that it may occasion civil Wars, or intestine Broils, to tell the People they are absolved from Obedience, when illegal Attempts are made upon their Liberties or Properties, and may oppose the unlawful Violence of those, who were their Magistrates, when they invade their Properties contrary to the Trust put in them; and that therefore this Doctrine is not to be allow'd, being so destructive to the Peace of the World. They may as well say upon the same Ground, that honest Men may not oppose Robbers or Pirates, because this may occasion disorder or bloodshed. If any *Mischief* come in such Cases, it is not to be charged upon him who defends his own Right, but *on him, that invades his Neighbours*. If the innocent honest Man must quietly quit all he has for Peace sake, to him, who will lay violent Hands upon it, I desire it may be consider'd, what a kind of Peace there will be in the

the World, which consists only in Violence and Rapine; and which is to be maintain'd only for the benefit of Robbers and Oppressors. Who would not think it an admirable Peace betwixt the Mighty and the Mean, when the Lamb, without Resistance, yielded his Throat to be torn by the imperious Wolf? *Polyphemus's* Den gives us a perfect Pattern of such a Peace, and such a Government, wherein *Ulysses* and his Companions had nothing to do, but quietly to suffer themselves to be devour'd. And no doubt *Ulysses*, who was a prudent Man, preach'd up *passive Obedience*, and exhorted them to a quiet Submission, by representing to them of what concernment Peace was to Mankind; and by shewing the Inconveniencies might happen, if they should offer to resist *Polyphemus*, who had now the Power over them.

229. The end of Government is the good of Mankind; and which is *best for Mankind*, that the People should be always expos'd to the boundless will of Tyranny, or that the Rulers should be sometimes liable to be oppos'd, when they grow exorbitant in the use of their Power, and imploy it for the destruction, and not the preservation of the Properties of their People?

230. Nor let any one say, that mischief can arise from hence, as often as it shall please a busie head, or turbulent spirit, to desire the alteration of the Government. 'Tis true, such Men may stir, whenever they please, but it will be only to their own just Ruine and Perdition. For till the mischief be grown general, and the ill designs of the Rulers become visible, or their attempts sensible to the greater part, the People, who are more disposed to suffer, than right themselves by Resistance, are not apt to stir. The examples of particular Injustice, or Oppression of here and there an unfortunate Man, moves them not. But if they universally have a perswasion, grounded upon manifest Evidence, that designs are carrying on against their Liberties, and the general course and tendency of things cannot but give them strong suspicions of the evil intention of their Governors, who is to be blamed for it? Who can help it, if they, who might avoid it, bring themselves, into this suspicion? Are the People to be blamed, if they have the sence of rational Creatures, and can think of things no otherwise, than as they find and feel them? And is it not rather *their Fault*, who puts things into such a posture, that they would not have them thought to be as they are? I grant, that the Pride, Ambition, and Turbulency of private Men have sometimes caused great Disorders in Commonwealths, and Factions have been fatal to States and Kingdoms. But whether *the mischief* hath oftener begun in the *Peoples Wantonness*, and a desire to cast off the lawful Authority of their Rulers; or in the *Rulers Insolence*, and Endeavours to get, and exercise an Arbitrary Power over their People; whether Oppression, or Disobedience gave the first rise to the Disorder, I leave it to impartial History to determine. This I am sure, whoever, either Ruler or Subject, by force goes about to invade the Rights of either Prince or People, and lays the foundation for *overturning* the Constitution and Frame of *any Just Government*, is highly guilty of the greatest Crime, I think, a Man is capable of, being to answer for all those mischiefs of Blood, Rapine, and Desolation, which the breaking to pieces of Governments bring on a Country. And he who does it, is justly to be esteem'd the common Enemy and Pest of Mankind; and is to be treated accordingly.

231. That *Subjects* or *Foreigners* attempting by force on the Properties of any People, may be *resisted* with force, is agreed on all hands. But that *Magistrates*, doing the same thing, may be *resisted*, hath of late been denied: As if those who had the greatest Privileges and Advantages by the Law, had thereby a Power to break those Laws, by which alone they were set in a better place than their Brethren: Whereas their Offence is thereby the greater, both as being ungrateful for the greater share they have by the Law, and breaking also that Trust, which is put into their hands by their Brethren.

232. Whosoever uses *force without Right*, as every one does in Society, who does it without Law, puts himself into a *state of War* with those, against whom he so uses it, and in that state all former Ties are cancelled, all other Rights cease, and every one has a right to defend himself, and to *resist the Aggressor*. This is so evident, that *Barclay* himself, that great Assertor of the Power and Sacredness of Kings, is forced to confess, That it is lawful for the People, in
some

some Cases, to resist their King; and that too in a Chapter, wherein he pretends to shew, that the Divine Law shuts up the People from all manner of Rebellion. Whereby it is evident, even by his own Doctrine, that, since they may in some Cases resist, all resisting of Princes is not Rebellion. His words are these. *Quod si quis dicat, Ergone populus tyrannica crudelitate & furori jugulum semper præbebit? Ergone multitudo civitates suas fame, ferro, & flammâ vastari, seque, conjuges, & liberos fortuna ludibrio & tyranni libidini exponi, inque omnia vitæ pericula omnesque miseriae & molestias à Rege deduci patientur? Num illis quod omni animantium generi est à naturâ tributum, denegari debet, ut se vim vi repellant, seseq; ab injuriâ tueantur?* Huic breviter responsum sit, Populo universo negari defensionem, qua juris naturalis est, neque ultionem qua præter naturam est adversus Regem concedi debere. Quapropter si Rex non in singulares tantum personas aliquot privatum odium exerceat, sed corpus etiam Reipublicæ, cujus ipse caput est, i. e. totum populum, vel insignem aliquam ejus partem immani & intolerandâ sevitia seu tyrannide divexet; populo, quidem hoc casu resistendi ac ruendi se ab injuriâ potestas comperit, sed ruendi se tantum, non enim in principem invadendi: & restituendæ injuriæ illatæ, non recedendi à debitâ reverentiâ propter acceptam injuriam. Presentem denique impetum propulsandi non vim præteritam ulciscendi jus habet. Horum enim alterum à naturâ est, ut vitam scilicet corpusque tueamur. Alterum vero contra naturam, ut inferior de superiori supplicium sumat. Quod itaque populus malum, antequam factum sit, impedire potest, non fiat, id postquam factum est, in Regem authorem sceleris vindicare non potest: Populus igitur hoc amplius quam privatus quispiam habet: Quod huic, vel ipsis adversariis iudicibus, excepto Buchananò, nullum nisi in patientia remedium superest. Cum ille si intolerabilis tyrannus est (modicum enim ferre omnino debet) resistere cum reverentiâ possit, Barclay contra Monarchom. l. 3. c. 8.

In English thus.

233. But if any one should ask, must the People then always lay themselves open to the Cruelty and Rage of Tyranny? Must they see their Cities pillaged, and laid in Ashes, their Wives and Children exposed to the Tyrant's Lust and Fury, and themselves and Families reduced by their King to Ruine, and all the Miseries of Want and Oppression, and yet sit still? Must Men alone be debarred the common Privilege of opposing Force with Force, which Nature allows so freely to all other Creatures for their preservation from Injury? I answer: Self-defence is a part of the Law of Nature; nor can it be denied the Community, even against the King himself: But to revenge themselves upon him, must by no means be allowed them; it being not agreeable to that Law. Wherefore if the King shall shew an hatred, not only to some particular Persons, but sets himself against the Body of the Commonwealth, whereof he is the Head, and shall, with intolerable ill Usage, cruelly tyrannize over the whole, or a considerable part of the People, in this case the People have a right to resist and defend themselves from Injury: But it must be with this Caution, that they only defend themselves, but do not attack their Prince: They may repair the Damages received, but must not for any provocation exceed the bounds of due Reverence and Respect. They may repulse the present Attempt, but must not revenge past Violences. For it is natural for us to defend Life and Limb, but that an Inferiour should punish a Superiour, is against Nature. The mischief which is designed them, the People may prevent before it be done, but when it is done, they must not revenge it on the King, though Author of the Villany. This therefore is the Privilege of the People in general, above what any private Person hath; that particular Men are allowed by our Adversaries themselves, (Buchanan only excepted) to have no other Remedy but Patience; but the Body of the People may with Respect resist intolerable Tyranny; for when it is but moderate, they ought to endure it.

234. Thus far that great Advocate of Monarchical Power allows of Resistance.

235. 'Tis true, he has annexed two Limitations to it, to no purpose:

First, He says, it must be with Reverence.

Secondly, It must be without Retribution, or Punishment; and the Reason he gives is, Because an Inferiour cannot punish a Superiour.

First,

First, How to resist Force without striking again, or how to strike with Reverence, will need some Skill to make intelligible. He that shall oppose an Assault only with a Shield to receive the Blows, or in any more respectful Posture, without a Sword in his hand, to abate the Confidence and Force of the Assailant, will quickly be at an end of his Resistance, and will find such a defence serve only to draw on himself the worse Usage. This is as ridiculous a way of resisting, as Juvenal thought it of fighting; *ubi tu pulsas, ego vapulo tantum*. And the Success of the Combat will be unavoidably the same he there describes it:

Libertas pauperis hac est: Pulsatus rogat, & pugnis concisus, adorat, Ut liceat paucis cum dentibus inde reverti.

This will always be the event of such an imaginary Resistance, where Men may not strike again. He therefore who may resist, must be allowed to strike. And then let our Author, or any Body else join a knock on the Head, or a cut on the Face, with as much Reverence and Respect as he thinks fit. He that can reconcile blows and Reverence, may, for ought I know, deserve for his Pains, a Civil, Respectful, Cudgeling wherever he can meet with it.

Secondly, As to his Second, *An Inferiour cannot punish a Superiour*; that's true, generally speaking, whilst he is his Superiour. But to resist Force with Force, being the state of War that levels the Parties, cancels all former relation of Reverence, Respect, and Superiority: And then the odds that remains, is, That he, who opposes the unjust Aggressor, has this Superiority over him, that he has a Right, when he prevails, to punish the Offender, both for the Breach of the Peace, and all the Evils that followed upon it. Barclay therefore, in another place, more coherently to himself, denies it to be lawful to resist a King in any Case. But he there assigns two Cases, whereby a King may Un-king himself. His Words are,

Quid ergo, nulline casus incidere possunt quibus populo sese erigere atque in Regem impotentiorem dominantem arma capere & invadere jure suo suaque auctoritate liceat? Nulli certe quamdiu Rex manet. Semper enim ex divinis id obstat, Regem honorificato; & qui potestati resistit, Dei ordinationi resistit: Non alias igitur in eum populo potestas est quam si id committat propter quod ipso jure rex esse desinat. Tunc enim se ipse principatu exuit atque in privatis constituit liber: Hoc modo populus & superior efficitur, reverso ad eum sc. jure illo quod ante regem inauguratum in interregno habuit. At sunt paucorum generum commissa ejusmodi que hunc effectum pariunt. At ego cum plurima animo perlustrem, duo tantum invenio, duos, inquam, casus quibus rex ipso facto ex Rege non regem se facit & omni honore & dignitate regali atque in subditos potestate destituit; quorum etiam meminit Winzerus. Horum unus est, Si regnum disperdat, quemadmodum de Nerone fertur, quod is nempe senatum populumque Romanum, atque adeo urbem ipsam ferro flammaque vastare, ac novas sibi sedes querere decrevisset. Et de Caligula, quod palam denunciavit se neque civem neque principem senatui amplius fore, inque animo habuerit interempto utriusque ordinis Electissimo quoque Alexandriam commigrare, ac ut populum uno ictu interimeret, unam ei cervicem optavit. Talia cum rex aliquis meditatur & molitur serio, omnem regnandi curam & animum ilico abjicit, ac proinde imperium in subditos amittit, ut dominus servi pro derelicto habiti dominium.

236. Alter casus est, Si rex in alicujus clientelam se contulit, ac regnum quod liberum à majoribus & populo traditum accepit, aliena ditioni mancipavit. Nam tunc quamvis forte non eâ mente id agit populo plane ut incommodet: Tamen quia quod precipuum est regia dignitatis amisit, ut summus scilicet in regno secundum Deum sit, & solo Deo inferior, atque populum etiam totum ignorantem vel invitum, cujus libertatem sartam & tectam conservare debuit, in alterius gentis ditionem & potestatem dedit; hac velut quadam regni ab alienatione effecit, ut nec quod ipse in regno imperium habuit retineat, nec in eum cui collatum voluit, juris quicquam transferat; atque ita eo facto liberum jam & sue potestatis populum relinquit, cujus rei exemplum unum annales Scotici suppeditant. Barclay contra Monarchom. L. 3. c. 16.

Which

Which in English runs thus.

237. What then, Can there no Case happen wherein the People may of Right, and by their own Authority help themselves, take Arms, and set upon their King, imperiously domineering over them? None at all, whilst he remains a King. Honour the King, and he that resists the Power, resists the Ordinance of God; are Divine Oracles that will never permit it. The People therefore can never come by a Power over him, unless he does something that makes him cease to be a King. For then he divests himself of his Crown and Dignity, and returns to the state of a private Man, and the People become Free and Superiour, the Power which they had in the Interregnum, before they Crown'd him King, devolving to them again. But there are but few miscarriages which bring the matter to this State. After considering it well on all sides, I can find but two. Two Cases there are, I say, whereby a King, ipso facto, becomes no King; and loses all Power and Regal Authority over his People; which are also taken notice of by Winzerus.

The first is, If he endeavour to overturn the Government, that is, if he have a purpose and design to ruine the Kingdom and Commonwealth, as it is recorded of Nero, that he resolved to cut off the Senate and People of Rome, lay the City waste with Fire and Sword, and then remove to some other Place. And of Caligula, that he openly declar'd, that he would be no longer a Head to the People or Senate, and that he had it in his thoughts to cut off the worthiest Men of both Ranks, and then retire to Alexandria: And he wisht that the People had but one Neck, that he might dispatch them all at a blow. Such designs as these, when any King harbours in his thoughts, and seriously promotes, he immediately gives up all care and thought of the Commonwealth; and consequently forfeits the Power of Governing his Subjects, as a Master does the Dominion over his Slaves whom he hath abandon'd.

238. The other Case is, When a King makes himself the dependent of another, and subjects his Kingdom which his Ancestors left him, and the People put free into his hands, to the Dominion of another. For however perhaps it may not be his intention to prejudice the People; yet because he has hereby lost the principal part of Regal Dignity, viz. to be next and immediately under God, Supream in his Kingdom; and also because he betray'd or forced his People, whose liberty he ought to have carefully preserved into the Power and Dominion of a Foreign Nation. By this as it were alienation of his Kingdom, he himself loses the Power he had in it before, without transferring any the least right to those on whom he would have bestowed it; and so by this act sets the People free, and leaves them at their own disposal. One Example of this is to be found in the Scotch Annals.

239. In these Cases Barclay the great Champion of Absolute Monarchy, is forced to allow, That a King may be resisted, and ceases to be a King. That is, in short, not to multiply Cases, In whatsoever he has no Authority, there he is no King, and may be resisted: For wheresoever the Authority ceases, the King ceases too, and becomes like other Men who have no Authority. And these two Cases he instances in, differ little from those above-mention'd, to be destructive to Governments, only that he has omitted the Principle from which his Doctrine flows; and that is, The Breach of Trust, in not preserving the Form of Government agreed on, and in not intending the end of Government itself, which is the publick Good and preservation of Property. When a King has dethron'd himself, and put himself in a State of War with his People, what shall hinder them from prosecuting him who is no King, as they would any other Man, who has put himself into a state of War with them? Barclay, and those of his Opinion, would do well to tell us. This farther I desire may be taken notice of out of Barclay, that he says, The Mischief that is designed them, the People may prevent before it be done, whereby he allows Resistance when Tyranny is but in design. Such Designs as these (says he) when any King harbours in his thoughts and seriously promotes, he immediately gives up all Care and Thought of the Commonwealth; so that according to him the neglect of the publick Good is to be taken as an Evidence of such Design, or at least for a sufficient Cause of Resistance. And the reason of all, he gives in these Words, Because he betray'd or forced his People whose Liberty he ought carefully to have preserved. What he adds into the Power and Dominion of a Foreign Nation, signifies nothing, the Fault and Forfeiture lying in the Loss of their Li-

erty, which he ought to have preserved, and not in any Distinction of the Persons to whose Dominion they were subjected. The Peoples Right is equally invaded, and their Liberty lost, whether they are made Slaves to any of their own, or a *Foreign Nation*; and in this lies the Injury, and against this only have they the Right of Defence. And there are Instances to be found in all Countries, which shew, that 'tis not the change of Nations in the Persons of their Governours, but the change of Government, that gives the Offence. *Bilson*, a Bishop of our Church, and a great Stickler for the Power and Prerogative of Princes, does, if I mistake not, in his Treatise of *Christian Subjection*, acknowledge, That *Princes may forfeit their Power*, and their Title to the Obedience of their Subjects; and if there needed Authority in a Case where reason is so plain, I could send my Reader to *Bracton*, *Fortescue*, and the Author of the *Mirroure*, and others, Writers that cannot be suspected to be ignorant of our Government, or Enemies to it. But I thought *Hooker* alone might be enough to satisfy those Men, who relying on him for their Ecclesiastical Polity, are by a strange Fate carryed to deny those Principles upon which he builds it. Whether they are herein made the Tools of cunninger Workmen, to pull down their own Fabrick, they were best look. This I am sure, their Civil Policy is so new, so dangerous, and so destructive to both Rulers and People, that as former Ages never could bear the broaching of it; so it may be hoped, those to come, redeem'd from the Impositions of these *Egyptian Under-Taskmasters*, will abhor the Memory of such servile Flatterers, who whilst it seem'd to serve their turn, resolv'd all Government into absolute Tyranny, and would have all Men born to, what their mean Souls fitted them for, Slavery.

240. Here, 'tis like, the common Question will be made, *Who shall be Judge*, whether the Prince or Legislative act contrary to their Trust? This, perhaps, ill affected and factious Men may spread amongst the People, when the Prince only makes use of his due Prerogative. To this I reply; *The People shall be Judge*; for who shall be Judge whether his Trustee or Deputy acts well, and according to the Trust reposed in him; but he who deposes him, and must, by having deposed him, have still a Power to discard him, when he fails in his Trust? If this be reasonable in particular Cases of private Men, why should it be otherwise in that of the greatest moment, where the Welfare of Millions is concerned, and also where the Evil, if not prevented, is greater, and the Redress very difficult, dear, and dangerous?

241. But farther, this Question, (*Who shall be Judge?*) cannot mean, that there is no Judge at all. For where there is no Judicature on Earth, to decide Controversies amongst Men, *God in Heaven is Judge*. He alone, 'tis true, is Judge of the Right. But every Man is Judge for himself, as in all other Cases, so in this, whether another hath put himself into a state of War with him, and whether he should appeal to the Supreme Judge, as *Jephtha* did.

242. If a Controversie arise betwixt a Prince and some of the People, in a matter, where the Law is silent, or doubtful, and the thing be of great Consequence, I should think the proper *Umpire*, in such a Case, should be the Body of the People. For in Cases where the Prince hath a Trust reposed in him, and is dispensed from the common ordinary Rules of the Law; there, if any Men find themselves aggrieved, and think the Prince acts contrary to, or beyond that Trust, who so proper to judge as the Body of the People, (who, at first, lodg'd that Trust in him) how far they meant it should extend? But if the Prince, or whoever they be in the Administration, decline that way of Determination, the Appeal then lies no where but to Heaven. Force between either Persons, who have no known Superior on Earth, or which permits no Appeal to a Judge on Earth, being properly a state of War, wherein the Appeal lies only to Heaven, and in that State the injured Party must judge for himself, when he will think fit to make use of that Appeal, and put himself upon it.

243. To conclude, The Power that every Individual gave the Society, when he entered into it, can never revert to the Individuals again, as long as the Society lasts, but will always remain in the Community; because without this, there can be no Community, no Commonwealth, which is contrary to the original Agreement: So also when the Society hath placed the Legislative in any Assembly

Assembly of Men, to continue in them and their Successors, with Direction and Authority for providing such Successors, *the Legislative can never revert to the People whilst that Government lasts*: Because having provided a Legislative with Power to continue for ever, they have given up their Political Power to the Legislative, and cannot resume it. But if they have set Limits to the Duration of their Legislative, and made this supreme Power in any Person, or Assembly, only temporary: Or else, when by the Miscarriages of those in Authority, it is forfeited; upon the Forfeiture, or at the Determination of the Time set, *it reverts to the Society*, and the People have a Right to act as Supreme, and continue the Legislative in themselves; or erect a new Form, or under the old Form place it in new Hands, as they think good.



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A L E T.

TO THE
READER
A
LETTER

CONCERNING
TOLERATION:

Humbly Submitted, &c.

*Ea est summa ratio & sapientia boni civis commoda civium non divellere, atq; omnes a-
quitate eâdem continere. Cic. de Officiis.*

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ALET

TO THE READER.

THE Ensuing Letter concerning Toleration, first printed in Latin this very Year, in Holland, has already been translated both into Dutch and French. So general and speedy an Approbation may therefore bespeak its favourable Reception in England. I think indeed there is no Nation under Heaven, in which so much has already been said upon that Subject, as Ours. But yet certainly there is no People that stand in more need of having something further both said and done amongst them, in this Point, than We do.

Our Government has not only been partial in Matters of Religion; but those also who have suffered under that Partiality, and have therefore endeavoured by their Writings to vindicate their own Rights and Liberties, have for the most part done it upon narrow Principles, suited only to the Interests of their own Sects.

This narrowness of Spirit on all sides has undoubtedly been the principal Occasion of our Miseries and Confusions. But whatever have been the Occasion, it is now high time to seek for a thorow Cure. We have need of more generous Remedies than what have yet been made use of in our Distemper. It is neither Declarations of Indulgence, nor Acts of Comprehension, such as have yet been practised or projected amongst us, that can do the Work. The first will but palliate, the second encrease our Evil.

Absolute Liberty, just and True Liberty, Equal and Impartial Liberty, is the thing that we stand in need of. Now tho' this has indeed been much talked of, I doubt it has not been much understood; I am sure not at all practised, either by our Governours towards the People in general, or by any dissenting Parties of the People towards one another.

I cannot therefore but hope that this Discourse, which treats of that Subject, however briefly, yet more exactly than any we have yet seen, demonstrating both the Equitableness and Practicableness of the thing, will be esteemed highly seasonable, by all Men that have Souls large enough to prefer the true Interest of the Publick, before that of a Party.

It is for the use of such as are already so spirited, or to inspire that Spirit into those that are not, that I have translated it into our Language. But the thing itself is so short, that it will not bear a longer Preface. I leave it therefore to the Consideration of my Countrymen, and heartily wish they may make the use of it that it appears to be designed for.

A LET-

T H E
A
L E T T E R
C O N C E R N I N G
T O L E R A T I O N .

Honoured Sir,

SINCE you are pleased to enquire what are my Thoughts about the mutual Toleration of Christians in their different Professions of Religion, I must needs answer you freely, That I esteem that Toleration to be the chief characteristical Mark of the True Church. For whatsoever some People boast of the Antiquity of Places and Names, or of the Pomp of their outward Worship; Others, of the Reformation of their Discipline; All, of the Orthodoxy of their Faith; (for every one is Orthodox to himself:) These things, and all others of this nature, are much rather Marks of Men striving for Power and Empire over one another, than of the Church of Christ. Let any one have never so true a Claim to all these things, yet if he be destitute of Charity, Meekness, and Good-will in general towards all Mankind, even to those that are not Christians, he is certainly yet short of being a true Christian himself. *The Kings of the Gentiles exercise Lordship over them,* said our Saviour to his Disciples, *but ye shall not be so.* The Business of true Religion is quite another thing. It is not instituted in order to the erecting of an external Pomp, nor to the obtaining of Ecclesiastical Dominion, nor to the exercising of compulsive Force; but to the regulating of Mens Lives according to the Rules of Vertue and Piety. Whosoever will lift himself under the Banner of Christ, must in the first place, and above all things, make War upon his own Lusts and Vices. It is in vain for any Man to usurp the Name of Christian, without Holiness of Life, Purity of Manners, and Benignity and Meekness of Spirit. *Let every one that nameth the Name of Christ, depart from Iniquity. Thou, when thou art converted, strengthen thy Brethren,* said our Lord to Peter. It would indeed be very hard for one that appears careless about his own Salvation, to persuade me that he were extremely concern'd for mine. For it is impossible that those should sincerely and heartily apply themselves to make other People Christians, who have not really embraced the Christian Religion in their own Hearts. If the Gospel and the Apostles may be credited, no Man can be a Christian without Charity, and without *that Faith which works*, not by Force, but by Love. Now I appeal to the Consciences of those that persecute, torment, destroy, and kill other Men upon pretence of Religion, whether they do it out of Friendship and Kindness towards them, or no: And I shall then indeed, and not till then, believe they do so, when I shall see those fiery Zealots correcting, in the same manner, their Friends and familiar Acquaintance, for the manifest Sins they commit against the Precepts of

Luk. 22.
25.

2Tim. 2.

19.

Luk. 22.

32.

of the Gospel; when I shall see them prosecute with Fire and Sword the Members of their own Communion that are tainted with enormous Vices, and without Amendment are in danger of eternal Perdition; and when I shall see them thus express their Love and Desire of the Salvation of their Souls, by the Infliction of Torments, and Exercise of all manner of Cruelties. For if it be out of a Principle of Charity, as they pretend, and Love to Mens Souls, that they deprive them of their Estates, maim them with corporal Punishments, starve and torment them in noisome Prisons, and in the end even take away their Lives; I say, if all this be done merely to make Men Christians, and procure their Salvation, why then do they suffer *Whoredom, Fraud, Malice, and such like Enormities*, which (according to Rom. 12. the Apostle) manifestly relish of heathenish Corruption, to predominate so much and abound amongst their Flocks and People? These, and such like things, are certainly more contrary to the Glory of God, to the Purity of the Church, and to the Salvation of Souls, than any conscientious Dissent from Ecclesiastical Decision, or Separation from Publick Worship, whilst accompanied with Innocency of Life. Why then does this burning Zeal for God, for the Church, and for the Salvation of Souls; burning, I say, literally, with Fire and Faggot; pass by those moral Vices and Wickednesses, without any Chastisement, which are acknowledged by all Men to be diametrically opposite to the Profession of Christianity; and bend all its Nerves either to the introducing of Ceremonies, or to the establishment of Opinions, which for the most part are about nice and intricate Matters, that exceed the Capacity of ordinary Understandings? Which of the Parties contending about these things is in the right, which of them is guilty of Schism or Heresie, whether those that domineer or those that suffer, will then at last be manifest, when the Cause of their Separation comes to be judged of. He certainly that follows Christ, embraces his Doctrine, and bears his Yoke, tho' he forsake both Father and Mother, separate from the publick Assemblies and Ceremonies of his Country, or whomsoever, or whatsoever else he relinquishes, will not then be judged an Heretick.

Now, tho' the Divisions that are amongst Sects should be allowed to be never so obstructive of the Salvation of Souls; yet nevertheless *Adultery, Fornication, Uncleanness, Lasciviousness, Idolatry, and such like things, cannot be denied* Gal. 5. *to be Works of the Flesh*; concerning which the Apostle has expressly declared, that *they who do them shall not inherit the Kingdom of God*. Whosoever therefore is sincerely solicitous about the Kingdom of God, and thinks it his Duty to endeavour the Enlargement of it amongst Men, ought to apply himself with no less Care and Industry to the rooting out of these Immoralities, than to the Extirpation of Sects. But if any one do otherwise, and whilst he is cruel and implacable towards those that differ from him in Opinion, he be indulgent to such Iniquities and Immoralities as are unbecoming the Name of a Christian, let such a one talk never so much of the Church he plainly demonstrates by his Actions, that 'tis another Kingdom he aims at, and not the Advancement of the Kingdom of God.

That any Man should think fit to cause another Man, whose Salvation he heartily desires, to expire in Torments, and that even in an unconverted Estate, would, I confess, seem very strange to me, and, I think, to any other also. But no body, surely, will ever believe that such a Carriage can proceed from Charity, Love, or Good-will. If any one maintain that Men ought to be compelled by Fire and Sword to profess certain Doctrines, and conform to this or that exterior Worship, without any regard had unto their Morals; if any one endeavour to convert those that are erroneous unto the Faith, by forcing them to profess things that they do not believe, and allowing them to practise things that the Gospel does not permit; it cannot be doubted indeed but such a one is desirous to have a numerous Assembly joyned in the same Profession with himself; but that he principally intends by those means to compose a truly Christian Church, is altogether incredible. It is not therefore to be wondred at, if those who do not really contend for the Advancement of the true Religion, and of the Church of Christ, make use of Arms that do not belong to the Christian Warfare. If, like the Captain of our Salvation, they sincerely desired the Good of Souls, they would tread in the Steps, and follow the perfect Example of that Prince of Peace, who sent out his Soldiers to the subduing of Nations, and gathering them into his Church, not armed with the Sword, or other Instruments

A Letter concerning Toleration.

of Force, but prepared with the Gospel of Peace, and with the exemplary Holiness of their Conversation. This was his Method: Tho' if Infidels were to be converted by Force, if those that are either blind or obstinate were to be drawn off from their Errors by armed Soldiers, we know very well that it was much more easie for him to do it with Armies of heavenly Legions, than for any Son of the Church, how potent soever, with all his Dragoons.

The Toleration of those that differ from others in Matters of Religion, is so agreeable to the Gospel of Jesus Christ, and to the genuine Reason of Mankind, that it seems monstrous for Men to be so blind, as not to perceive the Necessity and Advantage of it, in so clear a Light. I will not here tax the Pride and Ambition of some, the Passion and uncharitable Zeal of others. These are Faults from which humane Affairs can perhaps scarce ever be perfectly freed; but yet such as no body will bear the plain Imputation of, without covering them with some specious Colour; and so pretend to Commendation, whilst they are carried away by their own irregular Passions. But however, that some may not colour their Spirit of Persecution and unchristian Cruelty, with a Pretence of Care of the Publick Weal, and Observation of the Laws; and that others, under Pretence of Religion, may not seek Impunity for their Libertinism and Licentiousness; in a word, that none may impose either upon himself or others, by the Pretences of Loyalty and Obedience to the Prince, or of Tendernefs and Sincerity in the Worship of God; I esteem it above all things necessary to distinguish exactly the Business of Civil Government from that of Religion, and to settle the just Bounds that lie between the one and the other. If this be not done, there can be no End put to the Controversies that will be always arising between those that have, or at least pretend to have, on the one side, a Care of the Commonwealth.

The Commonwealth seems to me to be a Society of Men constituted only for the procuring, preserving, and advancing their own *Civil Interests*.

Civil Interests I call Life, Liberty, Health, and Indolency of Body; and the Possession of outward things, such as Money, Lands, Houses, Furniture, and the like.

It is the Duty of the Civil Magistrate, by the impartial Execution of equal Laws, to secure unto all the People in general, and to every one of his Subjects in particular, the just Possession of these things belonging to this Life. If any one presume to violate the Laws of Publick Justice and Equity, established for the Preservation of those things, his Presumption is to be check'd by the fear of Punishment, consisting of the Deprivation or Diminution of those Civil Interests, or Goods, which otherwise he might and ought to enjoy. But seeing no Man does willingly suffer himself to be punished by the Deprivation of any part of his Goods, and much less of his Liberty or Life, therefore is the Magistrate armed with the Force and Strength of all his Subjects, in order to the Punishment of those that violate any other Man's Rights.

Now that the whole Jurisdiction of the Magistrate reaches only to these Civil Concernments; and that all Civil Power, Right and Dominion, is bounded and confined to the only care of promoting these things; and that it neither can nor ought in any manner to be extended to the Salvation of Souls, these following Considerations seem unto me abundantly to demonstrate.

First, Because the Care of Souls is not committed to the Civil Magistrate, any more than to other Men. It is not committed unto him, I say, by God; because it appears not that God has ever given any such Authority to one Man over another, as to compel any one to his Religion. Nor can any such Power be vested in the Magistrate by the *Consent of the People*; because no Man can so far abandon the Care of his own Salvation, as blindly to leave it to the choice of any other, whether Prince or Subject, to prescribe to him what Faith or Worship he shall embrace. For no Man can, if he would, conform his Faith to the Dictates of another. All the Life and Power of true Religion consist in the outward and full Persuasion of the Mind; and Faith is not Faith without believing. Whatever Profession we make, to whatever outward Worship we conform, if we are not fully satisfied in our own Mind that the one is true, and the other well pleasing unto God, such Profession and such Practice, far from being any Furtherance, are indeed great Obstacles to our Salvation. For in this manner, instead of expi-

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ating other Sins by the Exercise of Religion, I say in offering thus unto God Almighty such a Worship as we esteem to be displeasing unto him, we add unto the Number of our other Sins, those also of Hypocrisy, and Contempt of his Divine Majesty.

In the second place. The care of Souls cannot belong to the Civil Magistrate, because his Power consists only in outward force; but true and saving Religion consists in the inward persuasion of the Mind, without which nothing can be acceptable to God. And such is the nature of the Understanding, that it cannot be compell'd to the Belief of any thing by outward Force. Confiscation of Estate, Imprisonment, Torments, nothing of that nature can have any such Efficacy as to make Men change the inward Judgment that they have framed of things.

It may indeed be alledged, that the Magistrate may make use of Arguments, and thereby draw the Heterodox into the way of Truth, and procure their Salvation. I grant it; but this is common to him with other Men. In teaching, instructing, and redressing the Erroneous by Reason, he may certainly do what becomes any good Man to do. Magistracy does not oblige him to put off either Humanity or Christianity. But it is one thing to persuade, another to command; one thing to press with Arguments, another with Penalties. This Civil Power alone has a right to do; to the other Good-will is Authority enough. Every Man has Commission to admonish, exhort, convince another of Error, and by reasoning to draw him into Truth: but to give Laws, receive Obedience, and compel with the Sword, belongs to none but the Magistrate. And upon this ground I affirm, that the Magistrate's Power extends not to the establishing of any Articles of Faith, or Forms of Worship, by the Force of his Laws. For Laws are of no Force at all without Penalties, and Penalties in this Case are absolutely impertinent; because they are not proper to convince the Mind. Neither the Profession of any Articles of Faith, nor the Conformity to any outward Form of Worship, (as has been already said) can be available to the Salvation of Souls, unless the truth of the one, and the acceptableness of the other unto God, be thoroughly believed by those that so profess and practise. But Penalties are no ways capable to produce such Belief. It is only Light and Evidence that can work a Change in Mens Opinions; which Light can in no manner proceed from corporal Sufferings, or any other outward Penalties.

In the third place, The Care of the Salvation of Mens Souls cannot belong to the Magistrate; because, though the rigour of Laws and the force of Penalties were capable to convince and change Mens Minds, yet would not that help at all to the Salvation of their Souls. For there being but one Truth, one way to Heaven; what Hopes is there that more Men would be led into it, if they had no Rule but the Religion of the Court, and were put under a Necessity to quit the Light of their own Reason, and oppose the Dictates of their own Consciences, and blindly to resign up themselves to the Will of their Governors, and to the Religion, which either Ignorance, Ambition, or Superstition had chanced to establish in the Countries where they were born? In the variety and contradiction of Opinions in Religion, wherein the Princes of the World are as much divided as in their Secular Interests, the narrow way would be much straitned; one Country alone would be in the right, and all the rest of the World put under an obligation of following their Princes in the ways that lead to Destruction; and that which heightens the Absurdity, and very ill suits the Notion of a Deity, Men would owe their eternal Happiness or Misery to the places of their Nativity.

These Considerations, to omit many others that might have been urged to the same purpose, seem unto me sufficient to conclude that all the Power of Civil Government relates only to Mens Civil Interests, is confined to the care of the things of this World, and hath nothing to do with the World to come.

Let us now consider what a Church is. A Church then I take to be a voluntary Society of Men, joining themselves together of their own accord, in order to the publick worshipping of God, in such a manner as they judge acceptable to him, and effectual to the Salvation of their Souls.

I say it is a free and voluntary Society. No body is born a Member of any Church; otherwise the Religion of Parents would descend unto Children, by the same right of Inheritance as their Temporal Estates, and every one would hold

his Faith by the same Tenure he does his Lands; than which, nothing can be imagined more absurd. Thus therefore that matter stands. No Man by nature is bound unto any particular Church or Sect, but every one joins himself voluntarily to that Society in which he believes he has found that Profession and Worship which is truly acceptable to God. The hopes of Salvation, as it was the only Cause of his Entrance into that Communion, so it can be the only reason of his stay there. For if afterwards he discover any thing either erroneous in the Doctrine, or incongruous in the Worship of that Society to which he has joyn'd himself, why should it not be as free for him to go out as it was to enter? No Member of a religious Society can be tied with any other Bonds but what proceed from the certain Expectation of Eternal Life. A Church then is a Society of Members voluntarily uniting to this End.

It follows now that we consider what is the Power of this Church, and unto what Laws it is subject.

Forasmuch as no Society, how free soever, or upon whatsoever slight Occasion instituted, (whether of Philosophers for Learning, of Merchants for Commerce, or of Men of Leisure for mutual Conversation and Discourse,) no Church or Company, I say, can in the least subsist and hold together, but will presently dissolve and break to pieces, unless it be regulated by some Laws, and the Members all consent to observe some Order. Place, and Time of Meeting must be agreed on; Rules for admitting and excluding Members must be establish'd; Distinction of Officers, and putting things into a regular Course, and such like, cannot be omitted. But since the joyning together of several Members into this Church-Society, as has already been demonstrated, is absolutely free and spontaneous, it necessarily follows, that the Right of making its Laws can belong to none but the Society itself, or at least (which is the same thing) to those whom the Society by common Consent has authoris'd thereunto.

Some perhaps may object, that no such Society can be said to be a true Church, unless it have in it a Bishop, or Presbyter, with ruling Authority derived from the very Apostles, and continued down unto the present times by an uninterrupted Succession.

To these I answer. *In the first place*, Let them shew me the Edict by which Christ has impos'd that Law upon his Church. And let not any Man think me impertinent, if, in a thing of this Consequence, I require that the Terms of that Edict be very exp'ress and positive. For the Promise he has made us, that *where-soever two or three are gathered together in his Name, he will be in the midst of them*, seems to imply the contrary. Whether such an Assembly want any thing necessary to a true Church, pray do you consider. Certain I am, that nothing can be there wanting unto the Salvation of Souls; which is sufficient to our purpose.

Next, Pray observe how great have always been the Divisions amongst even those who lay so much stress upon the Divine Institution, and continued Succession of a certain Order of Rulers in the Church. Now their very Dissention unavoidably puts us upon a Necessity of deliberating, and consequently allows a liberty of choosing that, which upon Consideration we prefer.

And in the last place, I consent that these Men have a Ruler of their Church, established by such a long Series of Succession as they judge necessary; provided I may have liberty at the same time to join my self to that Society, in which I am perswaded those things are to be found which are necessary to the Salvation of my Soul. In this manner Ecclesiastical Liberty will be preserved on all sides, and no Man will have a Legillator impos'd upon him, but whom himself has chosen.

But since Men are so solicitous about the true Church, I would only ask them here by the way, if it be not more agreeable to the Church of Christ, to make the Conditions of her Communion consist in such things, and such things only, as the Holy Spirit has in the Holy Scriptures declared, in exp'ress Words, to be necessary to Salvation; I ask, I say, whether this be not more agreeable to the Church of Christ, than for Men to impose their own Inventions and Interpretations upon others, as if they were of Divine Authority, and to establish by Ecclesiastical Laws, as absolutely necessary to the Profession of Christianity, such things as the Holy Scriptures do either not mention, or at least not exp'ressly command. Who-soever requires those things in order to Ecclesiastical Communion,

on, which Christ does not require in order to Life Eternal, he may perhaps indeed constitute a Society accommodated to his own Opinion and his own Advantage, but how that can be called the Church of Christ, which is established upon Laws that are not his, and which excludes such Persons from its Communion, as he will one Day receive into the Kingdom of Heaven, I understand not. But this being not a proper place to enquire into the Marks of the true Church, I will only mind those that contend so earnestly for the Decrees of their own Society, and that cry out continually the Church, the Church, with as much Noise, and perhaps upon the same Principle, as the *Ephesian* Silversmiths did for their *Diana*; this, I say, I desire to mind them of, That the Gospel frequently declares that the true Disciples of Christ must suffer Persecution; but that the Church of Christ should persecute others, and force others by Fire and Sword, to embrace her Faith and Doctrine, I could never yet find in any of the Books of the New Testament.

The End of a Religious Society (as has already been said) is the Publick Worship of God, and by means thereof the Acquisition of Eternal Life. All Discipline ought therefore to tend to that End, and all Ecclesiastical Laws to be thereunto confined. Nothing ought, nor can be transacted in this Society, relating to the Possession of civil and worldly Goods. No Force is here to be made use of, upon any Occasion whatsoever: For Force belongs wholly to the Civil Magistrate, and the Possession of all outward Goods is subject to his Jurisdiction.

But it may be asked, By what means then shall Ecclesiastical Laws be established, if they must be thus destitute of all Compulsive Power? I answer, They must be established by Means suitable to the Nature of such Things, whereof the external Profession and Observation, if not proceeding from a thorow Conviction and Approbation of the Mind, is altogether useless and unprofitable. The Arms by which the Members of this Society are to be kept within their Duty, are Exhortations, Admonitions, and Advices. If by these means the Offenders will not be reclaimed, and the Erroneous convinced, there remains nothing farther to be done, but that such stubborn and obstinate Persons, who give no ground to hope for their Reformation, should be cast out and separated from the Society. This is the last and utmost Force of Ecclesiastical Authority: No other Punishment can thereby be inflicted, than that, the Relation ceasing between the Body and the Member which is cut off, the Person so condemned ceases to be a part of that Church.

These things being thus determined, let us inquire in the next place, how far the duty of Toleration extends, and what is required from every one by it.

And first, I hold, That no Church is bound by the duty of Toleration to retain any such Person in her Bosom, as after Admonition, continues obstinately to offend against the Laws of the Society. For these being the condition of Communion, and the Bond of the Society, if the Breach of them were permitted without any Animadversion, the Society would immediately be thereby dissolved. But nevertheless, in all such Cases care is to be taken that the Sentence of Excommunication, and the execution thereof, carry with it no rough Usage, of Word or Action, whereby the ejected Person may any wise be damned in Body or Estate. For all Force (as has often been said) belongs only to the Magistrate, nor ought any private Persons, at any time, to use Force; unless it be in self-defence against unjust Violence. Excommunication neither does nor can, deprive the excommunicated Person of any of those civil Goods that he formerly possessed. All those things belong to the Civil-Government, and are under the Magistrate's Protection. The whole Force of Excommunication consists only in this, that the Resolution of the Society in that respect being declared, the Union that was between the Body and some Member comes thereby to be dissolved; and that Relation ceasing, the participation of some certain things, which the Society communicated to its Members, and unto which no Man has any civil Right, comes also to cease. For there is no civil Injury done unto the excommunicated Person, by the Church-Minister's refusing him that Bread and Wine, in the Celebration of the Lord's-Supper, which was not bought with his, but other Men's Money.

Secondly, No private Person has any Right, in any manner, to prejudice another Person in his civil Enjoyments, because he is of another Church or Religion. All the Rights and Franchises that belong to him as a Man, or as a Denison, are in-

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violably to be preserved to him. These are not the Business of Religion. No Violence nor Injury is to be offered him, whether he be Christian or Pagan. Nay, we must not content our selves with the narrow Measures of bare Justice: Charity, Bounty, and Liberality must be added to it. This the Gospel enjoyns, this Reason directs, and this that natural Fellowship we are born into requires of us. If any Man err from the right Way, it is own Misfortune, no injury to thee: Nor therefore art thou to punish him in the things of this Life, because thou supposest he will be miserable in that which is to come.

What I say concerning the mutual Toleration of private Persons differing from one another in Religion, I understand also of particular Churches; which stand as it were in the same Relation to each other as private Persons among themselves, nor has any one of them any manner of Jurisdiction over any other, no not even when the Civil Magistrate (as it sometimes happens) comes to be of this or the other Communion. For the Civil Government can give no new Right to the Church, nor the Church to the Civil Government. So that whether the Magistrate joyn himself to any Church, or separate from it, the Church remains always as it was before, a free and voluntary Society. It neither acquires the Power of the Sword by the Magistrate's coming to it, nor does it lose the Right of Instruction and Excommunication by his going from it. This is the fundamental and immutable Right of a spontaneous Society, that it has Power to remove any of its Members who transgress the Rules of its Institution: But it cannot, by the accession of any new Members, acquire any Right of Jurisdiction over those that are not joined with it. And therefore Peace, Equity, and Friendship, are always mutually to be observed by particular Churches, in the same manner as by private Persons, without any pretence of Superiority or Jurisdiction over one another.

That the thing may be made yet clearer by an Example; Let us suppose two Churches, the one of *Arminians*, the other of *Calvinists*, residing in the City of *Constantinople*. Will any one say, that either of these Churches has Right to deprive the Members of the other of their Estates and Liberty, (as we see practised elsewhere) because of their differing from it in some Doctrines or Ceremonies; whilst the *Turks* in the mean while silently stand by, and laugh to see with what inhuman Cruelty Christians thus rage against Christians? But if one of these Churches hath this Power of treating the other ill, I ask which of them it is to whom that Power belongs, and by what Right? It will be answered, undoubtedly, That it is the Orthodox Church which has the Right of Authority over the Erroneous or Heretical. This is, in great and specious Words, to say just nothing at all. For every Church is Orthodox to it self; to others Erroneous or Heretical. For whatsoever any Church believes, it believes to be true; and the contrary unto those things, it pronounces to be Error. So that the Controversie between these Churches about the Truth of their Doctrines, and the Purity of their Worship, is on both sides equal; nor is there any Judge, either at *Constantinople*, or elsewhere upon Earth, by whose Sentence it can be determined. The Decision of that Question belongs only to the supreme Judge of all Men, to whom also alone belongs the Punishment of the Erroneous. In the mean while, let those Men consider how heinously they Sin, who, adding injustice, if not to their Error, yet certainly to their Pride, do rashly and arrogantly take upon them to misuse the Servants of another Master, who are not at all accountable to them.

Nay, further: If it could be manifest which of these two dissenting Churches were in the right, there would not accrue thereby unto the Orthodox any Right of destroying the other. For Churches have neither any Jurisdiction in Worldly Matters, nor are Fire and Sword any proper Instruments wherewith to convince Mens minds of Error, and inform them of the Truth. Let us suppose, nevertheless, that the Civil Magistrate inclined to favour one of them, and to put his Sword into their Hands, that (by his Consent) they might chastize the Dissenters as they pleased. Will any Man say, that any Right can be derived unto a Christian Church, over its Brethren, from a Turkish Emperor? An Infidel, who has himself no Authority to punish Christians for the Articles of their Faith, cannot confer such an Authority upon any Society of Christians, nor give unto them a Right which he has not himself. This would be the Case at *Constantinople*. And the Reason of the thing is the same in any Christian Kingdom. The Civil Power

Power is the same in every place: Nor can that Power, in the Hands of a Christian Prince, confer any greater Authority upon the Church, than in the Hands of a Heathen; which is to say, just none at all.

Nevertheless, it is worthy to be observed and lamented, that the most violent of these Defenders of the Truth, the Opposers of Errors, the Exclaimers against Schism, do hardly ever let loose this their Zeal for God, with which they are so warmed and inflamed, unless where they have the Civil Magistrate on their side. But so soon as ever Court-favour has given them the better end of the Staff, and they begin to feel themselves the stronger, then presently Peace and Charity are to be laid aside: Otherwise, they are religiously to be observed. Where they have not the Power to carry on Persecution, and to become Masters, there they desire to live upon fair Terms, and preach up Toleration. When they are not strengthened with the Civil Power, then they can bear most patiently, and unmovedly, the Contagion of Idolatry, Superstition, and Heresie, in their Neighbourhood; of which, in other Occasions, the interest of Religion makes them to be extremely apprehensive. They do not forwardly attack those Errors which are in fashion at Court, or are countenanced by the Government. Here they can be content to spare their Arguments: which yet (with their leave) is the only right Method of propagating Truth, which has no such way of prevailing, as when strong Arguments and good Reason, are joined with the softness of Civility and good Usage.

No body therefore, in fine, neither single Persons, nor Churches, nay, nor even Commonwealths, have any just Title to invade the Civil Rights and Worldly Goods of each other, upon pretence of Religion. Those that are of another Opinion, would do well to consider with themselves how pernicious a Seed of Discord and War, how powerful a provocation to endless Hatreds, Rapines, and Slaughters, they thereby furnish unto Mankind. No Peace and Security, no not so much as Common Friendship, can ever be established or preserved amongst Men, so long as this Opinion prevails, That *Dominion is founded in Grace*, and that Religion is to be propagated by force of Arms.

In the third Place: Let us see what the duty of Toleration requires from those who are distinguished from the rest of Mankind, (from the Laity, as they please to call us) by some Ecclesiastical Character and Office; whether they be Bishops, Priests, Presbyters, Ministers, or however else dignified or distinguished. It is not my Business to inquire here into the Original of the Power or Dignity of the Clergy. This only I say, That whence-soever their Authority be sprung, since it is Ecclesiastical, it ought to be confined within the Bounds of the Church, nor can it in any manner be extended to civil Affairs; because the Church it self is a thing absolutely separate and distinct from the Commonwealth. The Boundaries on both sides are fixed and immoveable. He jumbles Heaven and Earth together, the things most remote and opposite, who mixes these two Societies; which are in their Original, End, Business, and in every thing, perfectly distinct, and infinitely different from each other. No Man therefore, with whatsoever Ecclesiastical Office he be dignified, can deprive another Man that is not of his Church and Faith, either of Liberty, or of any part of his worldly Goods, upon the account of that difference between them in Religion. For whatsoever is not lawful to the whole Church, cannot, by any Ecclesiastical Right, become lawful to any of its Members.

But this is not all. It is not enough that Ecclesiastical Men abstain from Violence and Rapine, and all manner of Persecution. He that pretends to be a Successor of the Apostles, and takes upon him the Office of Teaching, is obliged also to admonish his Hearers of the Duties of Peace, and Good-will towards all Men; as well towards the Erroneous as the Orthodox; towards those that differ from them in Faith and Worship, as well as towards those that agree with them therein: And he ought industriously to exhort all men, whether private Persons or Magistrates, (if any such there be in his Church) to Charity, Meekness, and Toleration; and diligently endeavour to allay and temper all that Heat, and unreasonable averfeness of mind, which either any man's fiery Zeal for his own Sect, or the Craft of others, has kindled against Dissenters. I will not undertake to represent how happy and how great would be the Fruit, both in Church and State, if the Pulpits every where sounded with this Doctrine of Peace and Toleration; lest I should seem to reflect too severely upon those Men whose Dignity I
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desire not to detract from, nor would have it diminished either by others or themselves. But this I say, That thus it ought to be. And if any one that professes himself to be a Minister of the Word of God, a Preacher of the Gospel of Peace, teach otherwise, he either understands not, or neglects the Business of his Calling, and shall one day give account thereof unto the Prince of Peace. If Christians are to be admonished that they abstain from all manner of Revenge, even after repeated Provocations and multiplied Injuries, how much more ought they who suffer nothing, who have had no harm done them, forbear Violence, and abstain from all manner of ill usage towards those from whom they have received none. This Caution and Temper they ought certainly to use towards those who mind only their own Business, and are solicitous for nothing but that (whatever Men think of them) they may worship God in that manner which they are persuaded is acceptable to him, and in which they have the strongest hopes of Eternal Salvation. In private domestick Affairs, in the management of Estates, in the conservation of Bodily Health, every Man may consider what suits his own Conveniency, and follow what course he likes best. No Man complains of the ill Management of his Neighbours Affairs. No Man is angry with another for an Error committed in sowing his Land, or in marrying his Daughter. No Body corrects a Spendthrift for consuming his Substance in Taverns. Let any Man pull down, or build, or make whatsoever Expenses he pleases, no body murmurs, no body controuls him; he has his Liberty. But if any Man do not frequent the Church, if he do not there conform his Behaviour exactly to the accustomed Ceremonies, or if he brings not his Children to be initiated in the Sacred Mysteries of this or the other Congregation, this immediately causes an Uproar. The Neighbourhood is filled with Noise and Clamour. Every one is ready to be the Avenger of so great a Crime. And the Zealots hardly have the patience to refrain from Violence and Rapine, so long till the Cause be heard, and the poor Man be, according to Form, condemned to the loss of Liberty, Goods, or Life. Oh that our Ecclesiastical Orators, of every Sect, would apply themselves with all the strength of Arguments that they are able, to the confounding of Mens Errors! But let them spare their Persons. Let them not supply their want of Reasons with the Instruments of Force, which belong to another Jurisdiction, and do ill become a Churchman's Hands. Let them not call in the Magistrate's Authority to the aid of their Eloquence, or Learning; lest, perhaps, whilst they pretend only Love for the Truth, this their intemperate Zeal, breathing nothing but Fire and Sword, betray their Ambition, and shew that what they desire is Temporal Dominion. For it will be very difficult to persuade Men of Sense, that he, who with dry Eyes, and Satisfaction of mind, can deliver his Brother to the Executioner, to be burnt alive, does sincerely and heartily concern himself to save that Brother from the Flames of Hell in the World to come.

In the last place. Let us now consider what is the Magistrate's Duty in the Business of Toleration: which certainly is very considerable.

We have already proved, That the Care of Souls does not belong to the Magistrate: Not a Magisterial Care, I mean (if I may so call it) which consists in prescribing by Laws, and compelling by Punishments. But a charitable Care, which consists in teaching, admonishing, and persuading, cannot be denied unto any Man. The Care therefore of every Man's Soul belongs unto himself, and is to be left unto himself. But what if he neglect the Care of his Soul? I answer, What if he neglect the Care of his Health, or of his Estate, which things are nearer related to the Government of the Magistrate than the other? Will the Magistrate provide by an express Law, that such an one shall not become poor or sick? Laws provide, as much as is possible, that the Goods and Health of Subjects be not injured by the Fraud or Violence of others; they do not guard them from the Negligence or Ill-husbandry of the Possessors themselves. No Man can be forced to be Rich or Healthful, whether he will or no. Nay, God himself will not save Men against their wills. Let us suppose, however, that some Prince were desirous to force his Subjects to accumulate Riches, or to preserve the Health and Strength of their Bodies. Shall it be provided by Law, that they must consult none but *Roman* Physicians, and shall every one be bound to live according to their Prescriptions? What, shall

no Potion, no Broth, be taken, but what is prepared either in the *Vatican*, suppose, or in a *Geneva* Shop? Or, to make these Subjects rich, shall they all be obliged by Law to become Merchants, or Musicians? Or, shall every one turn Victualler, or Smith, because there are some that maintain their Families plentifully, and grow rich in those Professions? But it may be said, there are a thousand ways to Wealth, but one only way to Heaven. 'Tis well said indeed, especially by those that plead for compelling Men into this or the other Way. For if there were several ways that lead thither, there would not be so much as a pretence left for Compulsion. But now if I be marching on with my utmost Vigour, in that way which, according to the Sacred Geography, leads streight to *Jerusalem*; Why am I beaten and ill used by others, because, perhaps, I wear not Buskins; because my Hair is not of the right Cut; because perhaps I have not been dip't in the right Fashion; because I eat Flesh upon the Road, or some other Food which agrees with my Stomach; because I avoid certain By-ways, which seem unto me to lead into Briars or Precipices; because amongst the several Paths that are in the same Road, I choose that to walk in which seems to be the streightest and cleanest; because I avoid to keep company with some Travelers that are less grave, and others that are more sower than they ought to be; or in fine, because I follow a Guide that either is, or is not, cloathed in White, and crowned with a Miter? Certainly, if we consider right, we shall find that for the most part they are such frivolous things as these, that (without any prejudice to Religion or the Salvation of Souls, if not accompanied with Superstition or Hypocrisie) might either be observed or omitted; I say they are such like things as these, which breed implacable Enmities amongst Christian Brethren, who are all agreed in the Substantial and truly fundamental part of Religion.

But let us grant unto these Zealots, who condemn all things that are not of their Mode, that from these Circumstances arise different Ends. What shall we conclude from thence? There is only one of these which is the true way to Eternal Happiness. But in this great variety of ways that Men follow, it is still doubted which is this right one. Now neither the care of the Commonwealth, nor the right of enacting Laws, does discover this way that leads to Heaven more certainly to the Magistrate, than every private Man's Search and Study discovers it unto himself. I have a weak Body, sunk under a languishing Disease, for which (I suppose) there is one only Remedy, but that unknown. Does it therefore belong unto the Magistrate to prescribe me a Remedy, because there is but one, and because it is unknown? Because there is but one way for me to escape Death, will it therefore be safe for me to do whatsoever the Magistrate ordains? Those things that every Man ought sincerely to enquire into himself, and by Meditation, Study, Search, and his own Endeavors, attain the Knowledge of, cannot be looked upon as the peculiar Possession of any one sort of Men. Princes indeed are born Superior unto other Men in Power, but in Nature equal. Neither the Right, nor the Art of Ruling, does necessarily carry along with it the certain Knowledge of other things; and least of all of the true Religion. For if it were so, how could it come to pass that the Lords of the Earth should differ so vastly as they do in Religious Matters? But let us grant that it is probable the way to Eternal Life may be better known by a Prince than by his Subjects; or at least, that in this incertitude of things, the safest and most commodious way for private Persons is to follow his Dictates. You will say, what then? If he should bid you follow Merchandise for your Livelihood, would you decline that Course for fear it should not succeed? I answer: I would turn Merchant upon the Prince's command, because in case I should have ill Success in Trade, he is abundantly able to make up my Loss some other way. If it be true, as he pretends, that he desires I should thrive and grow rich, he can set me up again when unsuccessful Voyages have broke me. But this is not the case, in the things that regard the Life to come. If there I take a wrong course, if in that respect I am once undone, it is not in the Magistrates Power to repair my Loss, to ease my Suffering, nor to restore me in any measure, much less entirely, to a good Estate. What Security can be given for the Kingdom of Heaven?

Perhaps some will say that they do not suppose this infallible Judgment, that all Men are bound to follow in the Affairs of Religion, to be in the Civil Magistrate, but in the Church. What the Church has determined, that the Civil

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Magistrate orders to be observed; and he provides by his Authority that no body shall either act or believe, in the business of Religion, otherwise than the Church teaches. So that the judgment of those things is in the Church. The Magistrate himself yields Obedience thereunto, and requires the like Obedience from others. I answer: Who sees not how frequently the Name of the Church, which was so venerable in the time of the Apostles, has been made use of to throw Dust in Peoples Eyes, in following Ages? But however, in the present case it helps us not. The one only narrow way which leads to Heaven is not better known to the Magistrate than to private Persons, and therefore I cannot safely take him for my Guide, who may probably be as ignorant of the way as my self, and who certainly is less concerned for my Salvation than I my self am. Amongst so many Kings of the *Jews*, how many of them were there whom any *Israelite*, thus blindly following, had not fall'n into Idolatry, and thereby into Destruction? Yet nevertheless, you bid me be of good Courage, and tell me that all is now safe and secure, because the Magistrate does not now enjoin the observance of his own Decrees in matters of Religion, but only the Decrees of the Church. Of what Church I beseech you? Of that certainly which likes him best. As if he that compels me by Laws and Penalties to enter into this or the other Church, did not interpose his own Judgment in the matter. What difference is there whether he lead me himself, or deliver me over to be led by others? I depend both ways upon his Will, and it is he that determines both ways of my eternal State. Would an *Israelite*, that had worshipped *Baal* upon the command of his King, have been in any better condition, because some body had told him that the King ordered nothing in Religion upon his own Head, nor commanded any thing to be done by his Subjects in Divine Worship, but what was approved by the Counsel of Priests, and declared to be of Divine Right by the Doctors of their Church? If the Religion of any Church become therefore true and saving, because the Head of that Sect, the Prelates and Priests, and those of that Tribe, do all of them, with all their might, extol and praise it; what Religion can ever be accounted erroneous, false and destructive? I am doubtful concerning the Doctrine of the *Socinians*, I am suspicious of the way of Worship practised by the *Papists*, or *Lutherans*; will it be ever a jot the safer for me to join either unto the one or the other of those Churches, upon the Magistrate's Command, because he commands nothing in Religion but by the Authority and Counsel of the Doctors of that Church?

But to speak the truth, we must acknowledge that the Church (if a Convention of Clergy-men, making Canons, must be called by that Name) is for the most part more apt to be influenced by the Court, than the Court by the Church. How the Church was under the Vicissitude of Orthodox and Arian Emperors is very well known. Or if those things be too remote, our modern *English* History affords us fresh Examples, in the Reigns of *Henry the 8th*, *Edward the 6th*, *Mary*, and *Elizabeth*, how easily and smoothly the Clergy changed their Decrees, their Articles of Faith, their Form of Worship, every thing according to the inclination of those Kings and Queens. Yet were those Kings and Queens of such different minds, in point of Religion, and enjoined thereupon such different things, that no Man in his Wits (I had almost said none but an Atheist) will presume to say that any sincere and upright Worshipper of God could, with a safe Conscience, obey their several Decrees. To conclude, It is the same thing whether a King that prescribes Laws to another Man's Religion pretend to do it by his own Judgment, or by the Ecclesiastical Authority and Advice of others. The Decisions of Church-men, whose Differences and Disputes are sufficiently known, cannot be any sounder, or safer than his: Nor can all their Suffrages joined together add any new strength unto the Civil Power. Tho' this also must be taken notice of, that Princes seldom have any regard to the Suffrages of Ecclesiasticks that are not Favourers of their own Faith and way of Worship.

But after all, the principal Consideration, and which absolutely determines this Controversie, is this. Although the Magistrate's Opinion in Religion be sound, and the Way that he appoints be truly Evangelical, yet if I be not thoroughly perswaded thereof in my own Mind, there will be no Safety for me in following it. No Way whatsoever that I shall walk in against the Dictates of my Conscience, will ever bring me to the Mansions of the Blessed. I may grow rich by an Art that I take not delight in; I may be cured of some

Disease

Disease by Remedies that I have not Faith in; but I cannot be saved by a Religion that I distrust, and by a Worship that I abhor. It is in vain for an Unbeliever to take up the outward shew of another Man's Profession of Faith only; and inward Sincerity, are the things that procure acceptance with God. The most likely and most approved Remedy can have no effect upon the Patient, if his Stomach reject it as soon as taken. And you will in vain cram a Medicine down a sick Man's Throat, which his particular Constitution will be sure to turn into Poison. In a word, Whatsoever may be doubtful in Religion, yet this at least is certain, that no Religion, which I believe not to be true, can be either true, or profitable unto me. In vain therefore do Princes compel their Subjects to come into their Church-Communion, under pretence of saving their Souls. If they believe, they will come of their own Accord; if they believe not, their coming will nothing avail them. How great soever, in fine, may be the Pretence of Goodwill and Charity, and concern for the Salvation of Mens Souls, Men cannot be forced to be saved whether they will or no. And therefore, when all is done, they must be left to their own Consciences.

Having thus at length freed Men from all Dominion over one another in matters of Religion, let us now consider what they are to do. All Men know and acknowledge that God ought to be publickly worshipped. Why otherwise do they compel one another into the publick Assemblies? Men therefore constituted in this Liberty are to enter into some religious Society, that they may meet together, not only for mutual Edification, but to own to the World that they worship God, and offer unto his divine Majesty such Service as they themselves are not ashamed of; and such as they think not unworthy of him, nor unacceptable to him; and finally that by the purity of Doctrine, Holiness of Life, and Decent form of Worship, they may draw others unto the love of the true Religion, and perform such other things in Religion as cannot be done by each private Man apart.

These religious Societies I call Churches: and these I say the Magistrate ought to tolerate. For the business of these Assemblies of the People is nothing but what is lawful for every man in particular to take care of; I mean the Salvation of their Souls: nor in this case is there any Difference between the National Church, and other separated Congregations.

But as in every Church there are two things especially to be considered; The outward Form and Rites of Worship, And the Doctrines and Articles of Faith; these things must be handled each distinctly; that so the whole matter of Toleration may the more clearly be understood.

Concerning outward Worship, I say (in the first place) that the Magistrate has no Power to enforce by Law, either in his own Church, or much less in another, the use of any Rites or Ceremonies whatsoever in the Worship of God. And this, not only because these Churches are free Societies, but because whatsoever is practised in the Worship of God, is only so far justifiable as it is believed by those that practise it to be acceptable unto him. Whatsoever is not done with that Assurance of Faith, is neither well in it self, nor can it be acceptable to God. To impose such things therefore upon any People, contrary to their own Judgment, is in effect to command them to offend God; which, considering that the end of all Religion is to please him, and that Liberty is essentially necessary to that End, appears to be absurd beyond Expression.

But perhaps it may be concluded from hence, that I deny unto the Magistrate all manner of Power about indifferent things; which if it be not granted, the whole Subject-matter of Law-making is taken away. No, I readily grant that indifferent things, and perhaps none but such, are subjected to the Legislative Power. But it does not therefore follow, that the Magistrate may ordain whatsoever he pleases concerning any thing that is indifferent. The publick Good is the Rule and Measure of all Law-making. If a thing be not useful to the Common-wealth, tho' it be never so indifferent, it may not presently be established by Law.

And farther: Things never so indifferent in their own Nature, when they are brought into the Church and Worship of God, are removed out of the reach of the Magistrate's Jurisdiction; because in that use they have no connection at all with Civil Affairs. The only Business of the Church is the Salvation of Souls; and it no ways concerns the Commonwealth, or any Member of it, that this, or the other Ceremony be there made use of. Neither the Use, nor the Omission

of any Ceremonies, in those Religious Assemblies, does either advantage or prejudice the Life, Liberty, or Estate of any Man. For Example: Let it be granted, that the washing of an Infant with Water is in itself an indifferent thing. Let it be granted also, that if the Magistrate understand such washing to be profitable to the curing or preventing of any Disease that Children are subject unto, and esteem the Matter weighty enough to be taken care of by a Law, in that Case he may order it to be done. But will any one therefore say, that a Magistrate has the same Right to ordain, by Law, that all Children shall be baptized by Priests, in the sacred Font, in order to the Purification of their Souls? The extreme Difference of these two Cases is visible to every one at first sight. Or let us apply the last Case to the Child of a Jew, and the thing speaks itself. For what hinders but a Christian Magistrate may have Subjects that are Jews? Now if we acknowledge that such an Injury may not be done unto a Jew, as to compel him, against his own Opinion, to practise in his Religion a thing that is in its nature indifferent; how can we maintain that any thing of this kind may be done to a Christian?

Again: Things in their own nature indifferent cannot, by any human Authority, be made any part of the Worship of God; for this very Reason; because they are indifferent. For since indifferent things are not capable, by any Virtue of their own, to propitiate the Deity; no human Power or Authority can confer on them so much Dignity and Excellency as to enable them to do it. In the common Affairs of Life, that use of indifferent things which God has not forbidden, is free and lawful: and therefore in those things human Authority has place. But it is not so in Matters of Religion. Things indifferent are not otherwise lawful in the Worship of God than as they are instituted by God himself; and as he, by some positive Command, has ordain'd them to be made a part of that Worship which he will vouchsafe to accept of at the Hands of poor sinful Men. Nor when an incensed Deity shall ask us, *Who has required these, or such like things at your Hands?* Will it be enough to answer him, that the Magistrate commanded them. If civil Jurisdiction extended thus far, what might not lawfully be introduced into Religion? What Hodge-podge of Ceremonies, what superstitious Inventions, built upon the Magistrate's Authority, might not (against Conscience) be imposed upon the Worshippers of God? For the greatest Part of these Ceremonies and Superstitions consists in the religious use of such things as are in their own nature indifferent: nor are they sinful upon any other Account than because God is not the Author of them. The sprinkling of Water, and the use of Bread and Wine, are both in their own nature, and in the ordinary occasions of Life, altogether indifferent. Will any Man therefore say that these things could have been introduced into Religion, and made a part of Divine Worship, if not by Divine Institution? If any human Authority or civil Power could have done this, why might it not also injoin the eating of Fish, and drinking of Ale, in the holy Banquet, as a part of Divine Worship? Why not the sprinkling of the Blood of Beasts in Churches, and Expiations by Water or Fire, and abundance more of this kind? But these things, how indifferent soever they be in common uses, when they come to be annexed unto divine Worship, without divine Authority, they are as abominable to God, as the Sacrifice of a Dog. And why a Dog so abominable? What Difference is there between a Dog and a Goat, in respect of the divine Nature, equally and infinitely distant from all Affinity with Matter; unless it be that God required the use of the one in his Worship, and not of the other? We see therefore that indifferent things how much soever they be under the Power of the Civil Magistrate, yet cannot upon that Pretence be introduced into Religion, and imposed upon religious Assemblies; because in the Worship of God they wholly cease to be indifferent. He that worships God, does it with design to please him and procure his Favour. But that cannot be done by him, who, upon the command of another, offers unto God that which he knows will be displeasing to him, because not commanded by himself. This is not to please God, or appease his Wrath, but willingly and knowingly to provoke him, by a manifest Contempt; which is a thing absolutely repugnant to the Nature and End of Worship.

But it will here be asked: If nothing belonging to divine Worship be left to human Discretion, how is it then that Churches themselves have the Power of ordering

ordering any thing about the Time and Place of Worship, and the like? To this I answer; That in religious Worship we must distinguish between what is part of the Worship it self; and what is but a Circumstance. That is a Part of the Worship which is believed to be appointed by God, and to be well-pleasing to him; and therefore that is necessary. Circumstances are such things which, tho' in general they cannot be separated from Worship, yet the particular instances or modifications of them are not determin'd; and therefore they are indifferent. Of this sort are the Time and Place of Worship, the Habit and Posture of him that worships. These are Circumstances, and perfectly indifferent, where God has not given any express Command about them. For Example: Amongst the *Jews*, the Time and Place of their Worship, and the Habits of those that officiated in it, were not mere Circumstances, but a part of the Worship it self; in which if any thing were defective, or different from the Institution, they could not hope that it would be accepted by God. But these, to Christians under the liberty of the Gospel, are mere Circumstances of Worship, which the Prudence of every Church may bring into such Use as shall be judged most subservient to the End of Order, Decency, and Edification. But, even under the Gospel, those who believe the First, or the Seventh Day to be set apart by God, and consecrated still to his Worship, to them that portion of Time is not a simple Circumstance, but a real Part of Divine Worship, which can neither be changed nor neglected.

In the next place: As the Magistrate has no Power to *impose* by his Laws, the use of any Rites and Ceremonies in any Church, so neither has he any Power to *forbid* the use of such Rites and Ceremonies as are already received, approved, and practised by any Church: Because if he did so, he would destroy the Church itself; the End of whose Institution is only to worship God with Freedom, after its own manner.

You will say, by this Rule, if some Congregations should have a mind to sacrifice Infants, or (as the Primitive Christians were falsely accused) lustfully pollute themselves in promiscuous Uncleaness, or practise any other such heinous Enormities, is the Magistrate obliged to tolerate them, because they are committed in a religious Assembly? I answer, No. These things are not lawful in the ordinary course of Life, nor in any private House; and therefore neither are they so in the Worship of God, or in any religious Meeting. But indeed if any People congregated upon account of Religion, should be desirous to sacrifice a Calf, I deny that That ought to be prohibited by a Law. *Melibæus*, whose Calf it is, may lawfully kill his Calf at home, and burn any part of it that he thinks fit. For no Injury is thereby done to any one, no prejudice to another Mans Goods. And for the same reason he may kill his Calf also in a religious Meeting. Whether the doing so be well-pleasing to God or no, it is their Part to consider that do it. the part of the Magistrate is only to take care that the Common-wealth receive no Prejudice, and that there be no Injury done to any Man, either in Life or Estate, and thus what may be spent on a Feast, may be spent on a Sacrifice. But if peradventure such were the state of things, that the Interest of the Common-wealth required all Slaughter of Beasts should be forborn for some while, in order to the encreasing of the Stock of Cattel, that had been destroyed by some extraordinary Murrain; Who sees not that the Magistrate, in such a Case, may forbid all his Subjects to kill any Calves for any use whatsoever? Only 'tis to be observed, that in this Case the Law is not made about a religious, but a political Matter: Nor is the Sacrifice, but the Slaughter of Calves thereby prohibited.

By this we see what difference there is between the Church and the Commonwealth. Whatsoever is lawful in the Commonwealth, cannot be prohibited by the Magistrate in the Church. Whatsoever is permitted unto any of his Subjects for their ordinary use, neither can nor ought to be forbidden by him to any Sect of People for their religious Uses. If any man may lawfully take Bread or Wine, either sitting or kneeling in his own House, the Law ought not to abridge him of the same Liberty in his religious Worship; tho' in the Church the use of Bread and Wine be very different, and be there applyed to the Mysteries of Faith, and Rites of Divine Worship. But those things that are prejudicial to the Commonwealth of a People in their ordinary use, and are therefore forbidden by Laws, those things ought not to be permitted to Churches in their sacred Rites. Only the Magistrate

Magistrate ought always to be very careful that he do not misuse his Authority, to the Oppression of any Church, under Pretence of Publick Good.

It may be said, What if a Church be idolatrous, is that also to be tolerated by the Magistrate? I answer, What Power can be given to the Magistrate for the Suppression of an idolatrous Church, which may not, in time and place, be made use of to the Ruine of an orthodox one? For it must be remembered, that the Civil Power is the same every where, and the Religion of every Prince is orthodox to himself. If therefore such a Power be granted unto the Civil Magistrate in Spirituals, as that at *Geneva*, (for Example) he may extirpate, by Violence and Blood, the Religion which is there reputed idolatrous; by the same Rule another Magistrate, in some neighbouring Country, may oppress the Reformed Religion; and, in *India*, the Christian. The Civil Power can either change every thing in Religion, according to the Prince's Pleasure, or it can change nothing. If it be once permitted to introduce any thing into Religion, by the means of Laws and Penalties, there can be no Bounds put to it; but it will in the same manner be lawful to alter every thing, according to that Rule of Truth which the Magistrate has framed unto himself. No Man whatsoever ought therefore to be deprived of his Terrestrial Enjoyments, upon account of his Religion. Not even *Americans*, subjected unto a Christian Prince, are to be punished either in Body or Goods, for not embracing our Faith and Worship. If they are persuaded that they please God in observing the Rites of their own Country, and that they should obtain Happiness by that means, they are to be left unto God and themselves. Let us trace this Matter to the bottom. Thus it is: An inconsiderable and weak Number of Christians, destitute of every thing, arrive in a Pagan Country; these Foreigners beseech the Inhabitants, by the Bowels of Humanity, that they would succour them with the Necessaries of Life; those Necessaries are given them, Habitations are granted, and they all joyn together, and grow up into one Body of People. The Christian Religion by this means takes root in that Country, and spreads itself; but does not suddenly grow the strongest. While things are in this Condition, Peace, Friendship, Faith, and equal Justice, are preserved amongst them. At length the Magistrate becomes a Christian, and by that means their Party becomes the most powerful. Then immediately all Compacts are to be broken, all Civil Rights to be violated, that Idolatry may be extirpated: And unless these innocent Pagans, strict Observers of the Rules of Equity and the Law of Nature, and no ways offending against the Laws of the Society, I say unless they will forsake their ancient Religion, and embrace a new and strange one, they are to be turned out of the Lands and Possessions of their Forefathers, and perhaps deprived of Life itself. Then at last it appears what Zeal for the Church, joyned with the Desire of Dominion, is capable to produce; and how easily the Pretence of Religion, and of the Care of Souls, serves for a Cloak to Covetousness, Rapine, and Ambition.

Now whosoever maintains that Idolatry is to be rooted out of any place by Laws, Punishments, Fire and Sword, may apply this Story to himself. For the reason of the thing is equal, both in *America* and *Europe*. And neither Pagans there, nor any dissenting Christians here, can with any right be deprived of their worldly Goods, by the predominating Faction of a Court-Church: nor are any Civil Rights to be either changed or violated upon account of Religion in one place more than another.

But *Idolatry* (say some) is a Sin, and therefore not to be tolerated. If they said it were therefore to be avoided, the Inference were good. But it does not follow, that because it is a Sin it ought therefore to be punished by the Magistrate. For it does not belong unto the Magistrate to make use of his Sword in punishing every thing, indifferently, that he takes to be a Sin against God. Covetousness, Uncharitableness, Idleness, and many other things are Sins, by the Consent of all Men, which yet no Man ever said were to be punish'd by the Magistrate. The reason is, because they are not prejudicial to other Mens Rights, nor do they break the publick Peace of Societies. Nay, even the Sins of Lying and Perjury are no where punishable by Laws; unless in certain Cases, in which the real Turpitude of the thing, and the Offence against God, are not considered, but only the Injury done unto Mens Neighbours, and to the Commonwealth. And what if in another Country, to a Mahumetan or a Pagan Prince, the Christian

Christian Religion seem false and offensive to God; may not the Christians for the same reason, and after the same manner, be extirpated there?

But it may be urged farther, That by the Law of *Moses* Idolaters were to be rooted out. True indeed, by the Law of *Moses*; but that is not obligatory to us Christians. No body pretends that every thing, generally, enjoined by the Law of *Moses*, ought to be practised by Christians. But there is nothing more frivolous than that common Distinction of Moral, Judicial, and Ceremonial Law, which Men ordinarily make use of. For no positive Law whatsoever can oblige any People but those to whom it is given. *Hear O Israel*, sufficiently restrains the Obligation of the Law of *Moses* only to that People. And this Consideration alone is Answer enough unto those that urge the Authority of the Law of *Moses*; for the inflicting of capital Punishments upon Idolaters. But however, I will examine this Argument a little more particularly.

The Case of Idolaters, in respect of the *Jewish* Commonwealth, falls under a double Consideration. The first is of those, who, being initiated in the *Mosaical* Rites, and made Citizens of that Commonwealth, did afterwards apostatise from the Worship of the God of *Israel*. These were proceeded against as Traitors and Rebels guilty of no less than High-Treason. For the Commonwealth of the *Jews*, different in that from all others, was an absolute Theocracy: Nor was there, or could there be, any Difference between that Commonwealth and the Church. The Laws establish'd there concerning the Worship of one Invisible Deity, were the Civil Laws of that People, and a part of their Political Government, in which God himself was the Legislator. Now if any one can shew me where there is a Commonwealth, at this time, constituted upon that Foundation, I will acknowledge that the Ecclesiastical Laws do there unavoidably become a part of the Civil; and that the Subjects of that Government both may, and ought to be kept in strict Conformity with that Church, by the Civil Power. But there is absolutely no such thing, under the Gospel, as a Christian Commonwealth. There are, indeed, many Cities and Kingdoms that have embraced the Faith of Christ, but they have retained their ancient Form of Government; with which the Law of Christ hath not at all meddled. He, indeed, hath taught Men how, by Faith and Good Works, they may attain Eternal Life. But he instituted no Commonwealth. He prescribed unto his Followers no new and peculiar Form of Government, nor put he the Sword into any Magistrate's Hand, with Commission to make use of it in forcing Men to forsake their former Religion, and receive his.

Secondly, Foreigners, and such as were Strangers to the Commonwealth of *Israel*, were not compell'd by Force to observe the Rites of the *Mosaical* Law. But, on the contrary, in the very same place where it is order'd that an *Israelite* that *Exod. 22.* was an Idolater should be put to death, there it is provided that Strangers should not be vexed nor oppressed. I confess that the Seven Nations that possess'd the Land which was promised to the *Israelites*, were utterly to be cut off. But this was not singly because they were Idolaters. For if that had been the Reason, why were the *Moabites* and other Nations to be spared? No; the Reason is this. God being in a peculiar manner the King of the *Jews*, he could not suffer the Adoration of any other Deity (which was properly an Act of High-Treason against himself) in the Land of *Canaan*, which was his Kingdom. For such a manifest Revolt could no ways consist with his Dominion, which was perfectly Political, in that Country. All Idolatry was therefore to be rooted out of the Bounds of his Kingdom; because it was an Acknowledgment of another God, that is to say, another King; against the Laws of Empire. The Inhabitants were also to be driven out, that the entire possession of the Land might be given to the *Israelites*. And for the like Reason the *Emims* and the *Horims* were driven out of their Countries by the Children of *Esau* and *Lot*; and their Lands, upon the same Grounds, given by *Deut. 2.* God to the Invaders. But tho' all Idolatry was thus rooted out of the Land of *Canaan*, yet every Idolater was not brought to Execution. The whole Family of *Rahab*, the whole Nation of the *Gibeonites*, artick'd with *Josuah*, and were allowed by Treaty: and there were many Captives amongst the *Jews*, who were Idolaters. *David* and *Solomon* subdued many Countries without the Confines of the Land of Promise, and carried their Conquests as far as *Euphrates*. Amongst so many Captives taken, so many Nations reduced under their Obedience, we find not

not one man forced into the Jewish Religion, and the Worship of the True God, and punished for Idolatry, tho' all of them were certainly guilty of it. If any one indeed, becoming a Profelyte; desired to be made a Denison of their Commonwealth, he was obliged to submit unto their Laws; that is, to embrace their Religion. But this he did willingly, on his own accord, not by constraint. He did not unwillingly submit, to shew his Obedience; But he sought and solicited for it, as a Privilege. And as soon as he was admitted, he became subject to the Laws of the Commonwealth, by which all Idolatry was forbidden within the Borders of the Land of *Canaan*. But that Law (as I have said) did not reach to any of those Regions, however subjected unto the *Jews*, that were situated without those Bounds.

Thus far concerning outward Worship. Let us now consider *Articles of Faith*.

The *Articles* of Religion are some of them *Practical*, and some *Speculative*. Now, tho' both sorts consist in the Knowledge of Truth, yet these terminate simply in the Understanding, those influence the Will and Manners. Speculative Opinions, therefore, and *Articles of Faith* (as they are called) which are required only to be believed, cannot be imposed on any Church by the Law of the Land. For it is absurd that things should be enjoined by Laws, which are not in Mens power to perform. And to believe this or that to be true, does not depend upon our Will. But of this enough has been said already. But (will some say) let Men at least profess that they believe. A sweet Religion indeed, that obliges Men to dissemble, and tell Lies both to God and Man, for the Salvation of their Souls! If the Magistrate thinks to save Men thus, he seems to understand little of the way of Salvation. And if he does it not in order to save them, why is he so solicitous about the *Articles of Faith* as to enact them by a Law?

Farther, The Magistrate ought not to forbid the Preaching or Professing of any Speculative Opinions in any Church, because they have no manner of relation to the Civil Rights of the Subjects. If a *Roman Catholick* believe that to be really the Body of Christ, which another Man calls bread, he does no Injury thereby to his Neighbour. If a *Jew* do not believe the New Testament to be the Word of God, he does not thereby alter any thing in Mens Civil Rights. If a Heathen doubt of both Testaments, he is not therefore to be punished as a pernicious Citizen. The Power of the Magistrate, and the Estates of the People, may be equally secure, whether any Man believe these things or no. I readily grant, that these Opinions are false and absurd. But the Business of Laws is not to provide for the Truth of Opinions, but for the Safety and Security of the Commonwealth, and of every particular Man's Goods and Person. And so it ought to be. For Truth certainly would do well enough, if she were once left to shift for herself. She seldom has received, and I fear never will receive much Assistance from the Power of Great Men, to whom she is but rarely known, and more rarely welcome. She is not taught by Laws, nor has she any need of Force to procure her Entrance into the Minds of Men. Errors indeed prevail by the assistance of foreign and borrowed Succours. But if Truth makes not her way into the Understanding by her own Light, she will be but the weaker for any borrowed Force Violence can add to her. Thus much for Speculative Opinions. Let us now proceed to *Practical* ones.

A Good Life, in which consists not the least part of Religion and true Piety, concerns also the Civil Government: and in it lies the safety both of Mens Souls, and of the Commonwealth. Moral Actions belong therefore to the Jurisdiction both of the outward and inward Court; both of the Civil and Domestick Governor; I mean, both of the Magistrate and Conscience. Here therefore is great danger, lest one of these Jurisdictions intrench upon the other, and Discord arise between the Keeper of the publick Peace and the Overseers of Souls. But if what has been already said concerning the Limits of both these Governments be rightly considered, it will easily remove all difficulty in this matter.

Every Man has an Immortal Soul, capable of Eternal Happiness or Misery; whose Happiness depending upon his believing and doing those things in this Life, which are necessary to the obtaining of God's Favour, and are prescribed by God to that end; it follows from thence, 1st, That the observance of these things is the highest Obligation that lies upon Mankind, and that our utmost
Care,

Care, Application, and Diligence, ought to be exercised in the Search and Performance of them; Because there is nothing in this World that is of any consideration in comparison with Eternity. 2dly, That seeing one Man does not violate the Right of another, by his Erroneous Opinions, and undue manner of Worship, nor is his Perdition any prejudice to another Man's Affairs; therefore the Care of each Man's Salvation belongs only to himself. But I would not have this understood, as if I meant hereby to condemn all charitable Admonitions, and affectionate Endeavours to reduce Men from Errors; which are indeed the greatest Duty of a Christian. Any one may employ as many Exhortations and Arguments as he pleases, towards the promoting of another Man's Salvation. But all Force and Compulsion are to be forborn. Nothing is to be done imperiously. No body is obliged in that matter to yield Obedience unto the Admonitions or Injunctions of another, farther than he himself is persuaded. Every Man, in that, has the supreme and absolute Authority of judging for himself. And the Reason is, because no body else is concerned in it, nor can receive any prejudice from his Conduct therein.

But besides their Souls, which are Immortal, Men have also their Temporal Lives here upon Earth; the State whereof being frail and fleeting, and the duration uncertain; they have need of several outward Conveniences to the support thereof, which are to be procured or preserved by Pains and Industry. For those things that are necessary to the comfortable support of our Lives are not the spontaneous Products of Nature, nor do offer themselves fit and prepared for our use. This part therefore draws on another Care, and necessarily gives another Employment. But the pravity of Mankind being such, that they had rather injuriously prey upon the Fruits of other Mens Labours, than take pains to provide for themselves; the necessity of preserving Men in the Possession of what honest industry has already acquired, and also of preserving their Liberty and Strength, whereby they may acquire what they farther want; obliges Men to enter into Society with one another; that by mutual Assistance and joint Force, they may secure unto each other their Proprieties, in the things that contribute to the Comfort and Happiness of this Life; leaving in the mean while to every Man the care of his own Eternal Happiness, the Attainment whereof can neither be facilitated by another Man's Industry, nor can the Loss of it turn to another Man's Prejudice, nor the Hope of it be forced from him by any external Violence. But forasmuch as Men thus entering into Societies, grounded upon their mutual Compacts of Assistance, for the Defence of their Temporal Goods, may nevertheless be deprived of them, either by the Rapine and Fraud of their Fellow-Citizens, or by the hostile Violence of Forreigners; the Remedy of this Evil consists in Arms, Riches, and Multitude of Citizens; the Remedy of the other in Laws; and the Care of all things relating both to the one and the other, is committed by the Society to the Civil Magistrate. This is the Original, this is the Use, and these are the Bounds of the Legislative (which is the Supreme) Power in every Commonwealth. I mean, that Provision may be made for the Security of each Man's private Possessions; for the Peace, Riches, and publick Commodities of the whole People; and, as much as possible, for the Increase of their inward Strength, against foreign Invasions.

These things being thus explain'd, it is easie to understand to what end the Legislative Power ought to be directed, and by what Measures regulated; and that is the temporal Good and outward Prosperity of the Society; which is the sole Reason of Mens entering into Society, and the only thing they seek and aim at in it. And it is also evident what Liberty remains to Men in reference to their eternal Salvation, and that is, that every one should do what he in his Conscience is persuaded to be acceptable to the Almighty, on whose good pleasure and acceptance depends their eternal Happiness. For Obedience is due in the first place to God, and afterwards to the Laws.

But some may ask, *What if the Magistrate should enjoin any thing by his Authority that appears unlawful to the Conscience of a private Person?* I answer, that if Government be faithfully administred, and the Counsels of the Magistrate be indeed directed to the publick Good, this will seldom happen. But if perhaps it do so fall out, I say, that such a private Person is to abstain from the Action that he judges unlawful; and he is to undergo the Punishment, which it is not unlawful for him

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to bear. For the private Judgment of any Person concerning a Law enacted in Political Matters, for the publick Good, does not take away the Obligation of that Law, nor deserve a Dispensation. But if the Law indeed be concerning things that lie not within the Verge of the Magistrate's Authority; (as for Example, that the People, or any Party amongst them, should be compell'd to embrace a strange Religion, and join in the Worship and Ceremonies of another Church,) men are not in these cases obliged by that Law, against their Consciences. For the Political Society is instituted for no other end, but only to secure every man's Possession of the things of this life. The care of each man's Soul, and of the things of Heaven, which neither does belong to the Commonwealth, nor can be subjected to it, is left entirely to every man's self. Thus the safeguard of mens lives, and of the things that belong unto this life, is the business of the Commonwealth; and the preserving of those things unto their Owners, is the Duty of the Magistrate. And therefore the Magistrate cannot take away these worldly things from this man, or party, and give them to that; nor change Propriety amongst Fellow-Subjects, (no not even by a Law) for a cause that has no relation to the End of Civil Government; I mean for their Religion; which whether it be true or false, does no prejudice to the worldly concerns of their Fellow-Subjects, which are the things that only belong unto the care of the Commonwealth.

But what if the Magistrate believe such a Law as this to be for the publick Good? I answer: as the private Judgment of any particular Person, if erroneous, does not exempt him from the obligation of Law, so the private Judgment (as I may call it) of the Magistrate does not give him any new Right of imposing Laws upon his Subjects, which neither was in the Constitution of the Government granted him, nor ever was in the power of the People to grant: much less, if he make it his Business to enrich and advance his Followers and Fellow-Sectaries, with the Spoils of others. But what if the Magistrate believe that he has a right to make such Laws, and that they are for the publick Good; and his Subjects believe the contrary? Who shall be Judge between them? I answer, God alone. For there is no Judge upon earth between the Supreme Magistrate and the People. God, I say, is the only Judge in this case, who will retribute unto every one at the last day according to his Deserts; that is, according to his sincerity and uprightness in endeavouring to promote Piety, and the publick Weal and Peace of Mankind. But what shall be done in the mean while? I answer: The principal and chief care of every one ought to be of his own Soul first, and in the next place, of the publick Peace: tho' yet there are very few will think 'tis Peace there, where they see all laid waste. There are two sorts of Contests amongst Men; the one managed by Law, the other by Force: and these are of that nature, that where the one ends, the other always begins. But it is not my business to enquire into the Power of the Magistrate in the different Constitutions of Nations. I only know what usually happens where controversies arise, without a Judge to determine them. You will say then the Magistrate being the stronger will have his Will, and carry his point. Without doubt. But the Question is not here concerning the doubtfulness of the Event, but the Rule of Right.

But to come to particulars. I say, *First*, No Opinions contrary to human Society, or to those moral Rules which are necessary to the Preservation of Civil Society, are to be tolerated by the Magistrate. But of these indeed Examples in any Church are rare. For no Sect can easily arrive to such a degree of madness, as that it should think fit to teach, for Doctrines of Religion, such things as manifestly undermine the Foundations of Society, and are therefore condemned by the judgment of all Mankind: because their own Interest, Peace, Reputation, every Thing would be thereby endangered.

Another more secret Evil, but more dangerous to the Commonwealth, is when Men arrogate to themselves, and to those of their own Sect, some peculiar Prerogative cover'd over with a specious shew of deceitful words, but in effect opposite to the Civil Right of the Community. For Example. We cannot find any Sect that teaches expressly and openly, that Men are not obliged to keep their Promise; that Princes may be dethroned by those that differ from them in Religion; or that the Dominion of all things belongs only to themselves. For these things, proposed thus nakedly and plainly, would soon draw on them the Eye and Hand of the Magistrate, and awaken all the care of the Commonwealth to a watchfulness against the spreading of so dangerous an Evil. But nevertheless, we find those that say the same things, in other words. What else do they mean, who teach that *Faith is not to be kept with Hereticks*? Their meaning, forsooth,

forsooth, is that the privilege of breaking Faith belongs unto themselves: For they declare all that are not of their Communion to be Hereticks, or at least may declare them so whensoever they think fit. What can be the meaning of their asserting that *Kings excommunicated forfeit their Crowns and Kingdoms*? It is evident that they thereby arrogate unto themselves the Power of deposing Kings: because they challenge the Power of Excommunication, as the peculiar Right of their Hierarchy. That *Dominion is founded in Grace*, is also an Assertion by which those that maintain it do plainly lay claim to the possession of all things. For they are not so wanting to themselves as not to believe, or at least as not to profess themselves to be the truly pious and faithful. These therefore, and the like, who attribute unto the Faithful, Religious and Orthodox, that is, in plain terms, unto themselves, any peculiar Privilege or Power above other Mortals, in civil Concernments; or who, upon pretence of Religion, do challenge any manner of Authority over such, as are not associated with them in their Ecclesiastical Communion; I say these have no right to be tolerated by the Magistrate; as neither those that will not own and teach the Duty of tolerating All Men in matters of mere Religion. For what do all these and the like Doctrines signifie, but that they may, and are ready upon any occasion to seize the Government, and possess themselves of the Estates and Fortunes of their Fellow-Subjects; and that they only ask leave to be tolerated by the Magistrate so long, until they find themselves strong enough to effect it?

Again: That Church can have no right to be tolerated by the Magistrate, which constituted upon such a bottom, that all those who enter into it, do thereby *ipso facto*, deliver themselves up to the Protection and Service of another Prince. For by this means the Magistrate would give way to the settling of a foreign Jurisdiction in his own Country, and suffer his own People to be listd, as it were, for Soldiers against his own Government. Nor does the frivolous and fallacious distinction between the Court and the Church afford any remedy to this Inconvenience; especially when both the one and the other are equally subject to the absolute Authority of the same person; who has not only power to persuade the Members of his Church to whatsoever he lists, either as purely Religious, or in order thereunto, but can also enjoin it them on pain of eternal Fire. It is ridiculous for any one to profess himself to be a *Mahumetan* only in his Religion, but in every thing else a faithful Subject to a Christian Magistrate, whilst at the same time he acknowledges himself bound to yield blind obedience to the *Muftri* of *Constantinople*; who himself is entirely obedient to the *Ottoman* Emperor, and frames the feigned Oracles of that Religion according to his pleasure. But this Mahumetan living amongst Christians, would yet more apparently renounce their Government, if he acknowledged the same Person to be Head of his Church, who is the supreme Magistrate in the State.

Lastly, Those are not at all to be tolerated who deny the Being of a God. Promises, Covenants, and Oaths, which are the Bonds of human Society, can have no hold upon an Atheist. The taking away of God, tho' but even in thought, dissolves all. Besides also, those that by their Atheism undermine and destroy all Religion, can have no pretence of Religion whereupon to challenge the Privilege of a Toleration. As for other practical Opinions, tho' not absolutely free from all Error, if they do not tend to establish Domination over others, or Civil Impunity to the Church in which they are taught, there can be no Reason why they should not be tolerated.

It remains that I say something concerning those Assemblies, which being vulgarly called, and perhaps having sometimes been *Conventicles*, and Nurseries of Factions and Seditions, are thought to afford the strongest matter of Objection against this Doctrine of Toleration. But this has not happened by any thing peculiar unto the genius of such Assemblies, but by the unhappy Circumstances of an oppressed or ill-settled Liberty. These Accusations would soon cease, if the Law of Toleration were once so settled, that all Churches were obliged to lay down Toleration as the Foundation of their own Liberty; and teach that Liberty of Conscience is every Mans natural Right, equally belonging to Dissenters as to themselves; and that no body ought to be compell'd in matters of Religion either by Law or Force. The Establishment of this one thing would take away all ground of Complaints and Tumults upon account of Conscience. And these Causes of Discontents and Animosities being once removed, there would remain nothing in these Assemblies that were not more peaceable, and less apt to produce Disturbance of State, than in any other Meetings whatsoever. But let us examine particularly the Heads of these Accusations.

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You'll say, That *Assemblies and Meetings endanger the Publick Peace, and threaten the Commonwealth.* I answer: If this be so, why are there daily such numerous Meetings in Markets, and Courts of Judicature? Why are Crowds upon the Exchange, and a concourse of People in Cities suffered? You'll reply; Those are Civil Assemblies; but These we object against, are Ecclesiastical. I answer: 'Tis a likely thing indeed, that such Assemblies as are altogether remote from Civil Affairs, should be most apt to embroyl them. O, but Civil Assemblies are composed of Men that differ from one another in matters of Religion; but these Ecclesiastical Meetings are of Persons that are all of one Opinion. As if an Agreement in matters of Religion, were in effect a Conspiracy against the Commonwealth; or as if Men would not be so much the more warmly unanimous in Religion, the less Liberty they had of assembling. But it will be urged still, That Civil Assemblies are open, and free for any one to enter into; whereas religious Conventicles are more private, and thereby give opportunity to clandestine Machinations. I answer, That this is not strictly true: For many Civil Assemblies are not open to every one. And if some religious Meetings be private, who are they (I beseech you) that are to be blamed for it? those that desire, or those that forbid their being publick? Again; You'll say, that religious Communion does exceedingly unite Mens Minds and Affections to one another, and is therefore the more dangerous. But if this be so, why is not the Magistrate afraid of his own Church; and why does he not forbid their Assemblies, as things dangerous to his Government? You'll say, Because he himself is a Part, and even the Head of them. As if he were not also a Part of the Commonwealth, and the Head of the whole People.

Let us therefore deal plainly. The Magistrate is afraid of other Churches, but not of his own; because he is kind and favourable to the one, but severe and cruel to the other. These he treats like Children, and indulges them even to Wantonness. Those he uses as Slaves; and how blamelessly soever they demean themselves, recompenses them no otherwise than by Gallies, Prisons, Confiscations and Death. These he cherishes and defends: Those he continually scourges and oppresses. Let him turn the Tables: Or let those Dissenters enjoy but the same Privileges in Civils as his other Subjects, and he will quickly find that these religious Meetings will be no longer dangerous. For if Men enter into seditious Conspiracies, 'tis not Religion inspires them to it in their Meetings; but their Sufferings and Oppressions that make them willing to ease themselves. Just and moderate Governments are every where quiet, every where safe. But Oppression raises Ferments, and makes Men struggle to cast off an uneasie and tyrannical Yoke. I know that Seditions are very frequently raised upon Pretence of Religion. But 'tis as true that, for Religion, Subjects are frequently ill treated, and live miserably. Believe me, the Stirs that are made, proceed not from any peculiar Temper of this or that Church or religious Society; but from the common Disposition of all Mankind, who when they groan under any heavy Burthen, endeavour naturally to shake off the Yoke that galls their Necks. Suppose this Business of Religion were let alone, and that there were some other Distinction made between Men and Men, upon account of their different Complexions, Shapes, and Features, so that those who have black Hair (for example) or grey Eyes, should not enjoy the same Privileges as other Citizens; that they should not be permitted either to buy or sell, or live by their Callings; that Parents should not have the Government and Education of their own Children; that all should either be excluded from the Benefit of the Laws, or meet with partial Judges; can it be doubted but these Persons, thus distinguished from others by the Colour of their Hair and Eyes, and united together by one common Persecution, would be as dangerous to the Magistrate, as any others that had associated themselves merely upon the account of Religion? Some enter into Company for Trade and Profit: Others, for want of Business, have their Clubs for Claret. Neighbourhood joyns some, and Religion others. But there is one only thing which gathers People into seditious Commotions, and that is Oppression.

You'll say; What, will you have People to meet at divine Service *against the Magistrates Will?* I answer; Why, I pray, against his Will? Is it not both lawful and necessary that they should meet? Against his Will, do you say? That's what I complain of. That is the very Root of all the Mischief. Why are Assemblies less sufferable in a Church than in a Theatre or Market? Those that meet there are not either more vicious, or more turbulent, than those that meet elsewhere. The Business

ness in that is, that they are ill used, and therefore they are not to be suffered. Take away the Partiality that is used towards them in matters of common Right; change the Laws, take away the Penalties unto which they are subjected, and all things will immediately become safe and peaceable; nay, those that are averse to the Religion of the Magistrate, will think themselves so much the more bound to maintain the Peace of the Commonwealth, as their Condition is better in that place than elsewhere; and all the several separate Congregations, like so many Guardians of the Publick Peace, will watch one another, that nothing may be innovated or changed in the Form of the Government: Because they can hope for nothing better than what they already enjoy; that is, an equal Condition with their Fellow-Subjects, under a just and moderate Government. Now if that Church, which agrees in Religion with the Prince, be esteemed the chief Support of any Civil Government, and that for no other reason (as has already been shewn) than because the Prince is kind, and the Laws are favourable to it; how much greater will be the Security of a Government, where all good Subjects, of whatsoever Church they be, without any Distinction upon account of Religion, enjoying the same Favour of the Prince, and the same Benefit of the Laws, shall become the common Support and Guard of it; and where none will have any occasion to fear the Severity of the Laws, but those that do Injuries to their Neighbours, and offend against the Civil Peace?

That we may draw towards a Conclusion. The Sum of all we drive at is, *That every Man may enjoy the same Rights that are granted to others.* Is it permitted to worship God in the *Roman* manner? Let it be permitted to do it in the *Geneva* Form also. Is it permitted to speak *Latin* in the Market-place? Let those that have a mind to it, be permitted to do it also in the Church. Is it lawful for any Man in his own House, to kneel, stand, sit, or use any other Posture; and to cloath himself in white or black, in short or in long Garments? Let it not be made unlawful to eat Bread, drink Wine, or wash with Water in the Church. In a Word: Whatsoever things are left free by Law in the common occasions of Life, let them remain free unto every Church in Divine Worship. Let no Man's Life, or Body, or House, or Estate, suffer any manner of Prejudice upon these Accounts. Can you allow of the *Presbyterian* Discipline? Why should not the *Episcopal* also have what they like? Ecclesiastical Authority, whether it be administered by the Hands of a single Person, or many, is every where the same; and neither has any Jurisdiction in things Civil, nor any manner of Power of Compulsion, nor any thing at all to do with Riches and Revenues.

Ecclesiastical Assemblies, and Sermons, are justified by daily Experience, and publick Allowance. These are allowed to People of some one Perswasion: Why not to all? If any thing pass in a religious Meeting seditiously, and contrary to the publick Peace, it is to be punished in the same manner, and no otherwise, than as if it had happened in a Fair or Market. These Meetings ought not to be Sanctuaries for factious and flagitious Fellows: Nor ought it to be less lawful for Men to meet in Churches than in Halls: Nor are one part of the Subjects to be esteemed more blameable, for their meeting together, than others. Every one is to be accountable for his own Actions; and no Man is to be laid under a Suspicion, or Odium, for the Fault of another. Those that are Seditious, Murderers, Thieves, Robbers, Adulterers, Slanderers, &c. of whatsoever Church, whether National or not, ought to be punished and suppressed. But those whose Doctrine is peaceable, and whose Manners are pure and blameless, ought to be upon equal Terms with their Fellow-Subjects. Thus if solemn Assemblies, Observations of Festivals, publick Worship, be permitted to any one sort of Professors; all these things ought to be permitted to the *Presbyterians*, *Independents*, *Anabaptists*, *Arminians*, *Quakers*, and others, with the same Liberty. Nay, if we may openly speak the Truth, and as becomes one Man to another, neither *Pagan* nor *Mahometan*, nor *Jew*, ought to be excluded from the Civil Rights of the Commonwealth, because of his Religion. The Gospel commands no such thing. The Church, which judgeth not those that are without, wants it not. 1 Cor. 5. And the Commonwealth, which embraces indifferently all Men that are honest, peace- 12, 13. able and industrious, requires it not. Shall we suffer a *Pagan* to deal and trade with us, and shall we not suffer him to pray unto and worship God? If we allow the Jews to have private Houses and Dwellings amongst us, why should we not allow them to have Synagogues? Is their Doctrine more false, their Worship more abominable, or is the

the Civil Peace more endangered, by their meeting in publick than in their private Houses? But if these things may be granted to *Jews* and *Pagans*, surely the condition of any Christians ought not to be worse than theirs in a Christian Commonwealth.

You'll say, perhaps, yes, it ought to be: Because they are more inclineable to Factions, Tumults, and Civil Wars. I answer: Is this the fault of the Christian Religion? If it be so, truly the Christian Religion is the worst of all Religions, and ought neither to be embraced by any particular Person, nor tolerated by any Commonwealth. For if this be the Genius, this the Nature of the Christian Religion, to be turbulent, and destructive to the Civil Peace, that Church itself which the Magistrate indulges, will not always be innocent. But far be it from us to say any such thing of that Religion, which carries the greatest Opposition to Covetousness, Ambition, Discord, Contention, and all manner of inordinate Desires; and is the most modest and peaceable Religion that ever was. We must therefore seek another Cause of those Evils that are charged upon Religion. And if we consider right, we shall find it to consist wholly in the Subject that I am treating of. It is not the Diversity of Opinions, (which cannot be avoided) but the Refusal of Toleration to those that are of different Opinions, (which might have been granted) that has produced all the Bustles and Wars, that have been in the Christian World, upon account of Religion. The Heads and Leaders of the Church, moved by Avarice and insatiable Desire of Dominion, making use of the immoderate Ambition of Magistrates, and the credulous Superstition of the giddy Multitude, have incensed and animated them against those that dissent from themselves; by preaching unto them, contrary to the Laws of the Gospel, and to the Precepts of Charity, that Schismatics and Hereticks are to be outed of their Possessions, and destroyed. And thus have they mixed together, and confounded two things, that are in themselves most different, the Church and the Commonwealth. Now as it is very difficult for Men patiently to suffer themselves to be stript of the Goods, which they have got by their honest Industry; and contrary to all the Laws of Equity, both humane and divine, to be delivered up for a Prey to other Mens Violence and Rapine; especially when they are otherwise altogether blameless; and that the Occasion for which they are thus treated, does not at all belong to the Jurisdiction of the Magistrate, but intirely to the Conscience of every particular Man; for the Conduct of which he is accountable to God only; what else can be expected, but that these Men, growing weary of the Evils under which they labour, should in the end think it lawful for them to resist Force with Force, and to defend their natural Rights (which are not forfeitable upon account of Religion) with Arms as well as they can? That this has been hitherto the ordinary course of things, is abundantly evident in History: And that it will continue to be so hereafter, is but too apparent in Reason. It cannot indeed be otherwise, so long as the Principle of Persecution for Religion shall prevail, as it has done hitherto, with Magistrate and People; and so long as those that ought to be the Preachers of Peace and Concord, shall continue, with all their Art and Strength, to excite Men to Arms, and sound the Trumpet of War. But that Magistrates should thus suffer these Incendiaries, and Disturbers of the Publick Peace, might justly be wondred at; if it did not appear that they have been invited by them unto a Participation of the Spoil, and have therefore thought fit to make use of their Covetousness and Pride, as means whereby to increase their own Power. For who does not see that *these Good Men* are indeed more Ministers of the Government, than Ministers of the Gospel; and that by flattering the Ambition, and favouring the Dominion of Princes and Men in Authority, they endeavour with all their Might to promote that Tyranny in the Commonwealth, which otherwise they should not be able to establish in the Church? This is the unhappy Agreement that we see between the Church and State. Whereas if each of them would contain itself within its own Bounds, the one attending to the worldly Welfare of the Commonwealth, the other to the Salvation of Souls, it is impossible that any Discord should ever have hapned between them. *Sed, pudet hæc opprobria, &c.* God Almighty grant, I beseech him, that the Gospel of Peace may at length be preached, and that Civil Magistrates growing more careful to conform their own Consciences to the Law of God, and less sollicitous about the binding of other mens Consciences by human Laws, may like Fathers of their Country, direct all their Counsels and Endeavours to promote universally the civil Welfare of all their Children; except only of such as are arrogant ungovernable, and injurious to their Brethren; and that all ecclesiastical men, who
boast

boast themselves to be the Successors of the Apostles, walking peaceably and modestly in the Apostles steps, without intermeddling with State-Affairs, may apply themselves wholly to promote the Salvation of Souls.

Farewell.

Perhaps it may not be amiss to add a few things concerning *Heresy* and *Schism*. A *Turk* is not, nor can be, either Heretick or Schismatick, to a *Christian*: and if any Man fall off from the Christian Faith to Mahometism, he does not thereby become a Heretick or Schismatick, but an Apostate and an Infidel. This no body doubts of. And by this it appears that Men of different Religions cannot be Hereticks or Schismaticks to one another.

We are to enquire therefore, what Men are of the same Religion. Concerning which, it is manifest that those who have one and the same Rule of Faith and Worship, are of the same Religion: and those who have not the same Rule of Faith and Worship, are of different Religions. For since all things that belong unto that Religion are contained in that Rule, it follows necessarily that those who agree in one Rule are of one and the same Religion: and *vice versa*. Thus Turks and Christians are of different Religions: because these take the *Holy Scriptures* to be the Rule of their Religion, and those the *Alcoran*. And for the same reason, there may be different Religions also even amongst Christians. The *Papists* and the *Lutherans*, tho' both of them profess Faith in Christ, and are therefore called Christians, yet are not both of the same Religion: because these acknowledge nothing but the *Holy Scriptures* to be the Rule and Foundation of their Religion; those take in also Traditions and the Decrees of Popes, and of these together make the Rule of their Religion. And thus the Christians of *St. John* (as they are called) and the Christians of *Geneva* are of different Religions: because these also take only the Scriptures; and those I know not what Traditions, for the Rule of their Religion.

This being settled, it follows; *First*, That Heresy is a Separation made in Ecclesiastical Communion between Men of the same Religion, for some Opinions no way contained in the Rule itself. And *Secondly*, That amongst those who acknowledge nothing but the *Holy Scriptures* to be their Rule of Faith, Heresy is a Separation made in their Christian Communion, for Opinions not contained in the express Words of Scripture. Now this Separation may be made in a twofold manner.

1. When the greater part, or (by the Magistrate's Patronage) the stronger part, of the Church separates itself from others, by excluding them out of her Communion, because they will not profess their Belief of certain Opinions which are not the express Words of the Scripture. For it is not the paucity of those that are separated, nor the Authority of the Magistrate, that can make any Man guilty of Heresy. But he only is an Heretick who divides the Church into parts, introduces Names and Marks of Distinction, and voluntarily makes a Separation because of such Opinions.

2. When any one separates himself from the Communion of a Church, because that Church does not publicly profess some certain Opinions which the *Holy Scriptures* do not expressly teach.

Both these are *Hereticks*, because they err in *Fundamentals*, and they err obstinately against Knowledge. For when they have determined the *Holy Scriptures* to be the only Foundation of Faith, they nevertheless lay down certain Propositions as fundamental, which are not in the Scripture; and because others will not acknowledge these additional Opinions of theirs, nor build upon them as if they were necessary and fundamental, they therefore make a Separation in the Church; either by withdrawing themselves from the others, or expelling the others from them. Nor does it signify any thing for them to say that their Confessions and Symboles are agreeable to Scripture, and to the Analogy of Faith. For if they be conceived in the express Words of Scripture, there can be no question about them; because those things are acknowledged by all Christians to be of Divine Inspiration, and therefore fundamental. But if they say that the Articles which they require to be profess'd, are Consequences deduced from the Scripture; it is undoubtedly well done of them who believe and profess such things as seem unto them so agreeable to the Rule of Faith. But it would be very ill done to obtrude those things upon others, unto whom they do not seem to be the indubitable Doctrines of the Scripture. And to make a Separation

Separation for such things as these, which neither are nor can be fundamental, is to become Hereticks. For I do not think there is any Man arrived to that Degree of Madneſs, as that he dare give out his Conſequences and Interpretations of Scripture as divine Inſpirations, and compare the Articles of Faith that he has framed according to his own Fancy with the Authority of the Scripture. I know there are ſome Propoſitions ſo evidently agreeable to Scripture, that no body can deny them to be drawn from thence: but about thoſe therefore there can be no Difference. This only I ſay, that however clearly we may think this or the other Doctrine to be deduced from Scripture, we ought not therefore to impoſe it upon others, as a neceſſary Article of Faith, becauſe we believe it to be agreeable to the Rule of Faith; unleſs we would be content alſo that other Doctrines ſhould be impoſed upon us in the ſame manner; and that we ſhould be compell'd to receive and profeſs all the different and contradictory Opinions of *Lutherans, Calviniſts, Remonſtrants, Anabaptiſts*, and other Sects, which the Contrivers of Symbols, Systems, and Confeſſions; are accuſtomed to deliver unto their Followers as genuine and neceſſary Deductions from the Holy Scripture. I cannot but wonder at the extravagant Arrogance of thoſe Men who think that they themſelves can explain things neceſſary to Salvation more clearly than the Holy Ghoſt, the eternal and infinite Wiſdom of God.

Thus much concerning *Hereſy*; which Word in common uſe is applied only to the doctrinal part of Religion. Let us now conſider *Schiſm*, which is a Crime near a-kin to it. For both theſe Words ſeem unto me to ſignifie an *ill-grounded Separation in Eccleſiaſtical Communion, made about things not neceſſary*. But ſince Uſe, which is the ſupream Law in Matter of Language, has determined that Hereſy relates to Errors in Faith, and Schiſm to thoſe in Worſhip or Diſcipline, we muſt conſider them under that Diſtinction.

Schiſm then, for the ſame Reaſons that have already been alledged, is nothing elſe but a Separation made in the Communion of the Church, upon account of ſomething in Divine Worſhip, or Eccleſiaſtical Diſcipline, that is not any neceſſary part of it. Now nothing in Worſhip or Diſcipline can be neceſſary to Chriſtian Communion, but what Chriſt our Legiſlator, or the Apoſtles, by Inſpiration of the Holy Spirit, have commanded in expreſs Words.

In a Word: He that denies not any thing that the Holy Scriptures teach in expreſs Words, nor makes a Separation upon occaſion of any thing that is not manifeſtly contained in the ſacred Text; however he may be nick-named by any Sect of Chriſtians, and declared by ſome, or all of them, to be utterly void of true Chriſtianity; yet in deed and in truth this Man cannot be either a Heretick or Schiſmatick.

Theſe things might have been explained more largely, and more advantageouſly; but it is enough to have hinted at them, thus briefly, to a Perſon of your parts.





CONFIDENTIAL

NOTATION



TO THE
AUTHOR
 OF THE

*Argument of the Letter concerning Toleration, briefly
 considered and answered.*

S I R,



YOU will pardon me if I take the same Liberty with you, that you have done with the Author of the Letter concerning Toleration; to consider your Arguments, and endeavour to shew you the Mistakes of them. For since you have so plainly yielded up the Question to him, and do own that *the Severities* he would dissuade Christians from, *are* Pag. 12,
utterly unapt, and improper to bring Men to embrace that Truth which must save them: 13, 14
 I am not without some Hopes to prevail with you, to do that your self, which you say is the only justifiable Aim of Men differing about Religion, even in the use of the severest Methods: *viz. Carefully and impartially to weigh the whole Matter*, and thereby to remove that Prejudice which makes you yet favour some Remains of Persecution: Promising my self that so ingenious a Person will either be convinced by the Truth which appears so very clear and evident to me; or else confess, that, were either you or I in Authority, we should very unreasonably and very unjustly use any Force upon the other, which differ'd from him, upon any pretence of want of Examination. And if Force be not to be used in your Case or mine, because unreasonable, or unjust; you will, I hope, think fit that it should be forborn in all others, where it will be equally unjust and unreasonable; as I doubt not but to make it appear it will unavoidably be, wherever you will go about to punish Men for want of Consideration. For the true way to try such Speculations as these, is to see how they will prove when they are reduc'd into Practice.

The first thing you seem startled at, in the Author's Letter, is the Largeness of the Toleration he proposes: And you think it strange that he would not have so much as a *Pagan, Mahometan, or Jew, excluded from the Civil Rights of the Commonwealth,* Pag. 1;
because of his Religion. We pray every Day for their Conversion, and I think it our Duty so to do: But it will, I fear, hardly be believed that we pray in earnest, if we exclude them from the other ordinary and probable means of Conversion; either by driving them from, or persecuting them when they are amongst us. Force, you allow, is improper to convert Men to any Religion. Toleration is but the removing that Force. So that why those should not be tolerated as well as others, if you wish their Conversion, I do not see. But you say, *It seems hard to conceive how the Author of that Letter should think to do any Service to Religion in general, or to the Christian Religion, by recommending and persuading such a Toleration.* For how much soever it Pag. 2;
may tend to the Advancement of Trade and Commerce, (which some seem to place above all other Considerations) I see no reason, from any Experiment that has been made, to expect that true Religion would be a Gainer by it; that it would be either the better preserved, the more wildly propagated, or rendred any whit the more fruitful in the Lives of its Professors by it. Before I come to your Doubt itself, *whether true*

A Second Letter concerning Toleration.

Religion would be a Gainer by such a Toleration; give me leave to take notice, that if, by other Considerations, you mean any thing but Religion, your Parenthesis is wholly besides the Matter; and that if you do not know that the Author of the Letter places the Advancement of Trade above Religion, your Insinuation is very uncharitable. But I go on.

You see no reason, you say, from any Experiment that has been made, to expect that true Religion would be a gainer by it. True Religion and Christian Religion are, I suppose, to you and me, the same thing. But of this you have an Experiment in its first appearance in the World, and several hundreds of Years after. It was then better preserv'd, more widely propagated (in proportion) and render'd more fruitful in the Lives of its Professors, than ever since; tho' then Jews and Pagans were tolerated, and more than tolerated by the Governments of those Places where it grew up. I hope you do not imagine the Christian Religion has lost any of its first Beauty, Force, or Reasonableness, by having been almost 2000 Years in the World; that you should fear it should be less able now to shift for it self, without the help of Force. I doubt not but you look upon it still to be the Power and Wisdom of God for our Salvation; and therefore cannot suspect it less capable to prevail now, by its own Truth and Light, than it did in the first Ages of the Church, when poor contemptible Men, without Authority, or the countenance of Authority, had alone the care of it. This, as I take it, has been made use of by Christians generally, and by some of our Church in particular, as an Argument for the Truth of the Christian Religion; that it grew and spread, and prevailed, without any Aid from Force, or the Assistance of the Powers in being. And if it be a mark of the true Religion, that it will prevail by its own Light and Strength, (but that false Religions will not, but have need of Force and foreign Helps to support them) nothing certainly can be more for the advantage of true Religion, than to take away compulsion every where. And therefore it is no more hard to conceive how the Author of the Letter should think to do Service to Religion in general, or to the Christian Religion, than it is hard to conceive that he should think there is a true Religion, and that the Christian Religion is it; which its Professors have always own'd not to need Force, and have urged that as a good Argument to prove the truth of it. The Inventions of Men in Religion need the Force and Helps of Men to support them. A Religion that is of God wants not the Assistance of Human Authority to make it prevail. I guess, when this dropp'd from you, you had narrow'd your Thoughts to your own Age and Country: But if you will enlarge them a little beyond the Confines of England, I do not doubt but you will easily imagine that if in Italy, Spain, Portugal, &c. the Inquisition; and in France their Dragooning; and in other parts those Severities that are used to keep or force Men to the national Religion, were taken away; and instead thereof the Toleration propos'd by the Author were set up, the true Religion would be a gainer by it.

The Author of the Letter says, *Truth will do well enough, if she were once left to shift for her self. She seldom hath received, and he fears never will receive much Assistance from the Power of great Men, to whom she is but rarely known, and more rarely welcome. Errors indeed prevail, by the Assistance of foreign and borrowed Succours. Truth makes way into our Understanding, by her own Light, and is but the weaker for any borrowed Force that Violence can add to her.* These words of his (how hard soever they may seem to you) may help you to conceive how he should think to do Service to true Religion, by recommending and persuading such a Toleration as he propos'd. And now, pray tell me your self, whether you do not think True Religion would be a gainer by it, if such a Toleration establish'd there, would permit the Doctrine of the Church of England to be freely preached, and its Worship set up, in any Popish, Mahometan, or Pagan Country? If you do not, you have a very ill Opinion of the Religion of the Church of England, and must own that it can only be propagated and supported by Force. If you think it would gain in those Countries, by such a Toleration, you are then of the Author's Mind, and do not find it so hard to conceive how the recommending such a Toleration, might do Service to that which you think True Religion. But if you allow such a Toleration useful to Truth in other Countries, you must find something very peculiar in the Air, that must make it less useful to Truth in England. And 'twill favour of much partiality, and be too absurd, I fear, for you to own, that Toleration will be advantageous to True Religion all the World over, except only in this Island; Though, I much suspect, this, as absurd as it is, lies at the bottom; And you build all you say, upon this lurking Supposition, that the national Religion now in England,

back'd

back'd by the publick Authority of the Law, is the only True Religion, and therefore no other is to be tolerated. Which being a Supposition, equally unavoidable, and equally just in other Countries, (unless we can imagine that every where but in *England* Men believe what at the same time they think to be a Lie) will in other Places exclude Toleration, and thereby hinder Truth from the means of propagating it self.

What the Fruits of Toleration are, which in the next words you complain do remain still among us, and which you say give no Encouragement to hope for any Advantages from it; what Fruits, I say, these are, or whether they are owing to the want or wideness of Toleration among us, we shall then be able to judge, when you tell us what they are. In the mean time I will boldly say, that if the Magistrates will severely and impartially set themselves against Vice, in whomsoever it is found; and leave Men to their own Consciences, in their Articles of Faith, and ways of Worship; True Religion will be spread wider, and be more fruitful in the Lives of its Professors, than ever hitherto it has been, by the imposition of Creeds and Ceremonies.

You tell us, that no Man can fail of finding the way of Salvation, who seeks it as he ought. I wonder you had not taken notice, in the places you quote for this, how we are directed there to the right way of seeking. The words (*John vii. 17.*) are; *If any Man will do his Will, he shall know of the Doctrine whether it be of God.* And, *Psal. xxv. 9, 12, 14.* which are also quoted by you, tell us, *The Meek will he guide in Judgment, and the Meek will he teach his way. What Man is he that feareth the Lord, him shall he teach in the way that he shall chuse. The Secret of the Lord is with them that fear him, and he will shew them his Covenant.* So that these places, if they prove what you cite them for, that no Man can fail of finding the way of Salvation, who seeks it as he ought; they do also prove, that a good Life is the only way to seek as we ought, and that therefore the Magistrates, if they would put Men upon seeking the way of Salvation as they ought, should, by their Laws and Penalties, force them to a good Life; A good Conversation being the readiest and surest way to a right Understanding. Punishments and Severities thus apply'd, we are sure, are both practicable, just, and useful. How Punishments will prove in the way you contend for, we shall see when we come to consider it.

Having given us these broad Marks of your Good-will to Toleration, you tell us, *'Tis not your Design to argue against it, but only to enquire what our Author offers for the proof of his Assertion.* And then you give us this Scheme of his Argument. Pag. 3.

1. *There is but one way of Salvation, or but one True Religion.*
2. *No Man can be saved by this Religion, who does not believe it to be the True Religion.*
3. *This Belief is to be wrought in Men by Reason and Argument, not by outward Force and Compulsion.*
4. *Therefore all such Force is utterly of no use for the promoting True Religion, and the Salvation of Souls.*
5. *And therefore no body can have any Right to use any Force or Compulsion, for the bringing Men to the True Religion.*

And you tell us, *the whole Strength of what that Letter urged for the purpose of it, lies in this Argument,* Which I think you have no more reason to say, than if you should tell us, that only one Beam of a House had any Strength in it, when there are several others that would support the Building, were that gone.

The purpose of the Letter is plainly to defend Toleration, exempt from all Force; especially civil Force, or the Force of the Magistrate. Now if it be a true Consequence that Men must be tolerated, if Magistrates have no Commission or Authority to punish them for Matters of Religion; then the only strength of that Letter lies not in the unsuitness of Force to convince Mens Understanding. Vid. Let. p. 234.

Again; If it be true that Magistrates being as liable to Error as the rest of Mankind, their using of Force in Matters of Religion, would not at all advance the Salvation of Mankind, (allowing that even Force could work upon them, and Magistrates had Authority to use it in Religion) then the Argument you mention is not the only one in that Letter, of strength to prove the Necessity of Toleration. V. Let. p. 235. For the Argument of the unsuitness of Force to convince Mens Minds being quite taken away, either of the other would be a strong proof for Toleration. But let us consider the Argument as you have put it.

The two first Propositions, you say, you agree to. As to the third, you grant that Force is very improper to be used to induce the Mind to assent to any Truth. But yet you deny, Pag. 4.

A Second Letter concerning Toleration.

deny, that Force is utterly useless for the promoting true Religion, and the Salvation of Mens Souls; which you call the Author's 4th Proposition; but indeed that is not the Author's 4th Proposition, or any Proposition of his, to be found in the Pages you quote, or any where else in the whole Letter, either in those terms, or in the sense you take it. In the 245th Page, which you quote, the Author is shewing that the Magistrate has no Power, that is not Right, to make use of Force in Matters of Religion, for the Salvation of Mens Souls. And the Reason he gives for it there, is, because force has no efficacy to convince Mens Minds; and that without a full persuation of the Mind, the Profession of the true Religion it self is not acceptable to God. Upon this ground, says he, I affirm that the Magistrate's Power extends not to the establishing any Articles of Faith, or Forms of Worship, by the Force of his Laws. For Laws are of no Force at all without Penalties; and Penalties in this case are absolutely impertinent, because they are not proper to convince the Mind. And so again, Pag. 243. which is the other place you quote, the Author says; *Whatsoever may be doubted in Religion, yet this at least is certain; that no Religion which I believe not to be true, can be either true, or profitable unto me. In vain therefore do Princes compel their Subjects to come into their Church-Communion, under the pretence of saving their Souls.* And more to this purpose. But in neither of those Passages, nor any where else, that I remember, does the Author say that it is impossible that Force should any way, at any time, upon any Person by any Accident, be useful towards the promoting of true Religion, and the Salvation of Souls; for that is it which you mean by *utterly of no use*. He does not deny that there is any thing which God in his Goodness does not, or may not, sometimes, graciously make use of, towards the Salvation of mens Souls (as our Saviour did of Clay and Spittle to cure Blindness) and that so, Force also may be sometimes useful. But that which he denies, and you grant, is, that Force has any *proper Efficacy* to enlighten the Understanding, or produce Belief. And from thence he infers, that therefore the Magistrate cannot lawfully compel Men in matters of Religion. This is what the Author says, and what I imagine will always hold true, whatever you or any one can say or think to the contrary.

Pag. 5.

That which you say is, *Force indirectly, and at a distance may do some Service.* What you mean by *doing service at a distance*, towards the bringing Men to Salvation, or to embrace the Truth, I confess I do not understand; unless perhaps it be what others, in propriety of Speech, call by *Accident*. But be it what it will, it is such a Service as cannot be ascribed to the direct and *proper Efficacy* of Force. And so, say you, *Force, indirectly, and at a distance, may do some Service.* I grant it: Make your best of it. What do you conclude from thence, to your purpose? That therefore the Magistrate may make use of it? That I deny, that such an *indirect, and at a distance Usefulness*, will authorize the Civil Power in the use of it, that will never be prov'd. Loss of Estate and Dignities may make a proud Man humble: Sufferings and Imprisonment may make a wild and debauch'd Man sober: And so these things may *indirectly, and at a distance, be serviceable towards the Salvation of Mens Souls.* I doubt not but God has made some, or all of these, the occasions of good to many Men. But will you therefore infer, that the Magistrate may take away a Man's Honour, or Estate, or Liberty, for the Salvation of his Soul; or torment him in this, that he may be happy in the other World? What is otherwise unlawful in it self (as it certainly is to punish a Man without a fault) can never be made lawful by some Good that, *indirectly, and at a distance*, or if you please, *indirectly and by accident*, may follow from it. Running a Man through may save his Life, as it has done by chance, opening a lurking Impostume. But will you say therefore, that this is lawful, justifiable Chirurgery? The Gallies, 'tis like, might reduce many a vain, loose Protestant to Repentance, Sobriety of Thought, and a true Sense of Religion: And the Torments they suffer'd in the late Persecution, might make several consider the Pains of Hell, and put a due estimate of Vanity and Contempt on all things of this World. But will you say, because those Punishments might, *indirectly, and at a distance*, serve to the Salvation of Mens Souls, that therefore the King of France had Right and Authority to make use of them? If your *indirect and at a distance Serviceableness*, may authorize the Magistrate to use Force in Religion, all the Cruelties used by the Heathens against Christians, by Papists against Protestants, and all the persecuting of Christians one amongst another, are all justifiable.

But what if I should tell you now of other Effects, contrary Effects, that Punishments in Matters of Religion may produce; and so may serve to keep Men from the

Truth

Truth and from Salvation? What then will become of your *indirect*, and at a distance *Usefulness*? For in all Pleas for any thing because of its *Usefulness*, it is not enough to say as you do, (and is the utmost that can be said for it) *that it may be serviceable*. Pag. 53
 ble: But it must be considered not only what it may, but what it is likely to produce. And the greater Good or Harm like to come from it, ought to determine of the use of it. To shew you what Effects one may expect from Force, of what *Usefulness* it is to bring Men to embrace the Truth, be pleas'd to read what you your self have writ. I cannot but remark, say you, that these Methods (viz. depri- Pag. 134
 ving Men of their Estates, corporal Punishments, starving and tormenting them in Prisons, and in the end even taking away their Lives, to make them Christians) are so very improper in respect to the Design of them, that they usually produce the quite contrary Effect. For whereas all the use which Force can have for the advancing true Religion, and the Salvation of Souls, is (as has already been shewed) by disposing Men to submit to Instruction, and to give a fair hearing to the Reasons which are offer'd for the enlightning their Minds, and discovering the Truth to them; these Cruelties have the Misfortune to be commonly look'd upon as so just a Prejudice against any Religion that uses them, as makes it needless to look any farther into it; and to tempt Men to reject it, as both false and detestable, without ever vouchsafing to consider the rational Grounds and Motives of it. This Effect they seldom fail to work upon the Sufferers of them. And as to the Spectators, if they be not beforehand well instructed in those Grounds and Motives, they will be much tempted likewise, not only to entertain the same Opinion of such a Religion, but withal to judge much more favourably of that of the Sufferers; who, they will be apt to think, would not expose themselves to such Extremities, which they might avoid by Compliance, if they were not thoroughly satisfied of the Justice of their Cause. Here then you allow that taking away Mens Estates, or Liberty, and Corporal Punishments, are apt to drive away both Sufferers and Spectators, from the Religion that makes use of them, rather than to it. And so these you renounce. Now if you give up Punishments of a Man, in his Person, Liberty, and Estate, I think we need not stand with you, for any other Punishments may be made use of. But, by what follows, it seems you shelter your self under the Name of Severities. For moderate Punishments, as you call them in another Place, you think may be serviceable; indirectly, and at a distance serviceable, to bring Men to the Truth. And I say, any sort of Punishments disproportioned to the Offence, or where there is no Fault at all, will always be Severity, unjustifiable Severity, and will be thought so by the Sufferers and By-standers; and so will usually produce the Effects you have mentioned, contrary to the Design they are used for. Not to profess the National Faith, whilst one believes it not to be true; nor to enter into Church-Communion with the Magistrate, as long as one judges the Doctrine there professed to be erroneous, or the Worship not such as God has either prescribed, or will accept; this you allow, and all the World with you must allow, not to be a Fault. But yet you would have Men punished for not being of the National Religion; that is, as you your self confess, for no Fault at all. Whether this be not Severity, nay so open and avow'd Injustice, that it will give Men a just Prejudice against the Reli- Pag. 14.
 gion that uses it, and produce all those ill Effects you there mention, I leave you to consider. So that the Name of Severities, in opposition to the moderate Punishments you speak for, can do you no Service at all. For where there is no Fault, there can be no moderate Punishment: All Punishment is immoderate, where there is no Fault to be punished. But of your moderate Punishment we shall have occasion to speak more in another Place. It suffices here to have shewn, that, whatever Punishments you use, they are as likely to drive Men from the Religion that uses them, as to bring them to the Truth; and much more likely; as we shall see before we have done: And so, by your own Confession, they are not to be used.

One thing in this Passage of the Author, it seems, appears absurd to you; that he should say, *That to take away Mens Lives, to make them Christians, was but an ill way of expressing a Design of their Salvation*. I grant there is great Absurdity somewhere in the Case. But it is in the Practice of those who, persecuting Men under a Pretence of bringing them to Salvation, suffer the Temper of their Good-Will to betray itself, in taking away their Lives. And whatever Absurdities there be in this way of Proceeding, there is none in the Author's way of expressing it; as you would more plainly have seen, if you had looked into the Latin Original, where the Words are, *Vita deniq; ipsa privant, ut fideles, ut salvi fiant*, (Pag. 5.) which

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which tho' more literally, might be thus render'd, *To bring them to the Faith and to Salvation*; yet the Translator is not to be blamed, if he chose to express the Sense of the Author, in Words that very lively represented the extream Absurdity they are guilty of, who under Pretence of Zeal for the Salvation of Souls, proceed to the taking away their Lives. An Example whereof we have in a neighbouring Country, where the Prince declares he will have all his dissenting Subjects sav'd, and pursuant thereunto has taken away the Lives of many of them. For thither at last Persecution must come: As I fear, notwithstanding your talk of *moderate Punishments*, you your self intimate in these Words; *Not that I think the Sword is to be used in this Business, (as I have sufficiently declared already) but because all coercive Power resolves at last into the Sword; since all (I do not say, that will not be reformed in this matter by lesser Penalties, but) that refuse to submit to lesser Penalties, must at last fall under the stroke of it.* In which Words, if you mean any thing to the Business in hand, you seem to have a Reserve for greater Punishments, when lesser are not sufficient to bring Men to be convinced. But let that pass.

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You say, *If Force be used, not instead of Reason and Arguments, that is not to convince by its own proper Efficacy, which it cannot do, &c.* I think those who make Laws, and use Force, to bring Men to Church-Conformity in Religion, seek only the Compliance, but concern themselves not for the Conviction of those they punish; and so never use Force to *convince*. For, pray tell me, when any Dissenter conforms, and enters into the Church-Communion, is he ever examined to see whether he does it upon Reason, and Conviction, and such Grounds as would become a Christian concern'd for Religion? If Persecution (as is pretended) were for the Salvation of Mens Souls, this would be done; and Men not driven to take the Sacrament to keep their Places, or to obtain Licences to sell Ale, (for so low have these holy Things been prostituted) who perhaps knew nothing of its Institution; and considered no other use of it but the securing some poor secular Advantage, which without taking of it they should have lost. So that this Exception of yours, of the *Use of Force, instead of Arguments, to convince Men*, I think is needless; those who use it, not being (that ever I heard) concern'd that Men should be convinced.

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But you go on in telling us your way of using Force, *only to bring Men to consider those Reasons and Arguments, which are proper and sufficient to convince them; but which, without being forced, they would not consider.* And, say you, *Who can deny but that, indirectly, and at a distance, it does some Service, towards bringing Men to embrace that Truth, which either through Negligence they would never acquaint themselves with, or through Prejudice they would reject and condemn unheard?* Whether this way of Punishment is like to increase, or remove *Prejudice*, we have already seen. And what that *Truth* is, which you can positively say, any Man, *without being forced by Punishment, would through Carelessness never acquaint himself with*, I desire you to name. Some are call'd at the third, some at the ninth, and some at the eleventh Hour. And whenever they are call'd, they embrace all the Truth necessary to Salvation. But these slips may be forgiven, amongst so many gross and palpable Mistakes, as appear to me all through your Discourse. For Example: You tell us that *Force used to bring Men to consider, does indirectly, and at a distance, some Service.* Here now you walk in the dark, and endeavour to cover your self with Obscurity, by omitting two necessary parts. As, first, who must use this Force: which, tho' you tell us not here, yet by other parts of your Treatise 'tis plain you mean the Magistrate. And, secondly, you omit to say upon whom it must be used, who it is must be punished: And those, if you say any thing to your purpose, must be *Dissenters* from the National Religion, those who come not into Church-Communion with the Magistrate. And then your Proposition, in fair plain Terms, will stand thus. *If the Magistrate punish Dissenters, only to bring them to consider those Reasons and Arguments which are proper to convince them; who can deny but that indirectly, and at a distance, it may do Service, &c. towards bringing Men to embrace that Truth which otherwise they would never be acquainted with? &c.* In which Proposition, 1. There is something impracticable. 2. Something unjust. And, 3. Whatever Efficacy there is in Force (your way apply'd) to bring Men to consider and be convinced, it makes against you.

1. It is impracticable to punish *Dissenters*, as *Dissenters*, *only to make them consider*. For if you punish them as Dissenters (as certainly you do, if you punish them alone, and them all without Exception) you punish them for not being of the National Religion.

ligion. And to punish a Man for not being of the National Religion, is not to punish him *only to make him consider*; unless not to be of the National Religion, and not to *consider*, be the same thing. But you will say the Design is only to make Dissenters consider; and therefore they may be punished *only to make them consider*. To this I reply; It is impossible you should punish one with a Design only to make him consider, whom you punish for something else besides want of Consideration; or if you punish him whether he consider or no; as you do, if you lay Penalties on Dissenters in general. If you should make a Law to punish all Stammerers; could any one believe you, if you said it was designed only to make them leave Swearing? Would not every one see it was impossible that Punishment should be only against Swearing, when all Stammerers were under the Penalty? Such a Proposal as this, is in itself, at first sight, monstrously absurd. But you must thank your self for it. For to lay Penalties upon Stammerers, *only to make them not swear*, is not more absurd and impossible than it is to lay Penalties upon Dissenters *only to make them consider*.

2. To punish Men out of the Communion of the National Church, *to make them consider*, is unjust. They are punished because out of the National Church: and they are out of the National Church, because they are not yet convinced. Their standing out therefore in this State, whilst they are not yet convinced, nor satisfied in their Minds, is no Fault; and therefore cannot justly be punished. But your Method is, *Punish them; to make them consider such Reasons and Arguments as are proper to convince them*. Which is just such Justice, as it would be for the Magistrate to punish you for not being a Cartesian, *only to bring you to consider such Reasons and Arguments as are proper and sufficient to convince you*. When it is possible, 1. That you being satisfied of the Truth of your own Opinion in Philosophy, did not judge it worth while to consider that of *Des Cartes*. 2. It is possible you are not able to consider, and examine, all the Proofs and Grounds upon which he endeavours to establish his Philosophy. 3. Possibly you have examined, and can find no *Reasons and Arguments proper and sufficient to convince you*.

3. Whatever *indirect Efficacy* there be in Force, apply'd by the Magistrate your way, it makes against you. *Force used by the Magistrate to bring Men to consider those Reasons and Arguments, which are proper and sufficient to convince them, but which without being forced they would not consider; may, say you, be serviceable indirectly, and at a distance, to make Men embrace the Truth which must save them*. And thus, say I, it may be *serviceable to bring Men to receive and embrace Falshood*, which will destroy them. So that Force and Punishment, by your own Confession, not being able directly, by its *proper Efficacy*, to do Men any Good, in reference to their future Estate; though it be sure directly to do them harm, in reference to their present Condition here; and indirectly, and in your way of applying it, being proper to do at least as much Harm as Good; I desire to know what the *Usefulness* is which so much recommends it, even to a degree that you pretend it needful and necessary. Had you some new untry'd Chymical Preparation, that was as proper to kill as to save an infirm Man, (of whose Life I hope you would not be more tender than of a weak Brother's Soul) would you give it your Child, or try it upon your Friend, or recommend it to the World for its rare Usefulness? I deal very favourably with you, when I say as proper to kill as to save. For Force, in your *indirect way*, of the Magistrates *applying it to make Men consider those Arguments that otherwise they would not; to make them lend an Ear to those who tell them they have mistaken their way, and offer to shew them the right*; I say, in this way, Force is much more proper, and likely, to make Men receive and embrace Error than the Truth.

1. Because Men out of the right way are as apt, I think I may say apter, to use Force, than others. For Truth, I mean the Truth of the Gospel, which is that of the True Religion, is mild, and gentle, and meek, and apter to use Prayers and Intreaties, than Force, to gain a hearing.

2. Because the Magistrates of the World, or the *Civil Sovereigns* (as you think it more proper to call them) being few of them in the right way; (not one of ten, take which side you will) perhaps you will grant not one of an hundred, being of the True Religion; 'tis likely *your indirect way of using of Force* would do an hundred, or at least ten times as much Harm as Good: Especially if you consider, that as the Magistrate will certainly use it to force Men to hearken to the *proper Ministers of his Religion*, let it be what it will; so you having set no Time, nor Bounds, to this Consideration of Arguments and Reasons, short of being convinced; you, under a

another Pretence, put into the Magistrate's Hands as much Power to force Men to his Religion, as any the openest Persecutors can pretend to. For what difference, I beseech you, between punishing you to bring you to Mass, and punishing you to consider *those Reasons and Arguments which are proper and sufficient to convince you that you ought to go to Mass*? For till you are brought to consider *Reasons and Arguments proper and sufficient to convince you*; that is, till you are convinced; you are punished on. If you reply, you meant *Reasons and Arguments proper and sufficient to convince them of the Truth*. I answer, if you meant so, why did you not say so? But if you had, it would in this Case do you little service. For the Mass, in France, is as much supposed the Truth, as the Liturgy here. And your way of applying Force will as much promote Popery in France, as Protestantism in England. And so you see how serviceable it is to make Men receive and embrace the Truth that must save them.

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However you tell us, in the same Page, that if Force so applied, as is above-mentioned, may in such sort as has been said, i. e. indirectly, and at a distance, be serviceable to bring Men to receive and embrace Truth, you think it sufficient to shew the Usefulness of it in Religion. Where I shall observe, 1st, That this Usefulness amounts to no more but this, That it is not impossible but that it may be useful. And such a Usefulness one cannot deny to auricular Confession, doing of Penance, going of a Pilgrimage to some Saint, and what not. Yet our Church does not think fit to use them: Though it cannot be deny'd, but they may have some of your indirect, and at a distance Usefulness; that is, perhaps may do some service, indirectly, and by accident.

2. Force, your way apply'd, as it may be useful, so also it may be useless. For, 1st, Where the Law punishes Dissenters, without telling them it is to make them consider, they may through Ignorance and oversight neglect to do it, and so your Force proves useless. 2. Some Dissenters may have considered already, and then Force employ'd upon them must needs be useless; unless you can think it useful to punish a Man to make him do that which he has done already. 3. God has not directed it: And therefore we have no reason to expect he should make it successful.

3. It may be hurtful: nay it is likely to prove more hurtful than useful. 1st, Because to punish Men for that, which 'tis visible cannot be known whether they have perform'd or no, is so palpable an Injustice, that it is likelier to give them an Aversion to the Persons, and Religion that uses it, than to bring them to it. 2^{dly}, Because the greatest part of Mankind, being not able to discern betwixt Truth and Falshood, that depend upon long and many Proofs, and remote Consequences; nor have Ability enough to discover the false Grounds, and resist the captious and fallacious Arguments of learned Men versed in Controversies; are so much more expos'd, by the Force which is used to make them hearken to the Information and Instruction of Men appointed to it by the Magistrate, or those of his Religion, to be led into Falshood and Error, than they are likely this way to be brought to embrace the Truth that must save them; by how much the National Religions of the World are, beyond Comparison, more of them false or erroneous, than such as have God for their Author, and Truth for their Standard. And that seeking and examining, without the special Grace of God, will not secure even knowing and learned Men from Error. We have a famous Instance in the two Reynold's (both Scholars, and Brothers, but one a Protestant, the other a Papist) who upon the exchange of Papers between them, were both turn'd; but so that neither of them, with all the Arguments he could use, could bring his Brother back to the Religion which he himself had found Reason to embrace. Here was Ability to examine and judge, beyond the ordinary rate of most Men. Yet one of these Brothers was so caught by the Sophistry and Skill of the other, that he was brought into Error, from which he could never again be extricated. This we must unavoidably conclude; unless we can think, that wherein they differ'd, they were both in the right; or that Truth can be an Argument to support a Falshood; both which are impossible. And now, I pray, which of these two Brothers would you have punished, to make him bethink himself, and bring him back to the Truth? For 'tis certain some ill-grounded Cause of assent alienated one of them from it. If you will examine your Principles, you will find that according to your Rule, the Papist must be punished in England, and the Protestant in Italy. So that, in effect, (by your Rule) Passion, Humour, Prejudice, Lust, Impressions of Education, Admiration of Persons, worldly Respect, and the like incompetent Motives, must always be supposed on that side on which the Magistrate is not.

I have

I have taken the Pains here, in a short Recapitulation, to give you the view of the *Usefulness* of Force, your way applied, which you make such a noise with, and lay so much stress on. Whereby I doubt not but it is visible, that its *Usefulness* and *Uselessness* laid in the Balance against each other, the pretended *Usefulness* is so far from outweighing, that it can neither encourage nor excuse the using of Punishments; which are not lawful to be used in our case without strong probability of Success. But when to its *Uselessness* Mischief is added, and it is evident that more, much more, harm may be expected from it than good, your own Argument returns upon you. For if it be reasonable to use it, because *it may be serviceable to promote true Religion, and the Salvation of Souls*; it is much more reasonable to let it alone, if it may be more serviceable to the promoting Falshood, and the Perdition of Souls. And therefore you will do well hereafter not to build so much on the *Usefulness of Force*, apply'd your way, *your indirect, and at a distance Usefulness*, which amounts but to the shadow and possibility of *Usefulness*, but with an overbalancing weight of Mischief and Harm annexed to it. For upon a just estimate, this *indirect, and at a distance, Usefulness* can directly go for nothing; or rather less than nothing.

But suppose Force, apply'd your way, were as *useful* for the promoting true Religion, as I suppose I have shew'd it to be the contrary; it does not from thence follow that it is lawful, and may be used. It may be very useful in a Parish that has no Teacher, or as bad as none, that a Lay-man who wanted not Abilities for it (for such we may suppose to be) should sometimes preach to them the Doctrine of the Gospel, and stir them up to the Duties of a good Life. And yet this, (which cannot be deny'd, may be at least *indirectly, and at a distance, serviceable towards the promoting true Religion, and the Salvation of Souls*) you will not (I imagine) allow, for this *Usefulness*, to be lawful: And that, because he has not Commission and Authority to do it. The same might be said of the Administration of the Sacraments, and any other Function of the Priestly Office. This is just our Case. Granting Force, as you say, *indirectly, and at a distance, useful* to the Salvation of Mens Souls; yet it does not therefore follow that it is lawful for the Magistrate to use it: Because, as the Author says, the Magistrate has no Commission or Authority to do so. For however you have put it thus, (as you have fram'd the Author's Argument) *Force is utterly of no use for the promoting of true Religion, and the Salvation of Souls; and therefore no body can have any right to use any Force or Compulsion for the bringing Men to the true Religion*; yet the Author does not, in those Pages you quote, make the latter of these Propositions an Inference barely from the former; but makes use of it as a Truth proved by several Arguments he had before brought to that purpose. For tho' it be a good Argument; it is not useful, therefore not fit to be used: yet this will not be good Logick; it is *useful*, therefore any one has a right to use it. For if the *Usefulness* makes it lawful, it makes it lawful in any hands that can so apply it; and so private Men may use it.

Who can deny, say you, but that Force indirectly, and at a distance, may do some Service towards the bringing Men to embrace that Truth, which otherwise they would never acquaint themselves with. If this be good arguing in you, for the *Usefulness of Force towards the saving of Mens Souls*; give me leave to argue after the same fashion. 1. I will suppose, which you will not deny me, that as there are many who take up their Religion upon wrong grounds, to the endangering of their Souls; so there are many that abandon themselves to the heat of their Lusts, to the endangering of their Souls. 2dly, I will suppose, that as Force apply'd your way is apt to make the Inconsiderate consider, so Force apply'd another way is apt to make the lascivious chaste. The Argument then, in your form, will stand thus: *who can deny but that Force, indirectly, and at a distance may, by Castration, do some Service towards bringing Men to imbrace that Chastity, which otherwise they would never acquaint themselves with.* Thus, you see, Castration may, *indirectly, and at a distance, be serviceable towards the Salvation of Mens Souls.* But will you say, from such an usefulness as this, because it may *indirectly, and at a distance, conduce* to the saving of any of his Subjects Souls, that therefore the Magistrate has a right to do it, and may by Force make his Subjects Eunuchs for the Kingdom of Heaven? It is not for the Magistrate, or any body else, upon an Imagination of its *Usefulness*, to make use of any other means for the Salvation of Mens Souls, than what the Author and Finisher of our Faith hath directed. You may be mistaken in what you think *useful*. *Dives* thought, and so perhaps should you and I too, if not better inform'd by the Scriptures, that

it would be *useful* to rouse and awaken Men if one should come to them from the Dead. But he was mistaken. And we are told, that if Men will not *hearken to Moses and the Prophets*, the means appointed, neither will the Strangeness nor Terror of one coming from the Dead persuade them. If what we are apt to think *useful*, were thence to be concluded so, we should (I fear) be obliged to believe the Miracles pretended to by the Church of *Rome*. For Miracles, we know, were once *useful* for the promoting true Religion, and the Salvation of Souls; which is more than you can say for your political Punishments: But yet we must conclude that God thinks them not useful now; *unless we will say (that which without Impiety cannot be said) that the wise and benign Disposer and Governour of all things does not now use all useful means for promoting his own Honour in the World, and the Good of Souls.* I think this Consequence will hold, as well as what you draw in near the same words.

Let us not therefore be more wise than our Maker, in that stupendious and supernatural Work of our Salvation. The Scripture, that reveals it to us, contains all that we can know, or do, in order to it: and where that is silent, 'tis in us Presumption to direct. When you can shew any Commission in Scripture, for the use of Force to compel Men to hear, any more than to embrace the Doctrine of others that differ from them, we shall have reason to submit to it, and the Magistrate have some ground to set up this new way of Persecution. But till then, 'twill be fit for us to obey that Precept of the Gospel, which bids us *take heed what we hear*. So that hearing is not always so useful as you suppose. If it had, we should never have had so direct a Caution against it. 'Tis not any imaginary *Usefulness*, you can suppose, which can make that a punishable Crime, which the Magistrate was never authorized to meddle with. *Go and teach all Nations*, was a Commission of our Saviour's: But there was not added to it, Punish those that will not hear and consider what you say. No, but *if they will not receive you, shake off the Dust of your Feet*; leave them, and apply your selves to some others. And St. Paul knew no other means to make Men hear, but the preaching of the Gospel; as will appear to any one who will read *Romans* the 10th, 14, &c. *Faith cometh by hearing, and hearing by the word of God.*

You go on, and in favour of your beloved Force you tell us that it is not only *useful* but *needful*. And here, after having at large, in the four following Pages, set out the Negligence or Aversion, or other Hinderances that keep Men from *examining, with that application and freedom of Judgment they should, the Grounds* upon which they take up and *persist* in their Religion, you come to conclude Force necessary. Your words are: *If Men are generally averse to a due Consideration of things, where they are most concerned to use it; if they usually take up their Religion without examining it as they ought, and then grow so opinionative and so stiff in their Prejudice, that neither the gentlest Admonitions, nor the most earnest Intreaties, shall ever prevail with them afterwards to do it; what means is there left (besides the Grace of God) to reduce those of them that are got into a wrong way, but to lay Thorns and Briars in it? That since they are deaf to all Persuasions, the uneasiness they meet with may at least put them to a stand, and incline them to lend an Ear to those who tell them they have mistaken their way, and offer to shew them the right way. What means is there left, say you, but Force. What to do? To reduce Men, who are out of it, into the right way. So you tell us here. And to that, I say, there is other means besides Force; that which was appointed and made use of from the beginning, the Preaching of the Gospel.*

But, say you, *to make them hear, to make them consider, to make them examine*, there is no other means but Punishment; and therefore it is necessary.

I answer. 1st, What if God, for Reasons best known to himself, would not have Men compell'd to hear; but thought the good Tidings of Salvation, and the Proposals of Life and Death, Means and Inducements enough to make them hear, and consider, now as well as heretofore? Then your *Means*, your *Punishments*, are not necessary. What if God would have Men left to their freedom in this Point, if they will hear, or if they will forbear, will you constrain them? Thus we are sure he did with his own People: And this when they were in Captivity: And 'tis very like were ill treated for being of a different Religion from the National, and so were punished as Dissenters. Yet then God expected not that those Punishments should force them to hearken more than at other times. As appears by *Ezek. 3. 11.* And this also is the Method of the Gospel. *We are Ambassadors for Christ; as if God did beseech by us, we pray in Christ's stead*, says St. Paul, *2 Cor. v. 20.* If God had thought it necessary to have Men punish'd to make them give Ear, he could have call'd Magistrates to be Spreaders and

and Ministers of the Gospel, as well as poor Fisher-men, or *Paul* a Persecutor, who yet wanted not Power to punish where Punishment was necessary, as is evident in *Ananias* and *Sapphira*, and the incestuous *Corinthian*.

2dly. What if God, foreseeing this Force would be in the hands of Men as *passionate*, as *humourfome*, as *liable to Prejudice and Error* as the rest of their Brethren, did not think it a proper Means to bring Men into the *right way*?

3dly. What if there be other Means? Then yours ceases to be necessary, upon the account that there is *no means left*. For you your self allow, *That the Grace of God is another Means*. And I suppose you will not deny it to be both a proper and sufficient Means; and which is more, the only Means; such Means as can work by it self, and without which all the Force in the World can do nothing. God alone can open the Ear that it may hear, and open the Heart that it may understand: and this he does in his own good Time, and to whom he is graciously pleas'd; but not according to the Will and Phancy of Man, when he thinks fit, by Punishments, to compel his Brethren. If God has pronounced against any Person or People, what he did against the Jews, (*Is. 6. 10.*) *Make the Heart of this People fat, and make their Ears heavy, and shut their Eyes; lest they see with their Eyes, and hear with their Ears, and understand with their Hearts, and convert, and be healed*: Will all the Force you can use, be a means to make them hear and understand, and be converted?

But, Sir, to return your Argument; You see *no other Means left* (taking the World as we now find it) to make Men thoroughly and impartially examine a Religion, which they embraced upon such Inducements as ought to have no sway at all in the Matter, and with little or no examination of the proper Grounds of it. And thence you conclude the use of Force, by the Magistrate upon Dissenters, necessary. And, I say, I see no other Means left (taking the World as we now find it, wherein the Magistrates never lay Penalties, for Matters of Religion, upon those of their own Church, nor is it to be expected they ever should;) to make Men of the National Church, any where, thoroughly and impartially examine a Religion, which they embraced upon such Inducements, as ought to have no no sway at all in the matter, and therefore with little or no examination of the proper Grounds of it. And therefore, I conclude the use of Force by Dissenters upon Conformists necessary. I appeal to the World, whether this be not as just and natural a Conclusion as yours. Though, if you will have my Opinion, I think the more genuine Consequence is, that Force, to make Men examine Matters of Religion, is not necessary at all. But you may take which of these Consequences you please. Both of them, I am sure, you cannot avoid. It is not for you and me, out of an imagination that they may be *useful*, or are *necessary*, to prescribe means in the great and mysterious Work of Salvation, other than what God himself has directed. God has appointed Force as *useful* and *necessary*, and therefore it is to be used; is a way of arguing, becoming the Ignorance and Humility of poor Creatures. But I think Force *useful* or *necessary*, and therefore it is to be used; has, methinks, a little too much presumption in it. You ask, *what Means else is there left*? None, say I, to be used by Man, but what God himself has directed in the Scriptures, wherein are contained all the Means and Methods of Salvation. *Faith is the Gift of God*. And we are not to use any other Means to procure this Gift to any one, but what God himself has prescribed. If he has there appointed that any should be forced to hear those who tell them they have mistaken their way, and offer to shew them the right; and that they should be punished by the Magistrate if they did not; 'twill be past doubt, it is to be made use of. But till that can be done, 'twill be in vain to say *what other Means is there left*. If all the Means God has appointed, to make Men hear and consider, be *Exhortation in Season and out of Season*, &c. together with Prayer for them, and the Example of Meekness and a good Life; this is all ought to be done, *whether they will hear, or whether they will forbear*.

By these means the Gospel at first made itself to be heard through a great part of the World; and in a crooked and perverse Generation, led away by *Lusts, Humours, and Prejudice*, (as well as this you complain of) prevail'd with Men to hear and embrace the Truth, and take care of their own Souls; without the Assistance of any such Force of the Magistrate, which you now think *needful*. But whatever *Neglect* or *Aversion* there is in some Men, *impartially* and *thoroughly* to be instructed; there will upon a due Examination (I fear) be found no less a Neglect and Aversion in others, *impartially* and *thoroughly* to instruct them. 'Tis not the talking even general Truths in plain and clear Language; much less a Man's

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own Fancies in Scholastick or uncommon ways of speaking, an hour or two, once a week, in publick; that is enough to instruct even willing Hearers in the way of Salvation, and the Grounds of their Religion. They are not politick Discourses which are *the means of right Information in the Foundations of Religion*. For with such (sometimes venting antimonarchical Principles, sometimes again preaching up nothing but absolute Monarchy and Passive Obedience, as the one or other have been in vogue, and the way to Preferment) have our Churches rung in their Turns, so loudly, that *Reasons and Arguments proper and sufficient to convince Men of the Truth in the controverted Points of Religion, and to direct them in the right way to Salvation, were scarce any where to be heard*. But how many, do you think, by Friendly and Christian Debates with them at their Houses, and by the gentle Methods of the Gospel made use of in private Conversation, might have been brought into the Church; who, by railing from the Pulpit, ill and unfriendly Treatment out of it, and other Neglects and Miscarriages of those who claimed to be their Teachers, have been driven from hearing them? Paint the Defects and Miscarriages frequent on this side, as well as you have done those on the other, and then do you, with all the World, consider whether those who you so handsomely declaim against, for being misled by *Education, Passion, Humour, Prejudice, Obstinacy, &c.* do deserve all the Punishment. Perhaps it will be answered; If there be so much Toil in it, that particular Persons must be apply'd to, who then will be a Minister? And what if a Lay-man should reply: If there be so much Toil in it, that Doubts must be cleared, Prejudices removed, Foundations examined, &c. Who then will be a Protestant; The Excuse will be as good hereafter for the one as for the other.

This new Method of yours, which you say *no body can deny but that indirectly, and at a distance, it does some Service towards bringing Men to embrace the Truth*; was never yet thought on by the most refined Persecutors. Tho' indeed it is not altogether unlike the Plea made use of to excuse the late barbarous Usage of the Protestants in France, (designed to extirpate the Reformed Religion there) from being a Persecution for Religion. The French King requires all his Subjects to come to Mass: Those who do not, are punished with a witness. For what? Not for their Religion, say the Pleaders for that Discipline, but for disobeying the King's Laws. So by your Rule, the Dissenters (for thither you would, and thither you must come, if you mean any thing) must be punished. For what? Not for their Religion, say you, not for *following the Light of their own Reason, not for obeying the Dictates of their own Consciences*. That you think not fit. For what then are they to be punished? To make them, say you, *examine the Religion they have embraced, and the Religion they have rejected*. So that they are punished, not for having offended against a Law: For there is no Law of the Land that requires them to *examine*. And which now is the fairer Plea, pray judge. You ought, indeed, to have the Credit of this new Invention. All other Law-makers have constantly taken this Method; that where any thing was to be amended, the Fault was first declared, and then Penalties denounced against all those, who, after a time set, should be found guilty of it. This the common Sense of Mankind, and the very Reason of Laws (which are intended not for Punishment, but Correction) has made so plain, that the subtlest and most refined Law-makers have not gone out of this Course, nor have the most ignorant and barbarous Nations mist it. But you have outdone *Solon and Lycurgus, Moses and our Saviour*, and are resolved to be a Law-maker of a way by your self. 'Tis an old and obsolete way, and will not serve your turn, to begin with Warnings and Threats of Penalties to be inflicted on those who do not reform, but continue to do that which you think they fail in. To allow of Impunity to the Innocent, or the Opportunity of Amendment to those who would avoid the Penalties, are Formalities not worth your notice. You are for a shorter and surer way. Take a whole Tribe, and punish them at all Adventures; whether guilty or no, of the Miscarriage which you would have amended; or without so much as telling them what it is you would have them do, but leaving them to find it out if they can. All these Absurdities are contained in your way of Proceeding; and are impossible to be avoided by any one who will punish Dissenters, and only Dissenters, to make them *consider and weigh the Grounds of their Religion, and impartially examine whether it be true or no, and upon what Grounds they took it up, that so they may find and embrace the Truth that must save them*. But that this new sort of Discipline may have all fair play, let us enquire.

First,

First, Who it is you would have be punished. In the place above-cited, they are *those who are got into a wrong way, and are deaf to all Persuasions*. If these are the Men to be punished, let a Law be made against them: you have my Consent; and that is the proper Course to have Offenders punished. For you do not, I hope, intend to punish any Fault by a Law, which you do not name in the Law; nor make a Law against any Fault you would not have punished. And now, if you are sincere, and in earnest, and are (as a fair Man should be) for what your Words plainly signify, and nothing else; what will such a Law serve for? *Men in the wrong way are to be punished*: but who are in the wrong way is the Question. You have no more reason to determine it against one, who differs from you; than he has to conclude against you, who differ from him. No, not tho' you have the Magistrate and the National Church on your side. For, if to differ from them be to be in the wrong way; you, who are in the right way in England, will be in the wrong way in France. Every one here must be Judge for himself: And your Law will reach no body, till you have convinced him he is in the wrong way. And then there will be no need of Punishment to make him consider; unless you will affirm again, what you have deny'd, and have Men punished for embracing the Religion they believe to be true, when it differs from yours or the Publick.

Besides being in the wrong way, those who you would have punished must be such as are deaf to all Persuasions. But any such, I suppose, you will hardly find, who hearken to no body, not to those of their own way. If you mean by deaf to all Persuasions, all Persuasions of a contrary Party, or of a different Church; such, I suppose, you may abundantly find in your own Church, as well as elsewhere; and I presume to them you are so charitable, that you would not have them punished for not lending an Ear to Seducers. For Constancy in the Truth, and Perseverance in the Faith, is (I hope) rather to be encouraged, than by any Penalties check'd in the Orthodox. And your Church, doubtless as well as others, is Orthodox to itself in all its Tenets. If you mean by all Persuasion, all your Persuasion, or all Persuasion of those of your Communion; you do but beg the Question, and suppose you have a right to punish those who differ from, and will not comply with you.

Your next Words are, *When Men fly from the means of a right Information, and will not so much as consider how reasonable it is, thoroughly and impartially to examine a Religion, which they embraced upon such Inducements as ought to have no sway at all in the matter, and therefore with little or no Examination of the proper Grounds of it; what human Method can be used, to bring them to act like Men, in an Affair of such Consequence, and to make a wiser and more rational Choice, but that of laying such Penalties upon them, as may balance the weight of those Prejudices which inclin'd them to prefer a false way before the true, and recover them to so much Sobriety and Reflection, as seriously to put the Question to themselves; whether it be really worth the while to undergo such Inconveniences, for adhering to a Religion, which, for any thing they know, may be false, or for rejecting another (if that be the Case) which, for any thing they know, may be true, till they have brought it to the Bar of Reason, and given it a fair Tryal there.* Here you again bring in such as prefer a false way before a true: To which having answered already, I shall here say no more, but that, since our Church will not allow those to be in a false way who are out of the Church of Rome, because the Church of Rome (which pretends Infallibility) declares hers to be the only true way; certainly no one of our Church (nor any other, which claims not Infalibility) can require any one to take the Testimony of any Church, as a sufficient Proof of the Truth of her own Doctrine. So that true and false (as it commonly happens, when we suppose them for our selves, or our Party) in effect, signify just nothing, or nothing to the purpose; unless we can think that true or false in England, which will not be so at Rome, or Geneva: and vice versa. As for the rest of the Description, of those on whom you are here laying Penalties; I beseech you consider whether it will not belong to any of your Church, let it be what it will. Consider, I say, if there be none in your Church who have embrac'd her Religion, upon such Inducements as ought to have no sway at all in the matter, and therefore with little or no Examination of the proper Grounds of it; who have not been inclin'd by Prejudices; who do not adhere to a Religion, which for any thing they know may be false, and who have rejected another which for any thing they know may be true. If you have any such in your Communion (and 'twill be an admirable tho' I fear but a little,

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a little, Flock that has none such in it) consider well what you have done. You have prepared Rods for them, for which I imagine they will con you no Thanks. For to make any tolerable Sense of what you here propose, it must be understood that you would have Men of all Religions punished, to make them consider *whether it be really worth the while to undergo such Inconveniences for adhering to a Religion which for any thing they know may be false.* If you hope to avoid that, by what you have said of *true and false*; and pretend that the supposed *preference of the true way* in your Church, ought to preserve its Members from your Punishment; you manifestly trifle. For every Church's Testimony, that it has chosen the *true way*, must be taken for itself; and then none will be liable; and your new Invention of Punishment is come to nothing: Or else the differing Churches Testimonies must be taken one for another; and then they will be all out of the *true way*, and your Church need Penalties as well as the rest. So that, upon your Principles, they must all or none be punished. Chuse which you please: One of them, I think, you cannot escape.

Pag. 11. What you say in the next Words; *where Instruction is stiffly refused, and all Admonitions and Persuasions prove vain and ineffectual*; differs nothing but in the way of expressing, from *Deaf to all Persuasions*: And so that is answer'd already.

Pag. 20. In another Place, you give us another Description of those you think ought to be punished, in these Words; *Those who refuse to embrace the Doctrine, and submit to the Spiritual Government of the proper Ministers of Religion, who by special Designation are appointed to exhort, admonish, reprove, &c.* Here then, those to be punished, are such who refuse to embrace the Doctrine, and submit to the Government of the proper Ministers of Religion. Whereby we are as much still at Uncertainty, as we were before, who those are who (by our Scheme, and Laws suitable to it) are to be punished. Since every Church has, as it thinks, its proper Ministers of Religion. And if you mean those that refuse to embrace the Doctrine, and submit to the Government of the Ministers of another Church; then all Men will be guilty, and must be punished; even those of your Church, as well as others. If you mean those who refuse, &c. the Ministers of their own Church; very few will incur your Penalties. But if, by these proper Ministers of Religion, the Ministers of some particular Church are intended, why do you not name it? Why are you so reserv'd, in a Matter wherein, if you speak not out, all the rest that you say will be to no purpose? Are Men to be punished for refusing to embrace the Doctrine, and submit to the Government, of the proper Ministers of the Church of Geneva? For this time, (since you have declared nothing to the contrary) let me suppose you of that Church: And then, I am sure, that is it that you would name. For of whatever Church you are, if you think the Ministers of any one Church ought to be hearken'd to, and obey'd, it must be those of your own. There are persons to be punished, you say. This you contend for, all through your Book; and lay so much stress on it, that you make the Preservation and Propagation of Religion, and the Salvation of Souls, to depend on it: And yet you describe them by so general and equivocal Marks; that, unless it be upon Suppositions which no body will grant you, I dare say, neither you, nor any body else, will be able to find one guilty. Pray find me, if you can, a Man whom you can judicially prove (for he that is punished by Law must be fairly tried) *is in a wrong way*, in respect of his Faith, I mean, who is *deaf to all Persuasions, who flies from all Means of a right Information, who refuses to embrace the Doctrine, and submit to the Government of the Spiritual Pastors.* And when you have done that, I think, I may allow you what Power you please to punish him; without any Prejudice to the Toleration the Author of the Letter proposes.

But why, I pray, all this bogling, all this loose talking, as if you knew not what you meant, or durst not speak it out? Would you be for punishing some body, you know not whom? I do not think so ill of you. Let me then speak out for you. The Evidence of the Argument has convinced you that Men ought not to be persecuted for their Religion; That the Severities in use amongst Christians cannot be defended; That the Magistrate has not Authority to compel any one to his Religion. This you are forced to yield: But you would fain retain some Power in the Magistrate's Hands to punish Dissenters, upon a new Pretence; *viz.* not for having embraced the Doctrine and Worship they believe to be true and right, but for not having well consider'd their own and the Magistrate's Religion. To shew you that I do not speak wholly without-Book; give me leave to mind you of one

Passage

Passage of yours. The Words are, *Penalties to put them upon a serious and impartial Examination of the Controversy between the Magistrates and them.* Though these Words be not intended to tell us who you would have punished, yet it may be plainly inferr'd from them. And they more clearly point out whom you aim at, than all the foregoing Places, where you seem to (and should) describe them. For they are such as *between whom and the Magistrate there is a Controversy*: That is, in short, who differ from the Magistrate in Religion. And now indeed you have given us a Note by which these you would have punished may be known. We have, with much ado, found at last whom it is we may presume you would have punished. Which in other Cases is usually not very difficult: Because there the Faults to be mended easily design the Persons to be corrected. But yours is a new Method, and unlike all that ever went before it.

In the next Place; Let us see for what you would have them punished. You tell us, and it will easily be granted you, that not to *examine and weigh impartially, and without Prejudice or Passion*, (all which, for shortness-sake, we will express by this one Word *Consider*) the Religion one embraces or refuses, is a Fault very common, and very prejudicial to true Religion, and the Salvation of Mens Souls. But Penalties and Punishments are very necessary, say you, to remedy this Evil.

Let us see now how you apply this Remedy. Therefore, say you, let all Dissenters be punished. Why? Have no Dissenters considered of Religion? Or have all Conformists considered? That you your self will not say. Your Project therefore is just as reasonable, as if a Lethargy growing Epidemical in *England*; you should propose to have a Law made to blister and scarify and shave the Heads of all who wear Gowns: Though it be certain that neither all who wear Gowns are Lethargick, nor all who are Lethargick wear Gowns.

—— *Dii te Damasppe Deaq;
Verum ob consilium doment tonsore.*

For there could not be certainly a more learned Advice, than that one Man should be pull'd by the Ears, because another is asleep. This, when you have consider'd of it again, (for I find, according to your Principle, all Men have now and then need to be jogg'd) you will, I guess, be convinced is not like a fair Physician, to apply a Remedy to a Disease; but, like an engag'd Enemy, to vent one's Spleen upon a Party. Common Sense, as well as Common Justice, requires, that the Remedies of Laws and Penalties should be directed against the Evil that is to be removed, wherever it be found. And if the Punishment, you think so necessary, be (as you pretend) to cure the Mischief you complain of, you must let it pursue and fall on the Guilty, and those only, in what Company soever they are; and not, as you here propose, and is the highest Injustice, punish the innocent *considering* Dissenter, with the Guilty; and, on the other side, let the *inconsiderate* guilty Conformist scape, with the Innocent. For one may rationally presume that the National Church has some, nay more in Proportion, of those who little consider or concern themselves about Religion, than any Congregation of Dissenters. For Conscience, or the Care of their Souls, being once laid aside; Interest of course leads Men into that Society, where the Protection and Countenance of the Government, and hopes of Preferment, bid fairest to all their remaining Desires. So that if careless, negligent, inconsiderate Men in Matters of Religion, *who without being forced would not consider*, are to be roused into a Care of their Souls, and a Search after Truth, by Punishments; the National Religion, in all Countries, will certainly have a right to the greatest share of those Punishments; at least, not to be wholly exempt from them.

This is that which the Author of the Letter, as I remember, complains of; and that justly, *viz. That the pretended Care of Mens Souls always expresses itself, in those who would have Force any way made use of to that end, in very unequal Methods; some Persons being to be treated with Severity, whilst others guilty of the same Faults, are not to be so much as touched.* Tho' you are got pretty well out of the deep Mud, and renounce Punishments directly for Religion; yet you stick still in this part of the Mire; whilst you would have Dissenters punished to make them *consider*, but would not have any thing done to Conformists, tho' never so negligent in this point of *considering*. The Author's Letter pleas'd me, because it is

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equal to all Mankind, is direct, and will, I think, hold every where; which I take to be a good Mark of Truth. For I shall always suspect, that neither to comport with the Truth of Religion, or the Design of the Gospel, which is suited to only some one Country, or Party. What is true and good in *England*, will be true and good at *Rome* too, in *China*, or *Geneya*. But whether your great and only Method for the propagating of Truth, by bringing the Inconsiderate by Punishments to consider, would (according to your way of applying your Punishments only to Dissenters from the National Religion) be of use in those Countries, or any where but where you suppose the Magistrate to be in the Right, judge you. Pray, Sir, consider a little, whether Prejudice has not some share in your way of Arguing. For this is your Position; *Men are generally negligent in examining the Grounds of their Religion*. This I grant. But could there be a more wild and incoherent Consequence drawn from it, than this; *Therefore Dissenters must be punished*?

But that being laid aside, let us now see to what end they must be punished. Sometimes it is, *To bring them to consider those Reasons and Arguments which are proper and sufficient to convince them*. Of what? That it is not easy to set *Grantham Steeple* upon *Paul's Church*? Whatever it be you would have them convinced of, you are not willing to tell us. And so it may be any thing. Sometimes it is, *To incline them to lend an Ear to those who tell them they have mistaken their way, and offer to shew them the right*. Which is, to lend an Ear to all who differ from them in Religion; as well crafty Seducers, as others. Whether this be for the procuring the Salvation of their Souls, the End for which you say this Force is to be used, judge you. But this I am sure; Whoever will lend an Ear to all who will tell them they are out of the way, will not have much time for any other Business.

Sometimes it is, *To recover Men to so much Sobriety and Reflection, as seriously to put the Question to themselves, whether it be really worth their while to undergo such Inconveniences, for adhering to a Religion which, for any thing they know, may be false; or for rejecting another (if that be the case) which, for ought they know, may be true, till they have brought it to the Bar of Reason, and given it a fair Trial there*. Which, in short, amounts to thus much, viz. *To make them examine whether their Religion be True, and so worth the holding, under those Penalties that are annexed to it*. Dissenters are indebted to you for your great care of their Souls. But what, I beseech you, shall become of those of the National Church, every where (which make far the greater part of Mankind) who have no such Punishments to make them consider; who have not this only Remedy provided for them; but are left in that deplorable Condition you mention, of being suffer'd quietly, and without Molestation, to take no care at all of their Souls, or in doing of it to follow their own Prejudices, Humours, or some crafty Seducers? Need not those of the National Church, as well as others, bring their Religion to the Bar of Reason, and give it a fair trial there? And if they need to do so, (as they must, if all National Religions cannot be supposed true) they will always need that which, you say, is the only means to make them do so. So that if you are sure, as you tell us, that there is need of your Method; I am sure, there is as much need of it in National Churches, as any other. And so, for ought I can see, you must either punish them, or let others alone; Unless you think it reasonable that the far greater part of Mankind should constantly be without that sovereign and only Remedy, which they stand in need of equally with other People.

Sometimes the end for which Men must be punished is, *to dispose them to submit to Instruction, and to give a fair hearing to the Reasons are offer'd for the enlightning their Minds, and discovering the Truth to them*. If their own words may be taken for it, there are as few Dissenters as Conformists, in any Country, who will not profess they have done, and do this. And if their own words may not be taken; who I pray must be judge? You and your Magistrates? If so, then it is plain you punish them not to dispose them to submit to Instruction, but to your Instruction; not to dispose them to give a fair hearing to Reasons offer'd for the enlightning their Minds, but to give an obedient bearing to your Reasons. If you mean this; it had been fairer and shorter to have spoken out plainly, than thus in fair words, of indefinite Signification, to say that which amounts to nothing. For what Sense is it, to punish a Man to dispose him to submit to Instruction, and give a fair hearing to Reasons offer'd for the enlightning his Mind, and discovering Truth to him, who goes two or three times a week several Miles on purpose to do it, and that with the hazard of his Liberty or Purse? Unless you mean

mean your *Instructions*, your *Reasons*, your *Truth*: Which brings us but back to what you have disclaimed, plain Persecution for differing in Religion.

Sometimes this is to be done, *To prevail with Men to weigh Matters of Religion* Pag. 14. *carefully, and impartially.* Discountenance and Punishment put into one Scale, with Impunity and Hopes of Preferment put into the other, is as sure a way to make a Man weigh impartially, as it would be for a Prince to bribe and threaten a Judge to make him judge uprightly.

Sometimes it is, *To make Men bethink themselves, and put it out of the Power of any* Pag. 20. *foolish Humour, or unreasonable Prejudice, to alienate them from Truth and their own Happiness.* Add but this, to put it out of the Power of any Humour or Prejudice of their own, or other Mens; and I grant the End is good, if you can find the means to procure it. But why it should not be put out of the Power of other Mens Humour or Prejudice, as well as their own, wants (and will always want) a Reason to prove. Would it not, I beseech you, to an indifferent By-stander, appear Humour or Prejudice, or something as bad; to see Men, who profess a Religion reveal'd from Heaven, and which they own contains all in it necessary to Salvation, exclude Men from their Communion, and persecute them with the Penalties of the Civil Law, for not joining in the use of Ceremonies which are no where to be found in that reveal'd Religion? Would it not appear Humour or Prejudice, or some such thing, to a sober impartial Heathen; to see Christians exclude and persecute one of the same Faith, for things which they themselves confess to be indifferent, and not worth the contending for? *Prejudice, Humour, Passion, Lusts, Impressions of Education, Reverence and* Pag. 6, 7, *Admiration of Persons, worldly Respects, Love of their own Choice, and the like,* (to 8, 9, 10. which you justly impute many Mens taking up, and persisting in their Religion) are indeed good words; and so, on the other side, are these following; *Truth, the right Way, enlightning Reason, sound Judgment*; but they signify nothing at all to your purpose, till you can evidently and unquestionably shew the World that the latter (viz. *Truth and the right Way, &c.*) are always, and in all Countries, to be found only in the National Church; and the former (viz. *Passion and Prejudice, &c.*) only amongst the Dissenters. But to go on:

Sometimes it is, *To bring Men to take such care as they ought of their Salvation.* Pag. 12. What care is such as Men ought to take, whilst they are out of your Church, will be hard for you to tell me. But you endeavour to explain your self, in the following words; *that they may not blindly leave it to the choice neither of any other Person, nor yet of their own Lusts and Passions, to prescribe to them what Faith or what Worship they shall embrace.* You do well to make use of Punishment to shut Passion out of the choice: because you know fear of suffering is no Passion. But let that pass. You would have Men punished, *to bring them to take such care of their Salvation, that they may not blindly leave it to the choice of any other Person to prescribe to them.* Are you sincere? Are you in earnest? Tell me then truly: Did the Magistrate or National Church, any where, or yours in particular, ever punish any Man, to bring him to have this care which, you say, he ought to take of his Salvation? Did you ever punish any Man, that he might not blindly leave it to the choice of his Parish-Priest, or Bishop, or the Convocation, *what Faith or Worship he should embrace?* 'Twill be suspected care of a Party, or any thing else rather than care of the Salvation of Mens Souls; if, having found out so useful, so necessary a Remedy, the only Method there is Pag. 12. room left for, you will apply it but partially, and make trial of it only on those who you have truly least kindness for. This will, unavoidably, give one Reason to imagine, you do not think so well of your Remedy as you pretend, who are so sparing of it to your Friends; but are very free of it to Strangers, who in other things are used very much like Enemies. But your Remedy is like the *Helleboraster*, that grew in the Woman's Garden for the cure of Worms in her Neighbour's Children: For truly it wrought too roughly, to give it to any of her own. Methinks your Charity, in your present Persecution, is much what as prudent, as justifiable, as that good Woman's. I hope I have done you no Injury, that I here suppose you of the Church of England. If I have, I beg your Pardon. It is no offence of Malice, I assure you: For I suppose no worse of you, than I confess of my self.

Sometimes this Punishment that you contend for, is *to bring Men to act according* Pag. 12. *to Reason and sound Judgment.*

Tertius à Cælo cecidit Cato.

A Second Letter concerning Toleration.

This is Reformation indeed. If you can help us to it, you will deserve Statues to be erected to you, as to the Restorer of decay'd Religion. But if all Men have not *Reason and sound Judgment*, will Punishment put it into them? Besides, concerning this matter, Mankind is so divided, that he *acts according to Reason and sound Judgment* at *Anspurg*, who would be judged to do the quite contrary at *Edinburgh*. Will Punishment make Men know what is *Reason and sound Judgment*? If it will not, 'tis impossible it should make them *act according to it*. *Reason and sound Judgment* are the *Elixir* it self, the universal Remedy: And you may as reasonably punish Men to bring them to have the Philosopher's Stone, as to *bring them to act according to Reason and sound Judgment*.

Pag. 26.

Sometimes it is, *To put Men upon a serious and impartial Examination of the Controversy between the Magistrate and them, which is the way for them to come to the Knowledge of the Truth*. But what if the Truth be on neither side (as I am apt to imagine you will think it is not, where neither the Magistrate nor the Dissenter is either of them of your Church) how will the *examining the Controversy between the Magistrate and him be the way to come to the Knowledge of the Truth*? Suppose the Controversy between a Lutheran and a Papist; or, if you please, between a Presbyterian Magistrate and a Quaker Subject. *Will the examining the Controversy between the Magistrate and the Dissenting Subject, in this case, bring him to the Knowledge of the Truth*? If you say yes, then you grant one of these to have the Truth on his side. For the examining the Controversy between a Presbyterian and a Quaker, leaves the Controversy either of them has with the Church of *England*, or any other Church, untouch'd. And so one, at least, of those being already *come to the Knowledge of the Truth*, ought not to be put under your Discipline of Punishment; which is only to *bring him to the Truth*. If you say no, and that *the examining the Controversy between the Magistrate and the Dissenter, in this case, will not bring him to the Knowledge of the Truth*; you confess your Rule to be false, and your Method to no purpose.

To conclude, your System is, in short, this. You would have all Men (laying aside *Prejudice, Humour, Passion, &c.*) *examine the Grounds of their Religion, and search for the Truth*. This, I confess, is heartily to be wish'd. The means that you propose to make Men do this, is that Dissenters should be punished to make them do so. It is as if you had said: Men generally are guilty of a Fault; therefore let one Sect, who have the ill luck to be of an Opinion different from the Magistrate, be punished. This at first sight shocks any who has the least spark of Sense, Reason or Justice. But having spoken of this already, and concluding that upon second thoughts, you your self will be ashamed of it; let us consider it put so as to be consistent with common Sense, and with all the advantage it can bear; and then let us see what you can make of it. Men are negligent in *examining the Religions they embrace, refuse, or persist in*; therefore it is fit they should be punished to make them do it. This is a Consequence indeed which may, without defiance to common Sense, be drawn from it. This is the use, the only use, which you think Punishment can *indirectly, and at a distance*, have, in matters of Religion. You would have Men by Punishments driven to examine. What? Religion. To what end? *To bring them to the Knowledge of the Truth*. But I answer.

First, Every one has not the Ability to do this.

Secondly, Every one has not the opportunity to do it.

Would you have every poor Protestant, for Example, in the *Palatinate*, *examine thoroughly* whether the Pope be infallible, or Head of the Church; whether there be a Purgatory; whether Saints are to be pray'd to, or the Dead pray'd for; whether the Scripture be the only Rule of Faith; whether there be no Salvation out of the Church; and whether there be no Church without Bishops; and an hundred other Questions in Controversy between the Papists and those Protestants; and when he had master'd these, go on to fortify himself against the Opinions and Objections of other Churches he differs from? This, which is no small Task, must be done; before a Man can have *brought his Religion to the Bar of Reason, and given it a fair trial there*. And if you will punish Men till this be done; the Country-man must leave off plowing and sowing, and betake himself to the Study of Greek and Latin; and the Artisan must sell his Tools, to buy Fathers and School-men, and leave his Family to starve. If something less than this will satisfy you, pray tell me what is enough. Have they considered and examined enough, if they are satisfied themselves where the Truth lies? If this be the limits of their Examination, you will find few to punish; unless you will punish them to make them do what they have done already. For, however he
came

came by his Religion, there is scarce any one to be found who does not own himself satisfied that he is in the right. Or else, must they be punished to make them consider and examine till they embrace that which you choose for Truth? If this be so, what do you but in effect choose for them, when yet you would have Men punished, *To bring them to such a Care of their Souls, that no other Person might choose for them?* If it be Truth in general you would have them by Punishments driven to seek; that is to offer Matter of Dispute, and not a Rule of Discipline. For to punish any one to make him seek till he find Truth, without a Judge of Truth, is to punish for you know not what; and is all one as if you should whip a Scholar to make him find out the square Root of a Number you do not know. I wonder not therefore that you could not resolve with your self what Degree of Severity you would have used, nor how long continued; when you dare not speak out directly whom you would have punished, and are far from being clear to what End they should be under Penalties.

Consonant to this Uncertainty, of whom, or what to be punished; you tell us, *That there is no question of the Success of this Method. Force will certainly do, if duly proportioned to the Design of it.* Pag. 12.

What, I pray, is the *Design of it?* I challenge you, or any Man living, out of what you have said in your Book, to tell me directly what it is. In all other Punishments that ever I heard of yet, till now that you have taught the World a new Method, the Design of them has been to cure the Crime they are denounced against; and so I think it ought to be here. What I beseech you is the Crime here? Dissenting? That you say not, any where, is a Fault. Besides you tell us, *That the Magistrate hath not an Authority to compel any one to his Religion:* And that you do not require that Men should have no Rule but the Religion of the Country. And the Power you ascribe to the Magistrate is given him to bring Men, not to his own, but to the true Religion. If Dissenting be not the Fault; is it that a Man does not examine his own Religion, and the Grounds of it? Is that the Crime your Punishments are designed to cure? Neither that dare you say; lest you displease more than you satisfy with your new Discipline. And then again, (as I said before) you must tell us how far you would have them examine, before you punish them for not doing it. And I imagine, if that were all we required of you, it would be long enough before you would trouble us with a Law, that should prescribe to every one how far he was to examine Matters of Religion; wherein if he fail'd and came short, he was to be punished; if he perform'd, and went in his Examination to the Bounds set by the Law, he was acquitted and free. Sir, when you consider it again, you will perhaps think this a Case reserv'd to the Great Day, when the Secrets of all Hearts shall be laid open. For I imagine it is beyond the Power or Judgment of Man, in that Variety of Circumstances, in respect of Parts, Tempers, Opportunities, Helps, &c. Men are in in this World, to determine what is every one's Duty in this great Business of Search, Enquiry, Examination, or to know when any one has done it. That which makes me believe you will be of this mind, is, that where you undertake for the Success of this Method, if rightly used, it is with a Limitation, upon such as are not altogether incurable. So that when your Remedy is prepared according to Art, (which Art is yet unknown) and rightly apply'd, and given in a due Dose, (all which are Secrets) it will then infallibly cure. Whom? All that are not incurable by it. And so will a Pippin Posset, eating Fish in Lent, or a Presbyterian Lecture, certainly cure all that are not incurable by them. For I am sure you do not mean it will cure all, but those who are absolutely incurable; because you your self allow one means left of Cure, when yours will not do, viz. The Grace of God. Your Words are, *What Means is there left (except the Grace of God) to reduce them, but to lay Thorns and Briars in their way.* And here also, in the place we were considering, you tell us, *The Incurable are to be left to God:* Whereby, if you mean they are to be left to those means he has ordained for Mens Conversion and Salvation, yours must never be made use of: For he indeed has prescribed Preaching and Hearing of his Word; but as for those who will not hear, I do not find any where that he has commanded they should be compell'd or beaten to it.

There is a third thing that you are as tender and reserv'd in, as either naming the Criminals to be punished, or positively telling us the End for which they should be punished: And that is with what sort of Penalties, what Degree of Punishment they

they should be forced. You are indeed so gracious to them, that you renounce the Severities and Penalties hitherto made use of. You tell us, they should be but moderate Penalties. But if we ask you what are moderate Penalties, you confess you cannot tell us. So that by *Moderate*, here, you yet mean nothing. You tell us, the outward Force to be apply'd should be duly temper'd. But what that due Temper is, you do not, or cannot say; and so in effect, it signifies just nothing. Yet if in this you are not plain and direct, all the rest of your Design will signify nothing. For it being to have some Men, and to some End, punished; yet if it cannot be found what Punishment is to be used, it is (notwithstanding all you have said) utterly useless. You tell us modestly, That to determine precisely the just measure of the Punishment, will require some Consideration. If the Faults were precisely determined, and could be proved, it would require no more Consideration to determine the measure of the Punishment, in this, than it would in any other Case, where those were known. But where the Fault is undefined, and the Guilt not to be proved, (as I suppose it will be found in this present Business of examining) it will without doubt require Consideration to proportion the Force to the Design. Just so much Consideration as it will require to fit a Coat to the Moon, or proportion a Shoe to the Feet of those who inhabit her. For to proportion a Punishment to a Fault that you do not name, (and so we in Charity ought to think you do not yet know) and a Fault that when you have named it, will be impossible to be proved who are or are not guilty of it; will I suppose require as much Consideration, as to fit a Shoe to Feet whose Size and Shape are not known.

However, you offer some measures whereby to regulate your Punishments; which when they are looked into, will be found to be just as good as none; they being impossible to be any Rule in the Case. The first is, *So much Force, or such Penalties as are ordinarily sufficient to prevail with Men of common Discretion, and not desperately perverse and obstinate, to weigh Matters of Religion carefully and impartially, and without which ordinarily they will not do this.* Where it is to be observed:

First, That who are these Men of *Common Discretion*, is as hard to know, as to know what is a fit Degree of Punishment in the Case; and so you do but regulate one Uncertainty by another. Some Men will be apt to think, that he who will not weigh Matters of Religion, which are of infinite Concernment to him, without Punishment, cannot in reason be thought a Man of *Common Discretion*. Many Women of *Common Discretion* enough to manage the ordinary Affairs of their Families, are not able to read a Page in an ordinary Author, or to understand and give an account what it means, when read to them. Many Men of *Common Discretion* in their Callings, are not able to judge when an Argument is conclusive or no; much less to trace it through a long Train of Consequences. *What Penalties shall be sufficient to prevail with such (who upon Examination, I fear, will not be found to make the least part of Mankind) to examine and weigh Matters of Religion carefully and impartially?* The Law allows all to have *Common Discretion*, for whom it has not provided Guardians or Bedlam. So that, in effect, your Men of *Common Discretion* are all Men, not judg'd Ideots or Madmen: And Penalties sufficient to prevail with Men of *Common Discretion*, are Penalties sufficient to prevail with all Men, but Ideots and Madmen. Which what a measure it is to regulate Penalties by, let all Men of *Common Discretion* judge.

Secondly, You may be pleased to consider, That all Men of the same Degree of *Discretion*, are not apt to be moved by the same Degree of Penalties. Some are of a more yielding, some of a more stiff Temper; and what is sufficient to prevail on one, is not half enough to move the other; tho' both Men of *Common Discretion*. So that *Common Discretion* will be here of no use to determine the measure of Punishment: Especially, when in the same Clause you except Men *desperately perverse and obstinate*, who are as hard to be known, as what you seek: viz. the just Proportions of Punishments necessary to prevail with Men to consider, examine, and weigh Matters of Religion; wherein, if a Man tells you he has consider'd, he has weigh'd, he has examin'd, and so goes on in his former Course, 'tis impossible for you ever to know whether he has done his Duty, or whether he be *desperately perverse and obstinate*. So that this Exception signifies just nothing.

There are many things in your use of Force and Penalties, different from any I ever met with elsewhere. One of them, this Clause of yours, concerning the measure

measure of Punishments, now under Consideration, offers me: Wherein you proportion your Punishments only to the Yielding and Corrigible, not to the Perverse and Obstinate; contrary to the Common Discretion which has hitherto made Laws in other Cases, which levels the Punishments against refractory Offenders, and never spares them because they are obstinate. This however I will not blame, as an oversight in you. Your new Method, which aims at such impracticable and inconsistent things as Laws cannot bear, nor Penalties be useful to, forced you to it. The Uselessness, Absurdity, and Unreasonableness of great Severities, you had acknowledg'd in the foregoing Paragraphs. Dissenters you would have brought to consider by moderate Penalties. They lie under them; but whether they have consider'd or no (for that you cannot tell,) they still continue Dissenters. What is to be done now? Why, *the incurable are to be left to God*, as you tell us, P. 12. Your Punishments were not meant to prevail on the desperately Perverse and Obstinate, as you tell us here. And so whatever be the Success, your Punishments are however justified.

You have given us in another Place, something like another Boundary to your moderate Penalties: But when examined, it proves just like the rest, trifling only, in good Words, so put together as to have no direct meaning; an Art very much in use amongst some sort of learned Men. The Words are these; *Such Penalties as may not tempt Persons who have any Concern for their Eternal Salvation, (and those who have none, ought not to be considered) to renounce a Religion which they believe to be true, or profess one which they do not believe to be so.* If by any Concern, you mean a true Concern for their Eternal Salvation, by this Rule you may make your Punishments as great as you please; and all the Severities you have disclaim'd may be brought in play again: For none of those will be able to make a Man, who is truly concerned for his Eternal Salvation, renounce a Religion he believes to be true, or profess one he does not believe to be so. If by those who have any Concern, you mean such who have some faint Wishes for Happiness hereafter, and would be glad to have things go well with them in the other World, but will venture nothing in this World for it; these the moderatest Punishments you can imagine, will make change their Religion. If by any Concern, you mean whatever may be between these two; the Degrees are so infinite, that to proportion your Punishments by that, is to have no measure of them at all.

One thing I cannot but take notice of in this Passage, before I leave it: And that is that you say here, *Those who have no Concern for their Salvation, deserve not to be considered.* In other parts of your Letter you pretend to have Compassion on the Careless, and provide Remedies for them: But here, of a sudden, your Charity fails you; and you give them up to Eternal Perdition, without the least Regard, the least Pity, and say *they deserve not to be considered.* Our Saviour's Rule was, *The sick, and not the whole, need a Physician.* Your Rule here is, *Those that are Careless, are not to be considered, but are to be left to themselves.* This would seem strange, if one did not observe what drew you to it. You perceiv'd that if the Magistrate was to use no Punishments but such as would make no body change their Religion, he was to use none at all: For the Careless would be brought to the National Church, with any slight Punishments; and when they are once there, you are, it seems, satisfied, and look no farther after them. So that by your own measures, if the Careless, and those who have no Concern for their Eternal Salvation, are to be regarded and taken care of; if the Salvation of their Souls is to be promoted, there is to be no Punishments used at all: And therefore you leave them out as *not to be considered.*

There remains yet one thing to be inquired into, concerning the measure of the Punishments, and that is the length of their Duration. *Moderate Punishments* that are continued, that Men find no end of, know no way out of, sit heavy, and become immoderately uneasy. *Dissenters* you would have punished, to make them consider. Your Penalties have had the Effect on them you intended; they have made them consider; and they have done their utmost in considering. What now must be done with them? They must be punish'd on; for they are still Dissenters. If it were just, if you had reason at first to punish a Dissenter, to make him consider, when you did not know but that he had considered already; it is as just, and you have as much reason to punish him on, even when he has perform'd what your Punishments was designed for, when he has considered, but yet remains a Dissenter. For I may justly suppose, and you must grant, that a Man may remain a Dissenter, after

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after all the consideration your moderate Penalties can bring him to; when we see greater Punishments, even those Severities you disown, as too great, are not able to make men consider so far as to be convinced, and brought over to the National Church.

If your Punishments may not be inflicted on Men, to make them consider, who have, or may have considered already for ought you know; then Dissenters are never to be once punished, no more than any other sort of Men. If Dissenters are to be punished, to make them consider, whether they have considered or no; then their Punishments, tho' they do consider, must never cease, as long as they are Dissenters; which whether it be to punish them only to bring them to consider, let all Men judge. This I am sure; Punishments, in your Method, must either never begin upon Dissenters, or never cease. And so pretend Moderation as you please; the Punishments which your Method requires, must be either very immoderate, or none at all.

Pag. 13, And now, you having yielded to our Author, and that upon very good Reasons which
14. you your self urge, and which I shall set down in your own words, *That to prosecute Men with Fire and Sword, or to deprive them of their Estates, to maim them with corporal Punishments, to starve and torture them in noisom Prisons, and in the end even to take away their lives, to make them Christians, is but an ill way of expressing Mens desire of the Salvation of those whom they treat in this manner. And that it will be very difficult to persuade Men of sense, that he who with dry eyes and satisfaction of mind can deliver his Brother to the Executioner, to be burnt alive, does sincerely and heartily concern himself to save that Brother from the Flames of Hell in the world to come. And that these Methods are so very improper, in respect to the Design of them, that they usually produce the quite contrary effect. For whereas all the use which Force can have for the advancing true Religion, and the Salvation of Souls, is (as has already been shewed) by disposing Men to submit to instruction, and to give a fair hearing to the Reasons which are offered, for the enlightning their minds, and discovering the Truth to them; these Cruelties have the misfortune to be commonly look'd upon as so just a prejudice against any Religion that uses them, as makes it needless to look any farther into it; and to tempt Men to reject it, as both false and detestable, without ever vouchsafing to consider the rational Grounds and Motives of it. This effect they seldom fail to work upon the Sufferers of them; and as to the Spectators, if they be not before-hand well instructed in those Grounds and Motives, they will be much tempted likewise, not only to entertain the same Opinion of such a Religion, but withal to judge much more favourably of that of the Sufferers; who they will be apt to think, would not expose themselves to such extremities, which they might avoid by compliance, if they were not thoroughly satisfied of the Justice of their Cause. And upon these Reasons you conclude, That these Severities are utterly unapt and improper for the bringing Men to embrace that Truth which must save them. Again, you have acknowledged, That the Authority of the Magistrate is not an Authority to compel anyone to his Religion. And again, That the rigor of Laws, and force of Penalties are not capable to convince and change Mens minds. And yet farther, That you do not require that Men should have no rule, but the Religion of the Court; or that they should be put under a necessity to quit the light of their own Reason, and oppose the dictates of their own Consciences, and blindly resign up themselves to the will of their Governors; but that the Power you ascribe to the Magistrate, is given him to bring Men not to his own, but to the true Religion. Now you having, I say, granted this, whereby you directly condemn and abolish all Laws that have been made here, or any where else (that ever I heard of) to compel Men to Conformity; I think the Author, and whosoever else are most for Liberty of Conscience, might be content with the Toleration you allow, by condemning the Laws about Religion, now in force; and rest satisfied, until you had made your new Method consistent and practicable, by telling the World plainly and directly;*

Pag. 21.
Pag. 24.
Pag. 25.

1. Who are to be Punished.
2. For what.
3. With what Punishments.
4. How long.
5. What Advantage to true Religion it would be, if Magistrates every where did so punish.
6. And lastly, Whence the Magistrate had Commission to do so.

When you have done this plainly and intelligibly, without keeping in the uncertainty of general expressions, and without supposing all along your Church in the right, and your Religion the true; (which can no more be allow'd to you in this case, whatever

whatever your Church or Religion be, than it can be to a Papist or a Lutheran, a Presbyterian, or an Anabaptist; nay no more to you, that it can be allowed to a Jew or a Mahometan; when, I say, you have by settling these Points, fram'd the parts of your new Engine, set it together, and shew'd that it will work, without doing more harm than good in the World; I think then Men may be content to submit to it. But imagining this, and an Engine to shew the perpetual Motion, will be found out together; I think Toleration in a very good state, notwithstanding your answer; wherein you having said so much for it, and for ought I see, nothing against it; unless an impracticable Chimera be, in your opinion, something mightily to be apprehended.

We have now seen and examined the main of your Treatise; and therefore I think I might here end, without going any farther. But, that you may not think your self, or any of your Arguments neglected, I will go over the remainder, and give you my thoughts on every thing I shall meet with in it, that seems to need any answer. In one place you argue against the Author thus: *If then the Author's Fourth Proposition, as you call it, viz. That Force is of no use for promoting true Religion and the Salvation of Souls, be not true (as perhaps by this time it appears it is not) then the last Proposition, which is built upon it, must fall with it:* Which last Proposition is this, viz. *That no body can have any right to use any outward Force or Compulsion to bring Men to the true Religion, and so to Salvation.* If this Proposition were built, as you alledge, upon that which you call his fourth, then indeed if the fourth fell, this built upon it would fall with it. But that not being the Author's Proposition, (as I have shew'd) nor this built wholly on it, but on other Reasons, (as I have already prov'd, and any one may see in several parts of his Letter, particularly P. 234, 235.) what you alledge falls of it self.

The business of the next Paragraph is to prove, That if *Force be useful, then somebody must certainly have a right to use it.* The first Argument you go about to prove it by, is this, That *Usefulness is as good an Argument to prove there is somewhere a right to use it, as Uselessness is to prove no body has such a right.* If you consider the things of whose Usefulness or Uselessness we are speaking, you will perhaps be of another mind. It is Punishment, or Force used in punishing. Now all Punishment is some evil, some inconvenience, some suffering; by taking away or abridging some good thing, which he who is punished has otherwise a right to. Now to justify the bringing any such evil upon any Man, two things are requisite. First, That he who does it has Commission and Power so to do. Secondly, That it be directly useful for the procuring some greater good. Whatever Punishment one Man uses to another, without these two conditions, whatever he may pretend, proves an injury and injustice, and so of right ought to have been let alone. And therefore, though Usefulness (which is one of the conditions that makes Punishments just) when it is away, may hinder Punishments from being lawful in any bodies hands; yet Usefulness, when present (being but one of those conditions) cannot give the other, which is a Commission to punish; without which also Punishment is unlawful. From whence it follows, That though useless Punishment be unlawful from any hand; yet useful Punishment from every hand is not lawful. A Man may have the Stone, and it may be useful (more than indirectly, and at a distance useful) to him to be cut; but yet this Usefulness will not justify the most skilful Chirurgeon in the World, by Force to make him endure the pain and hazard of cutting; because he has no Commission, no right, without the Patient's own consent to do so. Nor is it a good argument cutting will be useful to him; therefore there is a right somewhere to cut him, whether he will or no? Much less will there be an Argument for any right, if there be only a possibility that it may prove useful indirectly and by accident.

Your other Argument is this; *If Force or Punishment be of necessary use, then it must be acknowledged, that there is a right somewhere to use it; unless we will say (what without impiety cannot be said) that the wise and benign Disposer and Governour of all things has not furnished Mankind with competent means for the promoting his own honour in the world, and the good of Souls.* If your way of arguing be true; 'tis demonstration, that Force is not of necessary use. For I argue thus, in your form. We must acknowledge Force not to be of necessary use; unless we will say (what without impiety cannot be said) that the wise Disposer and Governour of all things did not, for above 300 Years after Christ, furnish his Church with competent means for promoting his own honour in the world, and the good of souls. 'Tis for you to consider whether these Arguments be conclusive or no. This I am sure; the one is as conclusive as the other. But if your supposed Usefulness places a right somewhere to use it, pray tell me in whose hands it places it in Turkey, Persia, or China, or any Country

where Christians of different Churches live under a Heathen or *Mahometan* Sovereign? And if you cannot tell me in whose hands it places it there, (as I believe you will find it pretty hard to do) there are then (it seems) some places where (upon your supposition of the necessary Usefulness of Force) *the wise and benign Governour and Disposer of all things, has not furnish'd Men with competent means for promoting his own honour, and the good of Souls*; unless you will grant, *that the wise and benign Disposer and Governour of all things, hath for the promoting of his honour, and the good of souls,* placed a power in *Mahometan* or Heathen Princes, to punish Christians, *to bring them to consider Reasons and Arguments proper to convince them.* But this is the advantage of so fine an invention, as that of Force *doing some service indirectly and at a distance*; which Usefulness, if we may believe you, places a right in *Mahometan* or Pagan Princes hands, to use force upon Christians; for fear lest mankind in those Countries, should be *unfurnish'd with means for the promoting God's honour and the good of souls.*

Pag. 15.

Pag. 16.

For thus you argue; *If there be so great use of Force, then there is a right somewhere to use it.* And if there be such a right somewhere, where should it be but in the Civil Sovereign? Who can deny now, but that you have taken care, great care, for the promoting of Truth and the Christian Religion? But yet it is as hard for me, I confess, and I believe for others, to conceive how you should think to do any service to Truth and the Christian Religion, by putting a right into *Mahometans* or Heathens hands to punish Christians; as it was for you to conceive how the Author should think to do any service to Truth, and the Christian Religion, by exempting the Professors of it from Punishment every where; since there are more Pagan, *Mahometan*, and erroneous Princes in the World, than Orthodox; Truth, and the Christian Religion (*taking the world as we find it*) is sure to be more punished and suppress'd, than Error and Falshood.

Pag. 17.

The Author having endeavour'd to shew that no body at all, of any rank or condition, had a power to punish, torment, or use any Man ill, for matters of Religion; you tell us *you do not yet understand, why Clergy-men are not as capable of such Power as other Men.* I do not remember that the Author any where, by excepting Ecclesiasticks more than others, gave you any occasion to shew your concern in this point. Had he foreseen that this would have touch'd you so nearly, and that you set your heart so much upon the Clergy's Power of punishing; 'tis like he would have told you, he thought Ecclesiasticks as capable of it as any Men; and that if forwardness and diligence in the exercise of such Power may recommend any to it, Clergy-men in the opinion of the World stand fairest for it. However, you do well to put in your claim for them, tho' the Author excludes them no more than their Neighbours. Nay, they must be allow'd the pretence of the fairest Title. For I never read of any Severities that were to bring Men to Christ, but those of the Law of *Moses*; which is therefore call'd a *Pedagogue*. (*Gal. 3. 14.*) And the next Verse tells us, *That after that Faith is come, we are no longer under a School-master.* But yet if we are still to be driven to Christ by a Rod, I shall not envy them the pleasure of wielding it: Only I desire them, when they have got the Scourge into their Hands, to remember our Saviour, and follow his Example, who never us'd it but once; and that they would, like him, imploy it only to drive vile and scandalous Traffickers for the things of this World, out of their Church, rather than to drive whoever they can into it. Whether that latter be not a proper Method to make their Church what our Saviour there pronounced of the Temple, they who use it were best look. For in matters of Religion, none are so easy to be driven, as those who have nothing of Religion at all; and next to them, the Vicious, the Ignorant, the Worldling, and the Hypocrite; who care for no more of Religion but the Name, nor no more of any Church, but its Prosperity and Power; and who, not unlike those describ'd by our Saviour, (*Luke 20. 47.*) for a shew come to, or cry up the Prayers of the Church, *That they may devour Widows,* and other helpless People's Houses. I say not this of the serious Professors of any Church, who are in earnest in matters of Religion. Such I value, who conscientiously, and out of a sincere Persuasion, embrace any Religion, tho' different from mine, and in a way, I think, mistaken. But no body can have reason to think otherwise than what I have said, of those who are wrought upon to be of any Church, by secular hopes and fears. Those truly place Trade above all other Considerations, and merchandize with Religion itself, who regulate their choice by worldly Profit and Loss.

Pag. 18.

You endeavour to prove, against the Author, that Civil Society is not instituted only for Civil Ends, *i.e.* The procuring, preserving, and advancing Mens Civil Interests. Your words are: *I must say, that our Author does but beg the Question, when he affirms*

affirms that the Commonwealth is constituted only for the procuring, preserving, and advancing of the Civil Interests of the Members of it. That Commonwealths are instituted for these Ends, no Man will deny. But if there be any other Ends besides these, attainable by the Civil Society and Government, there is no reason to affirm, That these are the only Ends for which they are designed. Doubtless Commonwealths are instituted for the attaining of all the Benefits which Political Government can yield. And therefore, if the Spiritual, and Eternal Interests of Men may any way be procured or advanced by Political Government, the procuring and advancing those Interests must in all reason be reckon'd among the Ends of Civil Societies, and so, consequently, fall within the compass of the Magistrates Jurisdiction. I have set down your Words at large, to let the Reader see, That you of all Men had the least reason to tell the Author, he does but beg the Question; unless you mean to justify your self by the Pretence of his Example. You argue thus, *If there be any other Ends attainable by Civil Society, then Civil Interests are not the only Ends for which Commonwealths are instituted.* And how do you prove there be other Ends? Why thus, *Doubtless commonwealths are instituted for the attaining of all the Benefits which Political Government can yield.* Which is as clear a Demonstration, as *Doubtless* can make it to be. The Question is, Whether Civil Society be instituted only for Civil Ends? You say, No; and your Proof is, *Because, Doubtless, it is instituted for other Ends.* If I now say, *Doubtless this is a good Argument; is not every one bound without more ado to admit it for such? If not, Doubtless you are in Danger to be thought to beg the Question.*

But notwithstanding you say here, That the Author begs the Question, in the following Page you tell us, *That the Author offers three Considerations which seem to him abundantly to demonstrate, that the Civil Power neither can, nor ought in any manner to be extended to the Salvation of Souls.* He does not then beg the Question. For the Question being, *Whether Civil Interest be the only End of Civil Society,* he gives this reason for the Negative; *That Civil Power has nothing to do with the Salvation of Souls;* and offers three Considerations for the proof of it. For it will always be a good Consequence, that, if the Civil Power has nothing to do with the Salvation of Souls, *then Civil Interest is the only End of Civil Society.* And the reason of it is plain; because a Man having no other Interest, but either in this World or the World to come; if the end of Civil Society reach not to a Man's Interest in the other World, (all which is comprehended in the Salvation of his Soul) 'tis plain, that the sole End of Civil Society is Civil Interest, under which the Author comprehends the good things of this World.

And now let us examine the Truth of your main Position, viz. *That Civil Society is instituted for the attaining all the Benefits that it may any way yield.* Which, if true, then this Position must be true, viz. *That all Societies whatsoever are instituted for the attaining all the Benefits that they may any way yield;* there being nothing peculiar to Civil Society in the Case, why that Society should be *instituted for the attaining all the Benefits it can any way yield,* and other Societies not. By which Argument it will follow, That all Societies are instituted for one and the same End; i. e. *for the attaining all the Benefits that they can any way yield.* By which account there will be no Difference between Church and State; a Commonwealth and an Army; or between a Family and the *East-India Company;* all which have hitherto been thought distinct sorts of Societies, instituted for different Ends. If your Hypothesis hold good; one of the Ends of the Family must be to preach the Gospel; and administer the Sacraments; and one Business of an Army to teach Languages; and propagate Religion; because these are Benefits *some way or other attainable* by those Societies: Unless you take want of Commission and Authority to be a sufficient Impediment: And that will be so too in other Cases.

'Tis a Benefit to have true Knowledge and Philosophy embraced and assented to, in any Civil Society or Government. But will you say, therefore, that it is a Benefit to the Society, or one of the Ends of Government, that all who are not Peripateticks should be punished, to make Men find out the Truth, and profess it. This indeed might be thought a fit way to make some Men embrace the peripatetick Philosophy, but not a proper way to find the Truth. For, perhaps the peripatetick Philosophy may not be true; perhaps a great many have not Time, nor Parts to study it; perhaps a great many who have studied it, cannot be convinced of the Truth of it: And therefore it cannot be a Benefit to the Commonwealth, nor one of the Ends of it, that these Members of the Society should be disturb'd, and diseas'd to no purpose, when they are guilty of no Fault. For just the same reason, it cannot

A Second Letter concerning Toleration.

be a Benefit to Civil Society, that Men should be punished in *Denmark*, for not being *Lutherans*; in *Geneva*, for not being *Calvinists*; and in *Vienna*, for not being *Papists*; as a means to make them find out the true Religion. For so, upon your Grounds, Men must be treated in those Places, as well as in *England*, for not being of the Church of *England*. And then, I beseech you, consider the great Benefit will accrue to Men in Society by this Method; and I suppose it will be a hard thing for you to prove, That ever Civil Governments were instituted to punish Men for not being of this, or that Sect in Religion; however by accident, *indirectly*, and *at a distance*, it may be an occasion to one perhaps of a thousand, or an hundred, to study that Controversy, which is all you expect from it. If it be a *Benefit*, pray tell me what *Benefit* it is. A Civil *Benefit* it cannot be. For Mens Civil Interests are disturb'd, injur'd, and impair'd by it. And what *Spiritual* Benefit that can be to any Multitude of Men, to be punished for dissenting from a false or erroneous Profession, I would have you find out: unless it be a *Spiritual* Benefit to be in danger to be driven into a wrong way. For if in all differing Sects, one is in the wrong, 'tis a hundred to one but that from which one dissents, and is punished for dissenting from, is the wrong.

I grant it is past doubt, That the Nature of Man is so covetous of Good, that no one would have excluded from any Action he does, or from any Institution he is concerned in, any manner of Good or Benefit that it might any way yield. And if this be your meaning, it will not be denied you. But then you speak very improperly, or rather very mistakenly, if you call such Benefits as may any way (i. e. *indirectly*, and *at a distance*, or by accident) be attain'd by Civil or any other Society, the Ends for which it is instituted. Nothing can in reason be reckon'd amongst the Ends of any Society, but what may in reason be supposed to be designed by those who enter into it. Now no body can in reason suppose, that any one entered into Civil Society for the *procuring*, *securing*, or *advancing* the Salvation of his Soul; when he, for that End, needed not the Force of Civil Society. The *procuring*, therefore, *securing*, and *advancing* the *Spiritual* and *Eternal* Interest of Men, cannot in reason be reckon'd amongst the Ends of Civil Societies; tho' perhaps it might so fall out, that in some particular Instance, some Man's spiritual Interest might be advanced by your or any other way of applying Civil Force. A Nobleman, whose Chapel is decayed or fallen, may make use of his Dining-room for Praying and Preaching. Yet whatever Benefit were attainable by this use of the Room, no body can in reason reckon this among the Ends for which it was built; no more than the accidental breeding of some Bird in any part of it (tho' it were a Benefit it yielded) could in reason be reckon'd among the Ends of building the House.

But, say you, Doubtless Commonwealths are instituted for the attaining of all the Benefits which Political Government can yield; and therefore if the *Spiritual* and *Eternal* Interests of Men may any way be procur'd or advanc'd by Political Government, the *procuring* and *advancing* those Interests, must in all reason be reckon'd amongst the Ends of Civil Society, and so consequently fall within the compass of the Magistrate's Jurisdiction. Upon the same Grounds, I thus reason. Doubtless Churches are instituted for the attaining of all the Benefits which Ecclesiastical Government can yield: And therefore, if the Temporal and Secular Interests of Men may any way be procur'd or advanced by Ecclesiastical Polity, the *procuring* and *advancing* those Interests must in all reason be reckoned among the Ends of Religious Societies, and so consequently fall within the compass of Churchmens Jurisdiction. The Church of Rome has openly made its Advantage of *Secular* Interests to be procur'd or advanced, *indirectly*, and *at a distance*, and in *ordine ad spiritualia*; all which ways (if I mistake not *English*) are comprehended under your *any way*. But I do not remember that any of the Reformed Churches have hitherto directly professed it. But there is a time for all things. And if the Commonwealth once invades the spiritual Ends of the Church, by meddling with the Salvation of Souls, (which she has always been so tender of) who can deny, that the Church should have Liberty to make herself some Amends by Reprisals?

But, Sir, however you and I may argue from wrong Suppositions, yet unless the Apostle, (*Eph. 4.*) where he reckons up the Church-Officers which Christ hath instituted in his Church, had told us they were for some other Ends than for the *perfecting* of the *Saints*, for the *work* of the *Ministry*, for the *edifying* of the *Body of Christ*; the advancing of their secular Interests will scarce be allow'd to be their Business,

ness, or within the compass of their Jurisdiction. Nor till it can be shewn that Civil Society is instituted for Spiritual Ends, or that the Magistrate has Commission to interpose his Authority, or use Force in Matters of Religion; your Supposition of *Spiritual Benefits indirectly and at a distance attainable* by Political Government, will never prove the advancing of those Interests by Force, to be the Magistrates Business, and to fall within the compass of his Jurisdiction. And till then, the Force of the Arguments which the Author has brought against it, (in the seventh and following Pages of his Letter) will hold good.

Commonwealths, or Civil Societies and Governments, if you will believe the judicious Mr. Hooker, are as St. Peter calls them (1 Pet. 2. 13.) *ἀνθρώπων ἰστέον*, the Contrivance and Institution of Man; and he shews there for what end; viz. for the Punishment of evil doers, and the Praise of them that do well. I do not find any where, that it is for the Punishment of those who are not in Church-Communion with the Magistrate, to make them study Controversies in Religion, or hearken to those who will tell them they have mistaken their way, and offer to shew them the right one. You must shew them such a Commission, if you say it is from God. And in all Societies instituted by Man, the Ends of them can be no other than what the Institutors appointed; which I am sure could not be their *Spiritual and Eternal Interest*. For they could not stipulate about these one with another, nor submit this Interest to the Power of the Society, or any Sovereign they should set over it. There are Nations in the *West-Indies*, which have no other End of their Society, but their mutual Defence against their Common Enemies. In these, their Captain, or Prince, is sovereign Commander in time of War; but in time of Peace, neither he nor any body else has any Authority over any of the Society. You cannot deny but other, even temporal Ends, are attainable by these Commonwealths, if they had been otherwise instituted and appointed to those Ends. But all your saying, *doubtless Commonwealths are instituted for the attaining of all the Benefits which they can yield*, will not give Authority to any one, or more, in such a Society, by *Political Government or Force*, to procure directly or indirectly other Benefits than that for which it was instituted: And therefore, there it falls not within the compass of those Princes Jurisdiction to punish any one of the Society for injuring another; because he has no Commission so to do; whatever reason you may think there is, that that should be reckoned amongst the Ends of their Society.

But to conclude: Your Argument has that Defect in it which turns it upon your self. And that is, that the *procuring and advancing the Spiritual and Eternal Interest of Souls*, your way, is not a Benefit to the Society: And so, upon your own Supposition, the *procuring and advancing the Spiritual Interest of Souls*, any way, cannot be one of the Ends of Civil Society; unless the *procuring and advancing the Spiritual Interest of Souls*, in a way proper to do more Harm than Good towards the Salvation of Souls, be to be accounted such a Benefit as to be one of the Ends of Civil Societies. For that yours is such a way, I have proved already. So that were it hard to prove that Political Government, whose only Instrument is Force, could no way by Force (however applied) more advance than hinder the *Spiritual and Eternal Interest of Men*; yet having prov'd it against your particular new way of applying Force, I have sufficiently vindicated the Author's Doctrine from any thing you have said against it. Which is enough for my present purpose.

Your next Page tells us, That this reasoning of the Author, viz. *That the Power* Pag. 19. *of the Magistrate cannot be extended to the Salvation of Souls, because the Care of Souls is not committed to the Magistrate; is proving the thing by itself.* As if you should say, when I tell you that you could not extend your Power to meddle with the Money of a young Gentleman you travelled with, as Tutor, because the Care of his Money was not committed to you, were proving the thing by itself. For it is not necessary that you should have the Power of his Money; it may be intrusted to a Steward who travels with him; or it may be left to himself. If you have it, it is but a delegated Power. And in all delegated Powers, I thought this a fair Proof; you have it not, or cannot use it, (which is what the Author means here by *extended to*) because it is not committed to you. In the summing up of this Argument, (P. 18.) the Author says, *No body therefore, in fine, neither Commonwealths, &c. hath any Title to invade the Civil Rights and worldly Goods of another, upon Pretence of Religion.* Which is an Exposition of what he means in the beginning of the Argument, by the *Magistrate's Power cannot be extended to the Salvation of Souls.* So that

if we take these last cited Words equivalent to those in the former Place, his Proof will stand thus, *The Magistrate has no title to invade the Civil Rights or Worldly Goods of any one, upon Pretence of Religion; because the Care of Souls is not committed to him.* This is the same in the Author's Sense with the former. And whether either this, or that, be a proving the same thing by itself, we must leave to others to judge.

Pag. 21. You quote the Author's Argument, which he brings to prove that the Care of Souls is not committed to the Magistrate, in these Words, *It is not committed to him by God, because it appears not that God has ever given any such Authority to one Man over another, as to compel any one to his Religion.* This, when first I read it, I confess, I thought a good Argument. But you say, *this is quite beside the Business;* and the reason you give, is, *For the Authority of the Magistrate is not an Authority to compel any one to his Religion, but only an Authority to procure all his Subjects the means of discovering the way of Salvation, and to procure withal, as much as in him lies, that none remain ignorant of it, &c.* I fear, Sir, you forget your self. The Author was not writing against your new Hypothesis, before it was known in the World. He may be excused if he had not the Gift of Prophecy, to argue against a Notion which was not yet started. He had in view only the Laws hitherto made, and the Punishments (in Matters of Religion) in use in the World. The Penalties, as I take it, are laid on Men for being of different ways of Religion. Which, what is it other, but to *compel* them to relinquish their own, and to conform themselves to that from which they differ? If this be not to *compel* them to the Magistrate's Religion, pray tell us what is? This must be necessarily so understood; unless it can be supposed that the Law intends not to have that done, which with Penalties it commands to be done; or that Punishments are not Compulsion, not that Compulsion the Author complains of. The Law says, *Do this and live;* embrace this Doctrine, conform to this way of Worship, and be at ease, and free; or else be fined, imprisoned, banished, burnt. If you can shew among the Laws that have been made in *England*, concerning Religion, (and I think I may say any where else) any one that punishes Men for not having *impartially examin'd the Religion they have embrac'd, or refus'd,* I think I may yield you the Cause. Law-makers have been generally wiser than to make Laws that could not be executed: and therefore their Laws were against Non-Conformists, which could be known; and not for *impartial Examination*, which could not. 'Twas not then *besides* the Author's Business, to bring an Argument against the Persecutions here in fashion. He did not know that any one who was so free as to acknowledge that the *Magistrate has not an Authority to compel any one to his Religion,* and thereby at once (as you have done) give up all the Laws now in force against Dissenters, had yet Rods in store for them, and by a new Trick would bring them under the lash of the Law, when the old Pretences were too much exploded to serve any longer. Have you never heard of such a thing as the *Religion establish'd by Law?* Which is, it seems, the Lawful Religion of a Country, and to be comply'd with as such. There being such things, such Notions yet in the World, it was not *quite besides* the Author's Business to alledge, that *God never gave such Authority to one Man over another as to compel any one to his Religion.* I will grant, if you please, *Religion establish'd by Law* is a pretty odd way of speaking in the Mouth of a Christian; (and yet it is much in fashion) as if the Magistrates Authority could add any Force or Sanction to any Religion, whether true or false. I am glad to find you have so far considered the *Magistrates Authority*, that you agree with the Author, that he *hath none to compel Men to his Religion.* Much less can he, by any Establishment of Law, add any thing to the Truth or Validity of his own, or any Religion whatsoever.

Pag. 21. It remains now to examine, whether the Author's Argument will not hold good, even against Punishments in your way. For if the *Magistrate's Authority* be, as you here say, *only to procure all his Subjects,* (mark what you say, *ALL HIS SUBJECTS*) *the means of discovering the way of Salvation, and to procure withal, as much as in him lies, that NONE remain ignorant of it, or refuse to embrace it, either for want of using those means, or by reason of any such Prejudices as may render them ineffectual.* If this be the Magistrate's Business, in reference to *ALL HIS SUBJECTS;* I desire you, or any Man else, to tell me how this can be done by the Application of Force only to a part of them; Unless you will still vainly suppose *Ignorance, Negligence, or Prejudice,* only amongst that part which any where differs

fers from the Magistrate. If those of the Magistrate's Church may be ignorant of the way of Salvation; If it be possible there may be amongst them, those who refuse to embrace it, either for want of using those means, or by reason of any such prejudices as may render them ineffectual: What, in this case, becomes of the Magistrate's Authority to procure all his Subjects the means of discovering the way of Salvation? Must these of his Subjects be neglected, and left without the means he has Authority to procure them? Or must he use Force upon them too? And then, pray, shew me how this can be done. Shall the Magistrate punish those of his own Religion, to procure them the means of discovering the way of salvation, and to procure as much as in him lies, that they remain not ignorant of it, or refuse not to embrace it? These are such contradictions in practice, this is such condemnation of a man's own Religion, as no one can expect from the Magistrate; and I dare say you desire not of him. And yet this is that he must do, *If his Authority be to procure all his subjects the means of discovering the way to Salvation.* And if it be so needful, as you say it is, that he should use it, I am sure Force cannot do that till it be apply'd wider, and Punishment be laid upon more than you would have it. For if the Magistrate be by Force to procure, as much as in him lies, that none remain ignorant of the way of Salvation; must he not punish all those who are ignorant of the way of Salvation? And pray tell me how is this any way practicable, but by supposing none in the National Church ignorant, and all out of it ignorant of the way of Salvation. Which, what is it, but to punish Men barely for not being of the Magistrate's Religion; The very thing you deny he has authority to do? So that the Magistrate having, by your own confession, no authority thus to use Force; and it being otherways impracticable for the procuring all his Subjects the means of discovering the way of Salvation; there is an end of Force. And so Force being laid aside, either as unlawful, or unpracticable, the Author's Argument holds good against Force, even in your way of applying it.

But if you say, as you do in the foregoing page, That the Magistrate has authority to lay such Penalties upon those who refuse to embrace the Doctrine of the proper Ministers of Religion, and to submit to their Spiritual Government, as to make them bethink themselves so as not to be alienated from the Truth. (For, as for foolish humour, and uncharitable prejudice, &c. which are but words of course that opposite Parties give one another, as marks of dislike and presumption, I omit them, as signifying nothing to the Question; being such as will with the same Reason be retorted by the other Side;) Against that also the Author's Argument holds, That the Magistrate has no such Authority. 1st, Because God never gave the Magistrate an authority to be Judge of Truth for another Man in Matters of Religion: and so he cannot be judge whether any Man be alienated from the Truth or no. 2^{dly}, Because the Magistrate had never authority given him to lay any Penalties on those who refuse to embrace the Doctrine of the proper Ministers of his Religion, (or of any other) or to submit to their spiritual Government, more than on any other Men. Pag. 204

To the Author's Argument, that the Magistrate cannot receive such authority from the People; because no Man has power to leave it to the choice of any other Man to chuse a Religion for him; you give this pleasant Answer. *As the Power of the Magistrate, in reference to Religion, is ordained for the bringing Men to take such care as they ought of their Salvation, that they may not blindly leave it to the choice, neither of any other person, nor yet of their own lusts and passions, to prescribe to them what Faith or worship they shall embrace: So if we suppose this power to be vested in the Magistrate by the consent of the People; this will not import their abandoning the care of their Salvation, but rather the contrary.* For if Men, in chusing their Religion, are so generally subject, as has been shewed, when left wholly to themselves, to be so much sway'd by prejudice and passion, as either not at all, or not sufficiently to regard the reasons and motives which ought alone to determine their choice; then it is every Man's true interest, not to be left wholly to himself in this matter; but that care should be taken, that in an Affair of so vast concernment to him, he may be brought even against his own inclination, if it cannot be done otherwise, (which is ordinarily the case) to act according to reason and sound judgment. And then what better course can Men take to provide for this, than by vesting the Power I have described, in him who bears the Sword? Wherein I beseech you consider; 1st, Whether it be not pleasant, that you say the Power of the Magistrate is ordain'd to bring Men to take such care; and thence infer, Then it is every one's interest to vest such Power in the Magistrate? For if it be the Power of the Magistrate, it is his. And what need the People vest it in him, unless there be need, Pag. 21.

Pag. 27.

need, and it be the best course they can take, to vest a Power in the Magistrate, which he has already? 2dly, Another pleasant thing you here say, is; That the Power of the Magistrates is to bring Men to such a care of their Salvation, that they may not blindly leave it to the choice of any person, or their own lusts, or passions, to prescribe to them what Faith or Worship they shall embrace; And yet that 'tis their best course to vest a Power in the Magistrate, liable to the same lusts and passions as themselves, to chuse for them. For if they vest a Power in the Magistrate to punish them, when they dissent from his Religion; to bring them to act, even against their own inclination, according to reason and sound judgment; which is, (as you explain your self in another place) to bring them to consider Reasons and Arguments proper and sufficient to convince them: How far is this from leaving it to the choice of another Man to prescribe to them what Faith or Worship they shall embrace? Especially if we consider, that you think it a strange thing, That the Author would have the care of every Man's Soul left to himself alone. So that this care being vested in the Magistrate with a Power to punish Men to make them consider Reasons and Arguments proper and sufficient to convince them of the Truth of his Religion; the choice is evidently in the Magistrate; as much as it can be in the power of one Man to chuse for another what Religion he shall be of, which consists only in a Power of compelling him by Punishments to embrace it.

I do neither you nor the Magistrate Injury, when I say that the Power you give the Magistrate of punishing Men, to make them consider reasons and arguments proper and sufficient to convince them, is to convince them of the truth of his Religion, and to bring them to it. For Men will never, in his opinion, act according to reason and sound judgment, (which is the thing you here say Men should be brought to by the Magistrate, even against their own inclination) till they embrace his Religion. And if you have the Brow of an honest Man, you will not say the Magistrate will ever punish you, to bring you to consider any other Reasons and Arguments, but such as are proper to convince you of the truth of his Religion, and to bring you to that. Thus you shift forwards and backwards. You say The Magistrate has no Power to punish Men, to compel them to his Religion; but only to compel them to consider Reasons and Arguments proper to convince them of the truth of his Religion, which is all one as to say, no body has Power to chuse your way for you to Jerusalem; but yet the Lord of the Mannor has Power to punish you, to bring you to consider Reasons and Arguments proper and sufficient to convince you. (Of what?) That the way he goes in, is the right, and so to make you join in Company, and go along with him. So that, in effect, what is all your going about, but to come at last to the same place again; and put a Power into the Magistrate's hands (under another pretence) to compel Men to his Religion; which use of Force, the Author has sufficiently overthrown, and you your self have quitted. But I am tired to follow you so often round the same Circle.

Pag. 22.

You speak of it here as the most deplorable Condition imaginable, that Men should be left to themselves, and not be forced to consider and examine the Grounds of their Religion, and search impartially and diligently after the Truth. This you make the great miscarriage of Mankind. And for this you seem solicitous, all through your Treatise, to find out a Remedy; and there is scarce a Leaf wherein you do not offer yours.

Pag. 7.

But what if, after all, now you should be found to prevaricate? Men have contrived to themselves, say you, a great variety of Religions: 'Tis granted. They seek not the Truth in this matter with that application of Mind, and that freedom of Judgment which is requisite: 'Tis confessed. All the false Religions now on foot in the World, have taken their rise from the slight and partial Consideration, which Men have contented themselves with, in searching after the true; and Men take them up, and persist in them for want of due Examination: Be it so. There is need of a Remedy for this, and I have found one whose Success cannot be questioned: Very well. What is it? Let us hear it. Who, Dissenters must be punished. Can any body that hears you say so, believe you in earnest; and that want of Examination is the thing you would have amended, when want of Examination is not the thing you would have punished? If want of Examination be the fault, want of Examination must be punished; if you are, as you pretend, fully satisfied, that Punishment is the proper and only means to remedy it. But if, in all your Treatise, you can shew me one place, where you say That the ignorant, the careless, the inconsiderate, the negligent in examining thoroughly the Truth of their own and others Religion, &c. are to be punished; I will allow your remedy for a good one. But you have not said any thing like this; and which is more, I tell you before hand, you dare not say it. And whilst you do not, the World has reason to

to judge; that however want of Examination be a general Fault, which you with great vehemency have exaggerated; yet you use it only for a pretence to punish Dissenters; and either distrust your Remedy, that it will not cure this Evil, or else care not to have it generally cur'd. This evidently appears from your whole Management of the Argument. And he that reads your Treatise with Attention, will be more confirm'd in this Opinion, when he shall find, that you (who are so earnest to have Men punished, to bring them to *consider and examine*, that so they may *discover the way to Salvation*) have not said one Word of considering, searching, and hearkening to the Scripture; which had been as good a Rule for a Christian to have sent them to, as to *Reasons and Arguments proper to convince them*, of you know not what; *As to the Instruction and Government of the proper Ministers of Religion*, which who they are, Men are yet far from being agreed; *Or as to the Information of those, who tell them they have mistaken their way, and offer to shew them the right*; and to the like uncertain and dangerous Guides; which were not those that our Saviour and the Apostles sent Men to, but to the Scriptures. *Search the Scriptures, for in them you think you have eternal Life*, says our Saviour to the unbelieving persecuting Jews, (John 5. 39.) And 'tis the Scriptures which St. Paul says, *are able to make wise unto Salvation*, (2 Tim. 3. 15.)

Talk no more, therefore, if you have any Care of your Reputation, how much it is every Man's Interest not to be left to himself, without Molestation, without Punishment in Matters of Religion. Talk not of bringing Men to embrace the Truth that must save them, by putting them upon Examination. Talk no more of Force and Punishment; as the only way left to bring Men to examine. 'Tis evident you mean nothing less. For, tho' want of Examination be the only Fault you complain of, and Punishment be in your Opinion the only way to bring Men to it; and this the whole Design of your Book; yet you have not once proposed in it, that those, who do not impartially examine, should be forced to it. And, that you may not think I talk at random, when I say you dare not; I will, if you please, give you some Reasons for my saying so.

First, Because, if you propose that all should be punished, who are ignorant; who have not used such Consideration as is apt and proper to manifest the Truth; but have been determined in the Choice of their Religion by Impressions of Education, Admiration of Persons, worldly Respects, Prejudices, and the like incompetent Motives; and have taken up their Religion, without examining it as they ought; you will propose to have several of your own Church (be it what it will) punished; which would be a Proposition too apt to offend too many of it, for you to venture on. For whatever need there be of Reformation, every one will not thank you for proposing such an one as must begin at (or at least reach to) the House of God.

Secondly, Because, if you should propose that all those who are ignorant, careless, and negligent in examining, should be punished, you would have little to say in this Question of Toleration. For if the Laws of the State were made as they ought to be, equal to all the Subjects, without Distinction of Men of different Professions in Religion; and the Faults to be amended by Punishments, were impartially punished, in all who are guilty of them; this would immediately produce a perfect Toleration, or shew the Usefulness of Force in Matters of Religion. If therefore you think it so necessary, as you say, for the promoting of true Religion, and the Salvation of Souls, that Men should be punished to make them examine; do but find a way to apply Force to all that have not thoroughly and impartially examined, and you have my Consent. For tho' Force be not the proper Means of promoting Religion; yet there is no better way to shew the Usefulness of it, than the applying it equally to Misconducts, in whomsoever found; and not to distinct Parties or Persuasions of Men, for the Reformation of them alone, when others are equally faulty.

Thirdly, Because, without being for as large a Toleration as the Author proposes, you cannot be truly and sincerely for a free and impartial Examination. For whoever examines, must have the Liberty to judge, and follow his Judgment; or else you put him upon Examination to no purpose. And whether that will not as well lead Men from, as to your Church, is so much a venture, that by your way of Writing, 'tis evident enough you are loath to hazard it; and if you are of the National Church, 'tis plain your Brethren will not bear with you in the Allowance of such a Liberty. You must therefore either change your Method; and if the want of Examination be that great and dangerous Fault you would have corrected, you must equally punish

A Second Letter concerning Toleration.

all that are equally guilty of any Neglect in this Matter, and then take your *only means*, your beloved *Force*, and make the best of it; or else you must put off your Mask, and confess that you design not your Punishments to bring Men to *Examination*, but to *Conformity*. For the Fallacy you have used is too gross to pass upon this Age.

What follows to Page 26. I think I have considered sufficiently already. But there you have found out something worth notice. In this Page, out of abundant Kindness, when the Dissenters have their Heads (without any Cause) broken, you provide them a Plaster. For, say you, *if upon such Examination of the Matter, (i. e. brought to it by the Magistrate's Punishment) they chance to find, that the Truth does not lie on the Magistrate's side; they have gain'd thus much however, even by the Magistrate's misapplying his Power, that they know better than they did before, where the Truth does lie.* Which is as true, as if you should say, Upon Examination I find such a one is out of the way to York; therefore I know better than I did before, that I am in the right. For neither of you may be in the right. This were true indeed, if there were but two ways in all; a right and a wrong. But where there be an hundred ways, and but one right; your knowing upon *Examination*, that that which I take is wrong, makes you not know any thing better than before, that yours is the right. But if that be the best reason you have for it, 'tis ninety eight to one still against you, that you are in the wrong. Besides, he that has been punished, may have examin'd before, and then you are sure he gains nothing. However, you think you do well to encourage the Magistrate in punishing, and comfort the Man who has suffer'd unjustly, by shewing what he shall *gain by it*. Whereas, on the contrary, in a Discourse of this Nature, where the Bounds of right and wrong are enquired into, and should be established, the Magistrate was to be shew'd the Bounds of his Authority, and warn'd of the Injury he did when he *misapplies his Power*, and punish'd any Man who deserv'd it not; and not be sooth'd into Injustice, by Consideration of *Gain* that might thence accrue to the Sufferer. *Shall we do Evil that Good may come of it?* There are a sort of People who are very wary of touching upon the Magistrate's Duty, and tender of shewing the Bounds of his Power, and the Injustice and ill Consequences of his *misapplying it*; at least, so long as it is misapply'd in favour of them, and their Party. I know not whether you are of their Number. But this I am sure; you have the Misfortune here to fall into their Mistake. The Magistrate, you confess, may in this Case *misapply his Power*; and instead of representing to him the Injustice of it, and the Account he must give to his Sovereign, one Day, of this great Trust put into his Hands, for the equal Protection of all his Subjects: you pretend Advantages which the Sufferer may receive from it: And so instead of disheartning from, you give Encouragement to, the Mischief. Which, upon your Principle, joyn'd to the natural thirst in Man after arbitrary Power may be carried to all manner of Exorbitancy, with some Pretence of Right.

For thus stands your Sytem. *If Force, i. e. Punishment, may be any way useful for the promoting the Salvation of Souls, there is a Right somewhere to use it.* And this Right (say you) is in the Magistrate. Who then, upon your Grounds, may quickly find reason, where it suits his Inclination, or serves his turn, to punish Men directly to bring them to his Religion. For if he may use *Force*, because it may be, *indirectly, and at a distance, any way, useful towards the Salvation of Souls*, towards the procuring any Degree of Glory; why may he not, by the same Rule, use it where it may be useful, at least *indirectly, and at a distance*, towards the procuring a greater Degree of Glory? For St. Paul assures us, that *the Afflictions of this Life work for us a far more exceeding weight of Glory*. So that why should they not be punished, if in the wrong, to bring them into the right way; If in the right, to make them by their Sufferings *Gainers of a far more exceeding weight of Glory*? But whatever you say of *Punishment being lawful, because indirectly, and at a distance it may be useful*; I suppose, upon cooler thoughts, you will be apt to suspect that, however Sufferings may promote the *Salvation* of those who make a good use of them, and to set Men surer in the right way, or higher in a State of Glory; yet those who make Men unduly suffer, will have the heavier Account, and greater weight of Guilt upon them, to sink them deeper in the Pit of Perdition; and that therefore they should be warn'd to take Care of so using their Power. Because whoever be *Gainers* by it, they themselves will (without Repentance and Amendment) be sure to be Losers. But by granting that *the Magistrate misapplies his Power*, when he punishes those who have the Right on their side, whether it be to bring them to his own Reli-

on, or whether it be to bring them to consider Reasons and Arguments proper to convince them, you grant all that the Author contends for. All that he endeavours, is to shew the Bounds of Civil Power; and that in punishing others for Religion, the Magistrate *misapplies* the Force he has in his Hands, and so goes beyond Right, beyond the Limits of his Power. For I do not think the Author of the Letter so vain (I am sure for my part I am not) as to hope by Arguments, though never so clear, to reform presently all the Abuses in this Matter; especially whilst Men of Art, and Religion, endeavour so industriously to palliate and disguise, what truth, yet, sometimes, unawares forces from them.

Do not think I make a wrong use of your saying, *the Magistrate misapplies his Power*, when I say you therein grant all that the Author contends for. For if the Magistrate *misapplies*, or makes a wrong use of *his Power*, when he punishes in Matters of Religion any one who is in the right, though it be but to make him consider, (as you grant he does) he also *misapplies*; or makes wrong use of his Power, when he punishes any one, whomsoever in Matters of Religion, to make him consider. For every one is here Judge for himself, what is right; and in Matters of Faith, and Religious Worship, another cannot judge for him. So that to punish any one in Matters of Religion, tho' it be but to make him consider, is by your own Confession beyond the Magistrate's Power. And that punishing in Matters of Religion is beyond the Magistrate's Power, is *what the Author contends for*.

You tell us in the following Words, *All the Hurt that comes to them by it, is only the suffering some tolerable Inconveniencies, for their following the Light of their own Reason, and the Dictates of their own Consciences; which certainly is no such Mischief to Mankind, as to make it more eligible, that there should be no such Power vested in the Magistrate, but the Care of every Man's Soul should be left to himself alone (as this Author demands it should be;) that is, that every Man should be suffer'd, quietly, and without the least Molestation, either to take no Care at all of his Soul, if he be so pleased; or in doing it, to follow his own groundless Prejudices, or unaccountable Humour, or any crafty Seducer, whom he may think fit to take for his Guide. Why should not the Care of every Man's Soul be left to himself, rather than the Magistrate? Is the Magistrate like to be more concern'd for it? Is the Magistrate like to take more care of it? Is the Magistrate commonly more careful of his own, than other Men are of theirs? Will you say the Magistrate is less expos'd in Matters of Religion, to Prejudices, Humours, and crafty Seducers, than other Men? If you cannot lay your Hand upon your Heart, and say all this, what then will be got by the Change? And why may not the Care of every Man's Soul be left to himself? Especially, if a Man be in so much Danger to miss the Truth, who is suffer'd quietly, and without the least Molestation, either to take no Care of his Soul, if he be so pleased, or to follow his own Prejudices, &c. For if want of Molestation be the dangerous State, wherein Men are likeliest to miss the right way; it must be confessed, that of all Men, the Magistrate is most in danger to be in the wrong, and so the unfittest (if you take the Care of Mens Souls from themselves) of all Men, to be intrusted with it. For he never meets with that great and only Antidote of yours against Error, which you here call *Molestation*. He never has the Benefit of your sovereign Remedy, *Punishment*, to make him consider; which you think so necessary, that you look on it as a most dangerous State for Men to be without it; and therefore tell us, 'tis every Man's true Interest, not to be left wholly to himself in Matters of Religion.* Pag. 26.

Thus, Sir, I have gone through your whole Treatise, and as I think, have omitted nothing in it material. If I have, I doubt not but I shall hear of it. And now I refer it to your self, as well as to the Judgment of the World, whether the Author of the Letter, in saying no body hath a Right; or you, in saying, the Magistrate hath a Right to use Force in Matters of Religion; has most Reason. In the mean time, I leave this request with you: That if ever you write again, about the *Means of bringing Souls to Salvation*, (which certainly is the best Design any one can employ his Pen in) you would take care not to prejudice so good a Cause; by ordering it so, as to make it look as if you writ for a Party. I am,

SIR,

May 27, 1690.

Your most Humble Servant,
PHILANTHROPUS.

A
THIRD LETTER
FOR
TOLERATION,

To the AUTHOR of the

THIRD LETTER

CONCERNING

Toleration.

The Reader may be pleased to take notice, that

L. 1: Stands for the Letter concerning Toleration.

A. For the Argument of the Letter concerning Toleration briefly consider'd and answer'd.

L. 2. The Second Letter concerning Toleration.

Pag. The Pages of the Third Letter concerning Toleration.



A THIRD LETTER FOR TOLERATION.

CHAP. I.

SIR,



THE Business which your Letter concerning Toleration found me engaged in, has taken up so much of the time my Health would allow me ever since, that I doubt whether I should now at all have troubled you or the World with an Answer, had not some of my Friends, sufficiently satisfied of the Weakness of your Arguments, with repeated Instances, perswaded me it might be of use to Truth in a Point of so great Moment, to clear it from those Fallacies which might perhaps puzzle some unwary Readers; and therefore prevailed on me to shew the wrong Grounds and mistaken Reasonings you make use of to support your new way of *Persecution*. Pardon me, Sir, that I use that Name, which you are so much offended at: for if Punishment be Punishment, though it come short of the Discipline of Fire and Faggot, 'tis as certain that Punishment for Religion is truly Persecution, though it be only such Punishment as you in your Clemency think fit to call *moderate and convenient Penalties*. But however you please to call them, I doubt not but to let you see, that if you will be true to your own Principles, and stand to what you have said, you must carry your *some Degrees of Force* (as you phrase it) to all those Degrees which in Words you declare against.

You have indeed in this last Letter of yours, altered the Question; for pag. 26. you tell me the Question between us, is, *whether the Magistrate hath any Right to use Force to bring Men to the true Religion?* Whereas you your self own the Question to be, *whether the Magistrate has a Right to use Force in matters of Religion?* Whether this Alteration be at all to the Advantage of Truth, or your Cause, we shall see. But hence you take occasion all along to lay load on me for charging you with the Absurdities of a Power in the Magistrates to punish Men, to bring them to their Religion: Whereas you here tell us they have a Right to use Force *only to bring Men to the true*. But whether I were more to blame to suppose you to talk coherently and mean Sense, or you in expressing your self so doubtfully and uncertainly, where you were concerned to be plain and direct, I shall leave to our Readers to judge; only here in the Beginning I shall endeavour to clear my self of that Imputation, I so often meet with, of charging on you Consequences you do not own, and arguing against an Opinion that is not yours, in those Places, where I shew how little Advantage it would be to Truth, or the Salvation of Mens Souls, that all Magistrates should have a Right to use Force to bring Men to imbrace their Religion. This I shall do by proving, that if upon your Grounds the Magistrate, as you pretend, be obliged to use Force to bring Men to the true Religion, it will necessarily follow, that every Magistrate,

A Third Letter for Toleration.

Magistrate, who believes his Religion to be true, is obliged to use Force to bring Men to his.

Pag. 31. You tell us, *That by the Law of Nature the Magistrate is invested with coercive Power, and obliged to use it for all the good Purposes which it might serve, and for which it should be found needful, even for the restraining of false and corrupt Religion: And that*
 Pag. 31. *it is the Magistrate's Duty, to which he is commissioned by the Law of Nature, but the Scripture does not properly give it him.*

I suppose you will grant me, that any thing laid upon the Magistrate as a Duty, is some way or other practicable. Now the *Magistrate being obliged to use Force in Matters of Religion*, but yet so as to bring Men only to the true Religion, he will not be in any Capacity to perform this part of his Duty, unless the Religion he is thus to promote, be what he can certainly know, or else what it is sufficient for him to believe to be the true: Either his Knowledge or his Opinion must point out that Religion to him, which he is by Force to promote; or else he may promiscuously and indifferently promote any Religion, and punish Men at a venture, to bring them from that they are in, to any other. This last I think no body has been so wild as to say.

If therefore it must be either his Knowledge or his Persuasion that must guide the Magistrate herein, and keep him within the Bounds of his Duty; if the Magistrates of the World cannot know, certainly know the true Religion to be the true Religion; but it be of a Nature to exercise their Faith, (for where Vision, Knowledge and Certainty is, there Faith is done away) then that which gives them the last Determination herein, must be their own Belief, their own Persuasion.

To you and me the Christian Religion is the true, and that is built (to mention no other Articles of it) on this, that Jesus Christ was put to death at Jerusalem, and rose again from the Dead. Now do you or I know this, (I do not ask with what Assurance we believe it, for that in the highest Degree not being Knowledge, is not what we now inquire after) Can any Magistrate demonstrate to himself (and if he can to himself, he does ill not to do it to others) not only all the Articles of his Church, but the Fundamental ones of the Christian Religion? For whatever is not capable of Demonstration (as such remote Matters of Fact are not) is not, unless it be self-evident, capable to produce Knowledge, how well grounded and great soever the Assurance of Faith may be wherewith it is received; but Faith it is still, and not Knowledge; Persuasion, and not Certainty. This is the highest the Nature of the thing will permit us to go in Matters of revealed Religion, which are therefore called Matters of Faith: A Persuasion of our own Minds, short of Knowledge, is the last Result that determines us in such Truths. 'Tis all God requires in the Gospel for Men to be saved: and 'twould be strange if there were more required of the Magistrate for the Direction of another in the way to Salvation, than is required of him for his own Salvation. Knowledge then, properly so called, not being to be had of the Truths necessary to Salvation, the Magistrate must be content with Faith and Persuasion for the Rule of that Truth he will recommend and inforce upon others; as well as of that whereon he will venture his own eternal Condition. If therefore it be the Magistrates Duty to use Force to bring Men to the true Religion, it can be only to that Religion which he believes to be true: So that if Force be at all to be used by the Magistrate in Matters of Religion, it can only be for the promoting that Religion which he only believes to be true, or none at all. I grant that a strong Assurance of any Truth settled upon prevalent and well-grounded Arguments of Probability, is often called Knowledge in popular ways of talking: But being here to distinguish between Knowledge and Belief, to what Degrees of Confidence soever raised, their Boundaries must be kept, and their Names not confounded. I know not what greater Pledge a Man can give of a full Persuasion of the Truth of any thing, than his venturing his Soul upon it, as he does, who sincerely imbraces any Religion, and receives it for true. But to what Degree soever of Assurance his Faith may rise, it still comes short of Knowledge. Nor can one now, I think, arrive to greater Evidence of the Truth of the Christian Religion, than the first Converts in the time of our Saviour and the Apostles had; of whom yet nothing more was required but to believe.

But supposing all the Truths of the Christian Religion necessary to Salvation could be so known to the Magistrate, that in his Use of Force for the bringing Men to embrace these, he could be guided by infallible Certainty; yet I fear this would not serve your turn, nor authorize the Magistrate to use Force to bring Men in England,

or

or any where else, into the Communion of the National Church, in which Ceremonies of human Institution were imposed, which could not be known, nor (being confessed things in their own Nature indifferent) so much as thought necessary to Salvation.

BUT of this I shall have occasion to speak in another Place: all the Use I make of it here, is to shew, that the Cross in Baptism, kneeling at the Sacrament, and such like things, being impossible to be known necessary to Salvation, a certain knowledge of the Truth of the Articles of Faith of any Church, could not authorize the Magistrate to compel Men to embrace the Communion of that Church, wherein any thing were made necessary to Communion, which he did not know was necessary to Salvation.

By what has been already said, I suppose it is evident, that if the Magistrate be to use Force only for promoting the true Religion, he can have no other Guide but his own Persuasion of what is the true Religion, and must be led by that in his Use of Force, or else not use it all in matters of Religion. If you take the latter of these Consequences, you and I are agreed: if the former, you must allow all Magistrates, of whatsoever Religion, the Use of Force to bring Men to theirs, and so be involved in all those ill Consequences which you cannot it seems admit, and hoped to decline by your useless Distinction of Force to be used, not for any, but for the true Religion.

'Tis the Duty, you say, of the Magistrate to use Force for promoting the true Religion. And in several Places you tell us, he is obliged to it. Persuade Magistrates in general of this, and then tell me how any Magistrate shall be restrained from the Use of Force, for the promoting what he thinks to be the true? For he being persuaded that it is his Duty to use Force to promote the true Religion, and being also persuaded his is the true Religion, What shall stop his Hand? Must he forbear the Use of Force till he be got beyond believing, into a certain Knowledge that all he requires Men to embrace, is necessary to Salvation? If that be it you will stand to, you have my Consent, and I think there will be no need of any other Toleration. But if the believing his Religion to be the true, be sufficient for the Magistrate to use Force for the promoting of it, will it be so only to the Magistrates of the Religion that you profess? And must all other Magistrates sit still, and not do their Duty till they have your Permission? If it be your Magistrate's Duty to use Force for the promoting the Religion he believes to be the true, it will be every Magistrate's Duty to use Force for the promoting what he believes to be the true, and he sins if he does not receive and promote it as if it were true. If you will not take this upon my Word, yet I desire you to do it upon the strong Reason of a very judicious and reverend Prelate of the present Church of England, in a Discourse concerning Conscience, printed in 4to, 87. p. 18. You will find these following Words, and much more to this Purpose: *where a Man is mistaken in his Judgment, even in that Case it is always a Sin to act against it. Though we should take that for a Duty which is really a Sin, yet so long as we are thus persuaded, it will be highly Criminal in us to act in Contradiction to this Persuasion: and the Reason of this is evident, because by so doing, we wilfully act against the best Light which at present we have for the Direction of our Actions. So that when all is done, the immediate Guide of our Actions can be nothing but our Conscience, our Judgment and Persuasion. If a Man, for Instance, should of a Jew become a Christian, whilst yet in his Heart he believed that the Messiah is not yet come, and that our Lord Jesus was an Impostor: Or if a Papist should renounce the Communion of the Roman Church, and joyn with ours, whilst yet he is persuaded that the Roman Church is the only Catholick Church, and that our Reformed Churches are Heretical or Schismatical; though now there is none of us that will deny that the Men in both these Cases have made a good Change, as having changed a false Religion for a true one, yet for all that I dare say we should all agree they were both of them great Villains for making that Change, because they made it not upon honest Principles, and in pursuance of their Judgment, but in direct Contradiction to both. So that it being the Magistrate's Duty to use Force to bring Men to the true Religion; and he being persuaded his is the true, I suppose you will no longer question but that he is as much obliged to use Force to bring Men to it, as if it were the true. And then, Sir, I hope you have too much Respect for Magistrates, not to allow them to believe the Religions to be true which they profess. These things put together, I desire you to consider whether if Magistrates are obliged to use Force to bring Men to the true Religion, every Magistrate is not oblig'd to use Force to bring Men to that Religion he believes to be true?*

This being so, I hope I have not argued so wholly besides the Purpose, as you all through your Letter accuse me, for charging on your Doctrine all the ill Consequences, all the Prejudice it would be to the true Religion, that Magistrates should have Power, to use Force to bring Men to their Religions: and I presume you will think your self concerned to give to all these Places in the *first and second Letter concerning Toleration*, which shew the Inconveniences and Absurdities of such an use of Force, some other Answer, than that you are for punishing only such as reject the true Religion. That 'tis plain the Force you speak of is not Force, my way applied, i. e. applied to the promoting the true Religion only, but to the promoting all the National Religions in the World. And again, to my arguing that Force your way applied, if it can propagate any Religion, it is likelier to be the false than the true, because few of the Magistrates of the World are in the right way. You reply, This would have been to the Purpose, if you had asserted that every Magistrate may use Force your indirect way (or any way) to bring Men to his own Religion, whatever that be. But if you asserted no such thing, (as no Man you think but an Atheist will assert it) then this is quite besides the Business. This is the great Strength of your Answer, and your Refuge almost in every Page. So that I presume it reasonable to expect that you should clearly and directly answer what I have here said, or else find some other Answer than what you have done to the *second Letter concerning Toleration*. However acute you are in your way in several Places on this Occasion, as p. 11, 12. for my Answer to which I shall refer you to another Place.

To my Argument against Force, from the Magistrates being as liable to Error as the rest of Mankind, you answer, That I might have considered that this Argument concerns none but those who assert that every Magistrate has a Right to use Force to promote his own Religion, whatever it be, which you think no Man that has any Religion will assert. I suppose you may think now this Answer will scarce serve, and you must assert either no Magistrate to have Right to promote his Religion by Force, or else be involv'd in the Condemnation you pass on those who assert it of all Magistrates. And here I think, as to the Decision of the Question betwixt us, I might leave this Matter: but there being in your Letter a great many other gross Mistakes, wrong Suppositions, and fallacious Arguings, which in those general and plausible Terms you have made use of in several Places, as best served your Turn, may possibly have imposed on your self, as well as they are fitted to do so on others, and therefore will deserve to have some Notice taken of them; I shall give my self the trouble of examining your Letter a little farther.

To my saying, "It is not for the Magistrate, upon an Imagination of its Usefulness, to make use of any other Means than what the Author and Finisher of our Faith had directed; you reply, which how true soever, is not, I think, very much to the Purpose. For if the Magistrate does only assist that Ministry which our Lord has appointed, by using so much of his coercive Power for the furthering their Service, as common Experience discovers to be useful and necessary for that End; there is no manner of Ground to say, that upon an Imagination of its Usefulness, he makes use of any other Means for the Salvation of Men's Souls, than what the Author and Finisher of our Faith has directed. 'Tis true indeed the Author and Finisher of our Faith has given the Magistrate no new Power or Commission, nor was there any Need that he should, (if himself had had any Temporal Power to give:) for he found him already, even by the Law of Nature, the Minister of God to the People for Good, and bearing the Sword not in vain, i. e. invested with coercive Power, and obliged to use it for all the good Purposes which it might serve, and for which it should be found needful; even for the restraining of false and corrupt Religion; as Job long before (perhaps before any part of the Scriptures were written) acknowledged, when he said, that the worshipping the Sun or the Moon, was an Iniquity to be punished by the Judge. But though our Saviour has given the Magistrates no new Power, yet being King of Kings, he expects and requires that they should submit themselves to his Scepter, and use the Power which always belonged to them, for his Service, and for the advancing his Spiritual Kingdom in the World. And even that Charity which our great Master so earnestly recommends, and so strictly requires of all his Disciples, as it obliges all Men to seek and promote the Good of others, as well as their own, especially their Spiritual and Eternal Good, by such Means as their several Places and Relations enable them to use; so does it especially oblige the Magistrate to do it as a Magistrate, i. e. by that Power which enables him to do it above the rate of other Men.

So far therefore is the Christian Magistrate, when he gives his helping Hand to the furtherance of the Gospel, by laying convenient Penalties upon such as reject it, or any part of it from using any other means for the Salvation of Mens Souls, than what the Author and Finisher of our Faith has directed, that he does no more than his Duty to God, to his Redeemer, and to his Subjects, requires of him.

The Sum of your Reply amounts to this, that by the Law of Nature the Magistrate may make use of his coactive Power where it is useful and necessary for the Good of the People. If it be from the Law of Nature, it must be to all Magistrates equally: And then I ask whether this Good they are to promote without any new Power or Commission from our Saviour, be what they think to be so, or what they certainly know to be so. If it be what they think to be so, then all Magistrates may use Force to bring Men to their Religion: And what Good this is like to be to Men, or of what use to the true Religion, we have elsewhere considered. If it be only that Good which they certainly know to be so, they will be very ill enabled to do what you require of them, which you here tell us is to assist that Ministry which our Lord has appointed. Which of the Magistrates of your time did you know to have so well studied the Controversies about Ordination and Church-Government, to be so well versed in Church-History and Succession, that you can undertake that he certainly knew which was the Ministry which our Lord had appointed, either that of Rome, or that of Sweden, whether the Episcopacy in one part of this Island, or the Presbytery in another, were the Ministry which our Lord had appointed? If you say, being firmly persuaded of it, be sufficient to authorize the Magistrate to use Force; you with the Atheists, as you call them, who do so, give the People up in every Country to the coactive Force of the Magistrate to be employ'd for the assisting the Ministers of his Religion: And King Lewis of good right comes in with his Dragoons; for 'tis not much doubted that he as strongly believ'd his Popish Priests and Jesuits to be the Ministry which our Lord appointed, as either King Charles or King James the Second believed that of the Church of England to be so. And of what use such an Exercise of the coactive Power of all Magistrates, is to the People, or to the true Religion, you are concerned to shew. But 'tis (you know) but to tell me, I only trifle, and this is all answered.

What in other places you tell us, is to make Men hear, consider, study, embrace, and bring Men to the true Religion, you here do very well to tell us is to assist the Ministry: And to that 'tis true, common Experience discovers the Magistrate's coactive Force to be useful and necessary, viz. to those who taking the Reward, but not over-busyng themselves in the Care of Souls, find it for their Ease, that the Magistrates coactive Power should supply their want of Pastoral Care, and be made use of to bring those into an outward Conformity to the National Church, whom either for want of Ability, they cannot, or want of due and friendly Application, joyn'd with an exemplary Life, they never so much as endeavoured to prevail on heartily to embrace it. That there may be such Neglects in the best-constituted National Church in the World, the Complaints of a very knowing Bishop of our Church, in a late Discourse of the PASTORAL CARE, is too plain an Evidence.

Without so great an Authority I should scarce have ventured (though it lay just in my way) to have taken notice of what is so visible, that it is in every one's Mouth, for fear you should have told me again, that I made my self an occasion to shew my good will toward the Clergy. For you will not, I suppose, suspect that eminent Prelate to have any ill will to them.

If this were not so, that some were negligent, I imagine the Preachers of the true Religion (which lies, as you tell us, so obvious and exposed, as to be easily distinguish'd from the false) would need or desire no other Assistance from the Magistrates coactive Power, but what should be directed against the Irregularity of Mens Lives; their Lusts being that alone, as you tell us, that makes Force necessary to assist the true Religion; which, were it not for our depraved Nature, would by its Light and Reasonableness have the Advantage against all false Religions.

You tell us too, That the Magistrate may impose Creeds and Ceremonies; indeed Pag. 13: you say sound Creeds, and decent Ceremonies, but that helps not your Cause: For who must be Judge of that sound, and that decent? If the Imposer, then those Words signify nothing at all, but that the Magistrate may impose those Creeds and Ceremonies which he thinks sound and decent, which is in effect such as he thinks fit. Indeed you telling us a little above, in the same Page, that it is a Vice not to wor-

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ship God in ways prescribed by those to whom God has left the ordering of such Matters; you seem to make other Judges of what is sound and decent, and the Magistrate but the Executor of their Decrees, with the Assistance of his coactive Power. A pretty Foundation to establish Creeds and Ceremonies on, that God has left the ordering of them to those who cannot impose them, and the imposing of them to those who cannot order them. But still the same Difficulty returns; for after they have prescribed, must the Magistrate judge them to be sound and decent, or must he impose them, though he judge them not sound or decent? If he must judge them so himself, we are but where we were: If he must impose them when prescribed, though he judge them not sound nor decent, 'tis a pretty sort of Drudgery is put on the Magistrate. And how far is this sort of implicate Faith? But if he must not judge what is sound and decent, he must judge at least who are those to whom God has left the ordering of such Matters; and then the King of France is ready again with his Dragoons for the sound Doctrine, and decent Ceremonies of his Prescribers in the Council of Trent, and that upon this ground, with as good right as any other has for the Prescriptions of any others. Do not mistake me again, Sir; I do not say, he judges as right; but I do say, that whilst he judges the Council of Trent, or the Clergy of Rome to be those to whom God has left the ordering of those Matters, he has as much right to follow their Decrees, as any other to follow the Judgment of any other Set of mortal Men whom he believes to be so.

But whoever is to be Judge of what is sound or decent in the Case, I ask, Of what Use and Necessity is it to impose Creeds and Ceremonies? For that Use and Necessity is all the Commission you can find the Magistrate hath to use his coactive Power to impose them.

1. Of what Use and Necessity is it among Christians that own the Scripture to be the Word of God and Rule of Faith, to make and impose a Creed? What Commission for this hath the Magistrate from the Law of Nature? God hath given a Revelation that contains in it all things necessary to Salvation, and of this his People are all persuaded. What Necessity now is there? How does their Good require it, that the Magistrate should single out, as he thinks fit, any Number of those Truths as more necessary to Salvation than the rest, if God himself has not done it?

2. But next, are these Creeds in the Words of the Scripture, or not? If they are, they are certainly sound, as containing nothing but Truth in them: And so they were before, as they lay in the Scripture. But thus though they contain nothing but sound Truths, yet they may be imperfect, and so unsound Rules of Faith, since they may require more or less than God requires to be believed as necessary to Salvation. For what greater Necessity, I pray, is there that a Man should believe that Christ suffered under Pontius Pilate, than that he was born at Bethlehem of Judah? Both are certainly true, and no Christian doubts of either: But how comes one to be made an Article of Faith, and imposed by the Magistrate as necessary to Salvation, (for otherwise there can be no Necessity of Imposition) and the other not?

Do not mistake me here, as if I would lay by that Summary of the Christian Religion, which is contained in that which is called the Apostles Creed; which tho' no body, who examines the matter, will have reason to conclude of the Apostles compiling, yet is certainly of reverend Antiquity, and ought still to be preserved in the Church. I mention it not to argue against it, but against your Imposition; and to shew that even that Creed, though of that Antiquity, though it contain in it all the Credenda necessary to Salvation, cannot yet upon your Principles be imposed by the coercive Power of the Magistrate, who even by the Commission you have found out for him, can use his Force for nothing but what is absolutely necessary to Salvation.

But if the Creed to be imposed be not in the Words of Divine Revelation; then it is in plainer, more clear and intelligible Expressions, or not? If no plainer, what Necessity of changing those, which Men inspired by the Holy Ghost made use of? If you say, they are plainer; then they explain and determine the Sense of some obscure and dubious Places of Scripture, which Explication not being of Divine Revelation, though sound to one Man, may be unsound to another, and cannot be imposed as Truths necessary to Salvation. Beside that, this destroys what you tell us of the Omnipresence of all Truths necessary to Salvation.

And as to Rites and Ceremonies, are there any necessary to Salvation, which Christ has not instituted? If not, how can the Magistrate impose them? What Commission has he from the Care he ought to have for the Salvation of Mens Souls, to use his *coactive* Force for the Establishment of any new ones which our Lord and Saviour (with due Reverence be it spoken) had forgotten? He instituted two Rites in his Church; can any one add any new one to them? Christ commanded simply to baptize in the Name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost; but the signing of the Cross, how came that necessary? *Humane Authority which is necessary to assist the Truth against the Corruption of humane Nature*, has made it so. But 'tis a decent Ceremony. I ask, is it so decent that the Administration of Baptism, simply, as our Saviour instituted, would be indecent without it? If not, then there is no reason to impose it for *Decency's* sake; for there can be no reason to alter or add any thing to the Institution of Christ, or introduce any Ceremony or Circumstance into Religion for Decency, where the Action would be decent without it. The Command to do all things decently, and in Order, gave no Authority to add to Christ's Institution any new Ceremony; it only prescribed the manner how, what was necessary to be done in the Congregation, should be there done, *viz.* after such a manner, that if it were omitted, there would appear some Indecency, whereof the Congregation or collective Body was to be Judge, for to them that Rule was given; And if that Rule go beyond what I have said, and gives Power to Men to introduce into Religious Worship whatever they shall think decent, and impose the Use of it; I do not see how the greatest part of the infinite Ceremonies of the Church of Rome could be complained of, or refused, if introduced into another Church, and there imposed by the Magistrate. But if such a Power were given to the Magistrate, that whatever he thought a decent Ceremony, he might *de novo* impose, he would need some express Commission from God in Scripture, since the Commission you say he has from the Law of Nature, will never give him a Power to institute new Ceremonies in the Christian Religion, which, be they decent, or what they will, can never be necessary to Salvation.

The Gospel was to be preached in their Assemblies; the Rule then was, that the Habit, Gesture, Voice, Language, &c. of the Preacher (for these were necessary Circumstances of the Action) should have nothing ridiculous or indecent in it. The Praises of God were to be sung; it must be then in such Postures and Tunes as became the Solemnity of that Action. And so a Convert was to be baptized; Christ instituted the essential part of that Action, which was washing with Water in the Name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost; in which Care was also to be had, that in the doing this nothing should be omitted that preserved a Decency in all the Circumstances of the Action. But no Body will say, that if the Cross were omitted, that upon that Account there would be any thing indecent in Baptism.

What is to be done in the Assemblies of Christians, for the Salvation of Souls, is sufficiently prescribed in Scripture: But since the Circumstances of the Actions were so various, and might in several Countries and Ages have different Appearances (as that appears decent in one Country which is quite contrary in another) concerning them there could be no other Rule given than what is, *viz. decently, in Order, and to Edification*; and in avoiding Indecencies, and not adding any new Ceremonies, (how decent soever) this Rule consists.

I judge no Man in the Use of the Cross in Baptism. The Imposition of that, or any other Ceremony not instituted by Christ himself, is what I argue against, and say is more than you upon your Principles can make good.

Common Sense has satisfied all Mankind, that it is above their reach to determine what things in their own nature indifferent, were fit to be made use of in Religion, and would be acceptable to the superior Beings in their Worship; and therefore they have every where thought it necessary to derive that knowledge from the immediate Will and Dictates of the Gods themselves, and have taught that their Forms of Religion, and outward modes of Worship were founded upon Revelation, no body daring to do so absurd and insolent a thing, as to take upon him to presume with himself, or to prescribe to others by his own Authority which should in these indifferent and mean things be worthy of the Deity, and make an acceptable part of his Worship. Indeed they all agreed in the Duties of natural Religion, and we find them by common consent owning that Piety and Virtue, that clean Hands, and a pure Heart not polluted with the Breaches of the Law of Nature was the best Worship of the Gods.

Reason

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Reason discovered to them that a good Life was the most acceptable thing to the Deity; this the common Light of Nature put past doubt. But for their Ceremonies and outward Performances, for them they appeal always to a Rule received from the immediate Direction of the superior Powers themselves, there they made use, and had need of Revelation. A plain confession of Mankind that in these things we have neither Knowledge to discern, nor Authority to prescribe: That Men cannot by their own Skill find out what is fit, or by their own Power make any thing worthy to be a part of religious Worship. 'Tis not for them to invent or impose Ceremonies that shall recommend Men to the Deity. 'Twas so obvious and visible, that it became Men to have leave from God himself, before they dared to offer to the divine Majesty any of these trifling, mean, and to him useless things, as a grateful and valuable part of his Worship, that no body any where amongst the various and strange Religions they lead Men into, bid such open Defiance to common Sense, and the Reason of all Mankind, as to presume to do it without vouching the appointment of God himself. Plato, who of all the Heathens, seems to have had the most serious Thoughts about Religion, says that the Magistrate, or whoever has any Sense, will never introduce of his own head any new Rites into his Religion, for which he gives this convincing Reason; for, says he, *he must know it is impossible for human nature to know any thing certainly concerning these Matters.* Epinom. post medium. It cannot therefore but be matter of astonishment, that any who call themselves Christians, who have so sure, and so full a Revelation, which declares all the Counsel of God concerning the way of attaining eternal Salvation, should dare by their own authority to add any thing to what is therein prescribed, and impose it on others as a necessary part of religious Worship, without the observance of which human Inventions, Men shall not be permitted the publick Worship of God. If those Rites and Ceremonies prescribed to the Jews by God himself, and delivered at the same time, and by the same hand to the Jews that the Moral Law was, were call'd beggarly Elements under the Gospel, and laid by as useless and burthensome, what shall we call those Rites which have no other Foundation, but the Will and Authority of Men, and of Men very often, who have not much Thought of the purity of Religion, and practised it less.

A.P. 16.

Because you think your Argument for the Magistrate's Right to use Force has not had its due Consideration; I shall here set it down in your own Words, as it stands, and endeavour to give you Satisfaction to it. You say there, *If such a Degree of outward Force as has been mentioned, be of great and even necessary Use, for the advancing those Ends, (as taking the World as we find it, I think it appears to be,) then it must be acknowledg'd that there is a Right somewhere to use it for the advancing those Ends, unless we will say (what without Impiety cannot be said) that the wise and benign Disposer and Governor of all things has not furnished Mankind with competent Means for the promoting his own Honour in the World, and the Good of Souls.* And if there be such a Right somewhere, where should it be, but where the Power of compelling resides? That is principally, and in reference to the Publick in the Civil Sovereign. Which Words, if they have any Argument in them, it in short stands thus. Force is *useful and necessary*: The good and wise God (who without Impiety cannot be supposed not to have furnished Men with competent means for their Salvation) has therefore given a right to some Men to use it, and those Men are the Civil Sovereigns.

To make this Argument of any Use to your purpose, you must speak a little more distinctly, (for here you, according to your laudable and safe way of Writing, are wrapp'd up in the Uncertainty of general terms) and must tell us, besides the End for which it is *useful and necessary*, to whom it is *useful and necessary*. Is it *useful and necessary* to all Men? That you will not say, for many are brought to embrace the true Religion by bare preaching, without any Force. Is it then necessary to all those, and those only, who, as you tell us, *reject the true Religion tendered with sufficient Evidence, or at least so far manifested to them, as to oblige them to receive it, and to leave them without Excuse if they do not!* To all therefore, who rejecting the true Religion so tendered, are without Excuse, your moderate Force is *useful and necessary*. But is it to all those competent, i. e. *sufficient means*? That 'tis evident in matter of Fact, it is not; for after all, many stand out. 'Tis like you will say, which is all you have to say, that those are such, to whom, having resisted this last means, moderate Force, God always refuseth his Grace, without which no means is efficacious. So that your competent at last, are only such means as are the utmost that God has appointed

pointed, and will have used, and which when Men resist, they are without Excuse, and shall never after have the Assistance of his Grace to bring them to *that Truth they have resisted*, and so be as the Apostle 2 Tim. 3. 8. calls such, *Men of corrupt Minds, reprobate concerning the Faith*. If then it shall be, that the Day of Grace shall be over to all those who *reject the Truth manifested* to them, with such Evidence, *as leaves them without Excuse*, and that bare Preaching and Exhortation shall be according to the good Pleasure of the benign Disposer of all things; enough (when neglected) *to make their Hearts fat, their Ears heavy, and shut their Eyes that they should not perceive nor understand, nor be converted that God should heal them*. I say, if this should be the Case, then your Force, whatever you imagine of it, will neither be *competent, useful, nor necessary*. So that it will rest upon you to prove that your *moderate Degrees* of Force are those means of Grace which God will have, as necessary to Salvation, tried upon every one before he will pass that Sentence in *Isaiah, Make his Heart fat, &c.* and that your Degree of moderate Force is that beyond which God will have no other or more powerful means used, but that those whom that works not upon, shall be left *reprobate concerning Faith*. And till you have proved this, you will in vain pretend your *moderate Force* (whatever you might think of it, if you had the ordering of that matter in the place of God) to be *useful, necessary, and competent* means. For if Preaching, Exhortation, Instruction, &c. as seems by the whole Current of the Scripture, (and it appears not that *Isaiah* in the Place above-cited, *made their Hearts fat* with any thing but his words) be that means, which when rejected to such a Degree, as he sees fit, God will punish with a *Reprobate Mind*, and that there be no other means of Grace to come after; you must confess, that whatever good Opinion you have of your moderate Force after this Sentence is passed, it can do no Good, have no Efficacy neither *directly nor indirectly, and at a distance*, towards the bringing Men to the Truth.

If your moderate Force be not that precise utmost means of Grace, which when ineffectual, God will not afford his Grace to any other, then your moderate Force is not the *competent means* you talk of. This therefore you must prove, that Preaching alone is not, but that your moderate Force join'd to it, is that means of Grace, which when neglected or resisted, God will assist no other means with his Grace to bring Men into the obedience of the Truth; and this let me tell you, you must prove by Revelation. For it is impossible to know, but by Revelation, the just measures of God's Long-suffering, and what those means are, which when Mens Corruptions have rendred ineffectual, his Spirit shall no longer strive with them, nor his Grace assist any other means for their Conversion or Salvation. When you have done this, there will be some Ground for you to talk of your *moderate Force*, as the means which God's Wisdom and Goodness is engaged to furnish Men with; but to speak of it, as you do now, as if it were that both *necessary and competent* means, that it would be an Imputation to the Wisdom and Goodness of God, if Men were not furnished with it, when 'tis evident, that the greatest part of Mankind have always been destitute of it, will I fear be not easily cleared from that *Impiety* you mention; for though the Magistrate had the *Right* to use it, yet where-ever that *moderate Force* was not made use of, there Men were not furnished with your *competent means* of Salvation.

'Tis necessary for the Vindication of God's Justice and Goodness, that those who miscarry should do so by their own Fault, that their Destruction should be from themselves, and they be left inexcusable. But pray how will you shew us, that it is necessary, that any who have resisted the Truth tendered to them only by preaching, should be saved, any more than it is necessary that those who have resisted the Truth when moderate Force has been joined to the same preaching, should be saved? They are inexcusable: one as well as the other, and thereby have incurred the Wrath of God, under which he may justly leave the one as well as the other; and therefore he cannot be said not to have been furnished with competent means of Salvation, who having rejected the Truth preached to him, has never any Penalties laid on him by the Magistrate to make him consider the Truths he before rejected.

All the Stress of your *Hypothesis* for the necessity of Force, lies on this, That the majority of Mankind are not prevailed on by Preaching, and therefore the Goodness and Wisdom of God is obliged to furnish them with some more effectual means, as you think. But who told you that the majority of Mankind should ever be brought into the strait Way, and narrow Gate? Or that Force in your moderate Degree was the *necessary and competent, i. e.* the just fit means to do it, neither over nor under, but

but that that only, and nothing but that could do it? If to vindicate his Wisdom and Goodness God must furnish Mankind with other means, as long as the majority, yet unwrought upon, shall give any forward Demander occasion to ask, *What other means is there left?* He must also after your *moderate Penalties* have left the greater part of Mankind unprevailed on, be bound to furnish Mankind with higher Degrees of Force upon this Man's Demand: and those Degrees of Force proving ineffectual to the Majority to make them truly and sincerely Christians, God must be bound to furnish the World again with a new Supply of Miracles upon the Demand of another wise Controuler, who having set his Heart upon Miracles, as you have yours on Force, will demand what other means is there left but Miracles? For 'tis like this last Gent. would take it very much amiss of you, if you should not allow this to be a good and unquestionable way of arguing; or if you should deny that after the utmost Force had been used, Miracles might not do *some Service* at least, *indirectly and at a distance*, towards the *bringing Men to embrace the Truth*. And if you cannot prove that Miracles may not thus do *some Service*, he will conclude just as you do, that the Cause is his.

Pag. 10. Let us try your Method a little farther. Suppose that when *neither the gentlest Admonitions, nor the most earnest Intreaties will prevail*, something else is to be done as the only means left, What is it must be done? What is this *necessary competent means* that you tell us of? *It is to lay Briars and Thorns in their way*. This therefore being supposed necessary, you say, *there must somewhere be a right to use it*. Let it be so. Suppose I tell you that Right is in God, who certainly has a Power to lay Briars and Thorns in the way of those who are got into a wrong one, whenever he is graciously pleased that other means besides Instructions and Admonitions should be used to reduce them. And we may as well expect that those Thorns and Briars laid in their way by God's Providence, without telling them for what End, should work upon them as effectually, *though indirectly, and at a distance*, as those laid in their way by the Magistrate, without telling them for what End. God alone knows where it is necessary, and on whom it will be useful, which no Man being capable of knowing, no Man, though he has coercive Power in his Hand, can be supposed to be authorized to use it by the Commission he has to do Good, on whomsoever you shall judge it to be of great and even necessary Use: No more than your judging it to be of great and even necessary Use, would authorize any one who had got one of the Incision-Knives of the Hospital in his Hand, to cut those for the Stone with it, whom he could not know needed cutting, or that cutting would do them any good, when the Master of the Hospital had given him no express Order to use his Incision-Knife in that Operation; nor was it known to any but the Master, who needed, and on whom it would be useful; nor would he fail to use it himself wherever he found it necessary.

Be Force of as great and necessary Use as you please; let it be so the competent Means for the promoting the Honour of God in the World, and the Good of Souls, that the right to use it must necessarily be somewhere. This Right cannot possibly be, where you would have it, in the Civil Sovereigns, and that for the very reason you give, viz. because it must be where the Power of compelling resides. For since Civil Sovereigns cannot compel themselves, nor can the compelling Power of one Civil Sovereign reach another Civil Sovereign, it will not in the Hands of the Civil Sovereigns reach the most considerable part of Mankind, and those who both for their own and their Subjects Good, have most need of it. Besides, if it go along with the Power of compelling, it must be in the hands of all Civil Sovereigns alike: which by this, as well as several other Reasons I have given, being unavoidable to be so, this Right will be so far from useful, that whatever Efficacy Force has, it will be employed to the doing more Harm than Good; since the greatest Part of Civil Sovereigns being of false Religions, Force will be employed for the promoting of those.

But let us grant what you can never prove, that though all Civil Sovereigns have compelling Power, yet only those of the true Religion have a right to use Force in Matters of Religion: Your own Argument of Mankind being unfurnished (which is Impiety to say) with competent Means for the promoting the Honour of God, and the Good of Souls, still presses you. For the compelling Power of each Civil Sovereign not reaching beyond his own Dominions, the right of using Force in the hands only of the Orthodox Civil Sovereigns, leaves the rest, which is the far greater part of the World, destitute

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destitute of this your necessary and competent Means for promoting the Honour of God in the World, and the Good of Souls.

Sir, I return you my Thanks for having given me this Occasion to take a review of your Argument, which you told me I had mistaken; which I hope I now have not, and have answered to your Satisfaction.

I confess I mistook when I said that cutting being judg'd useful, could not authorize even a skilful Surgeon to cut a Man without any farther Commission: for it should have been thus; that though a Man has the Instruments in his Hand, and Force enough to cut with, and cutting be judg'd by you of great and even necessary Use in the Stone; yet this, without any farther Commission, will not authorize any one to use his Strength and Knife in Cutting, who knows not who has the Stone, nor has any Light or Measures to judge to whom Cutting may be necessary or useful.

But let us see what you say in answer to my Instance: 1. *That the Stone does not always kill, though it be not cured; but Men do often live to a great Age with it, and die at last of other Distempers. But Aversion to the true Religion is certainly and inevitably mortal to the Soul, if not cured, and so of absolute Necessity to be cured. Is it of absolute Necessity to be cured in all?* If so, will you not here again think it requisite that the wise and benign Disposer and Governour of all things, should furnish competent Means for what is of absolute Necessity? For will it not be Impiety to say, that God hath left Mankind unfurnished of competent, i. e. sufficient Means for what is absolutely necessary? For it is plain in your Account Men have not been furnished with sufficient Means for what is of absolute Necessity to be cured in all, if in any of them it be left uncured. For as you allow none to be sufficient Evidence, but what certainly gains Assent; so by the same Rule you cannot call that sufficient Means which does not work the Cure. It is in vain to say, the Means were sufficient, had it not been for their own Fault, when that Fault of theirs is the very thing to be cured. You go on; *And yet if we should suppose the Stone as certainly destructive of this Temporal Life, as that Aversion is of Mens Eternal Salvation: even so the necessity of curing it would be as much less than the Necessity of curing that Aversion, as this Temporal Life falls short in value of that which is Eternal.* This is built upon a Supposition, that the necessity of the Means is encreased by the value of the End, which being in this Case the Salvation of Men Souls, that is of infinite Concernment to them, you conclude Salvation absolutely necessary: which makes you say that Aversion, &c. being inevitably mortal to the Soul, is of absolute Necessity to be cured. Nothing is of absolute Necessity but God: whatsoever else can be said to be of Necessity, is so only relatively in respect to something else; and therefore nothing can indefinitely thus be said to be of absolute Necessity, where the thing it relates to is not absolutely necessary. We may say, Wisdom and Power in God are absolutely necessary, because God himself is absolutely necessary: but we cannot crudely say, the curing in Men their Aversion to the true Religion, is absolutely necessary, because it is not absolutely necessary that Men should be saved. But this is very proper and true to be said, that curing this Aversion is absolutely necessary in all that shall be saved. But I fear that would not serve your turn, tho' it be certain that your absolute Necessity in this Case reaches no farther than this, that to be cured of this Aversion is absolutely necessary to Salvation, and Salvation is absolutely necessary to Happiness; but neither of them, nor the Happiness it self of any Man can be said to be absolutely necessary.

This Mistake makes you say, that supposing the Stone certainly destructive of this Temporal Life, yet the Necessity of curing it would be as much less than the Necessity of curing that Aversion, as this Temporal Life falls short in Value of that which is Eternal. Which is quite otherwise: for if the Stone will certainly kill a Man without Cutting, it is as absolutely necessary to cut a Man of the Stone for the saving of his Life, as it is to cure the Aversion for the saving of his Soul. Nay, if you have but Eggs to fry, Fire is as absolutely necessary as either of the other, though the Value of the End be in these Cases infinitely different; for in one of them you lose only your Dinner, in the other your Life, and in the other your Soul. But yet in these Cases, Fire, Cutting and Curing that Aversion, are each of them absolutely and equally necessary to their respective Ends, because those Ends cannot be attained without them.

You say farther, *Cutting for the Stone is not always necessary in order to the Cure: But the Penalties you speak of are altogether necessary (without extraordinary Grace) to cure that pernicious and otherwise untractable Aversion.* Let it be so; but do the Surgeons know who has this Stone, this Aversion so, that it will certainly destroy him

unless he be cut? Will you undertake to tell when the *Aversion* is such in any Man, that it is incurable by Preaching, Exhortation and Intreaty, if his Spiritual Physician will be instant with him in Season, and out of Season; but certainly curable, if moderate Force be made use of? Till you are sure of the former of these, you can never say, your moderate Force is *necessary*: Till you are sure of the latter, you can never say, it is *competent* Means. What you will determine concerning *extraordinary Grace*, and when God bestows that, I leave you to consider, and speak clearly of it at your leisure.

Pag. 53.

You add, That even where *Cutting for the Stone* is necessary, it is *withal hazardous* by my Confession. But your Penalties can no way endanger or hurt the Soul, but by the Fault of him that undergoes them. If the Magistrate use Force to bring Men to the true Religion, he must judge which is the true Religion; and he can judge no other to be it but that which he believes to be the true Religion, which is his own Religion. But for the Magistrate to use Force to bring Men to his own Religion, has so much Danger in it to Mens Soul, that by your own Confession, *none but an Atheist* will say that Magistrates may use Force to bring Men to their own Religion.

Pag. 54.

This I suppose is enough to make good all that I aimed at in my Instance of Cutting for the Stone, which was, that though it were judg'd *useful*, and I add now *necessary* to cut Men for the Stone, yet that was not enough to authorize a Surgeon to cut a Man, but he must have besides that general one of doing Good, some more special Commission; and that which I there mentioned, was the Patient's Consent. But you tell me, That though, as things now stand, no Surgeon has any Right to cut his calculous Patient without his Consent; yet if the Magistrate should by a publick Law appoint and authorize a competent number of the most Skilful in that Art, to visit such as labour under that Disease, and to cut those (whether they consent or not) whose Lives they unanimously judge it impossible to save otherwise: you are apt to think I would find it hard to prove that in so doing he exceeded the Bounds of his Power: And you are sure it would be as hard to prove that those Artists would have no right in that Case to cut such Persons. Shew such a Law from the great Governour of the Universe, and I shall yield that your Surgeons shall go to work as fast as you please. But where is the publick Law? Where is the competent Number of Magistrates skilful in the Art, who must unanimously judge of the Disease and its Danger? You can shew nothing of all this, yet you are so liberal of this sort of Cure, that one cannot take you for less than cutting *Morecraft* himself. But, Sir, if there were a competent Number of skilful and impartial Men, who were to use the Incision-Knife on all in whom they found this Stone of *Aversion* to the true Religion; what do you think, would they find no Work in your Hospital?

Pag. 11.

Aversion to the true Religion you say is of *absolute Necessity* to be cured: What I beseech you is that true Religion? that of the Church of England? For that you own to be the *only true Religion*, and whatever you say, you cannot upon your Principles name any other National Religion in the World, that you will own to be the true. It being then of *absolute Necessity* that Mens *Aversion* to the National Religion of England should be cured: Has all Mankind in whom it has been *absolutely necessary* to be cured, been furnished with *competent* and *necessary* Means for the Cure of this *Aversion*?

In the next Place, what is your *necessary* and *sufficient Means* for this Cure that is of *absolute Necessity*? and that is moderate Penalties made use of by the Magistrate, where the National is the true Religion, and sufficient means are provided for all Mens Instruction in the true Religion. And here again I ask, Have all Men to whom this Cure is of *absolute Necessity*, been furnished with this necessary means?

Thirdly, How is your *necessary* Remedy to be applied? And that is in a way wherein it cannot work the Cure, though we should suppose the true Religion the National every where, and all the Magistrates in the World zealous for it. To this true Religion say you Men have a natural and great *Aversion* of *absolute Necessity* to be cured, and the only Cure for it is Force your way applied, i. e. Penalties must be laid upon all that dissent from the National Religion, till they conform. Why are Men averse to the true? Because it crosses the Profits and Pleasures of this Life; and for the same Reason they have an Aversion to Penalties: These therefore, if they be opposed one to another, and Penalties be so laid that Men must quit their Lusts, and heartily embrace the true Religion, or else endure the Penalties, there may be some Efficacy in Force towards bringing Men to the true Religion: But if there be no

Opposition

Opposition between an outward Profession of the true Religion, and Mens Lusts ; Penalties laid on Men till they outwardly conform, are not a Remedy laid to the Disease. Punishments so applied have no Opposition to Mens Lusts, nor from thence can be expected any Cure. Men must be driven from their Aversion to the true Religion by Penalties they have a greater Aversion to. This is all the Operation of Force. But if by getting into the Communion of the National Church they can avoid the Penalties, and yet retain their natural Corruption and Aversion to the true Religion, what Remedy is there to the Disease by Penalties so applied ? You would, you say, have Men made *uneasie*. This no doubt will work on Men, and make them endeavour to get out of this *uneasie* State as soon as they can. But it will always be by that way wherein they can be most easy ; for 'tis the Uneasiness alone they fly from, and therefore they will not exchange one Uneasiness for another ; not for a greater, nor an equal, nor any at all, if they can help it. If therefore it be so *uneasy* for Men to mortify their Lusts, as you tell us, *which the true Religion requires of them*, if they embrace it in earnest : But which outward Conformity to the true Religion, or any National Church, does not require, what need or use is there of Force applied so, that it meets not at all with Mens Lusts, or Aversion to the true Religion, but leaves them the Liberty of a quiet Enjoyment of them, free from Force and Penalties in a legal and approved Conformity ? Is a Man negligent of his Soul, and will not be brought to consider ? obstinate, and will not embrace the Truth ? Is he careless, and will not be at the Pains to examine Matters of Religion ? corrupt, and will not part with his Lusts, which are dearer to him than his First-born ? 'Tis but owning the National Profession, and he may be so still : If he conform, the Magistrate has done punishing ; he is a Son of the Church, and need not consider any thing farther for fear of Penalties, they are removed, and all is well. So that at last there neither being an absolute Necessity that *Aversion to the true Religion* should in all Men be cured : Nor the Magistrate being a competent Judge who have this Stone of *Aversion*, or who have it to that Degree as to need Force to cure it, or in whom it is curable, were Force a proper Remedy as it is not : nor having any Commission to use it, notwithstanding what you have answered : It is still not only *as*, but *more* reasonable for the Magistrate, upon pretence of its Usefulness or Necessity, to cut any one for the Stone without his own Consent, than to use Force your way to cure him of Aversion to the true Religion.

Pag. 7.

To my Question, In whose Hands this Right (we were a little above speaking of) was in Turkey, Persia or China ? you tell me, *You answer roundly and plainly, in the Hands of the Sovereign, to use convenient Penalties for the promoting the true Religion*. I will not trouble you here with a Question you will meet with elsewhere ; Who in these Countries must be Judge of the true Religion ? But I will ask, Whether you or any wise Man would have put a Right of using Force into a Mahometan or Pagan Prince's Hand, for the promoting of Christianity ? which of my Pagans or Mahometans would have done otherwise ?

Pag. 55.

But God, you say, has done it, and you make it good by telling me in the following Words, *If this startle me, then you must tell me farther, that you look upon the supream Power to be the same all the World over, in what Hands soever it is placed, and this Right to be contained in it : And if those that have it do not use it as they ought, but instead of promoting true Religion by proper Penalties, set themselves to enforce Mahometanism or Paganism, or any other false Religion : All that can, or that needs be said to the Matter, is, that God will one Day call them to an Account for the Neglect of their Duty for the Dishonour they do to him, and for the Souls that perish by their Fault*. Your taking this Right to be a part of the supreme Power of all Civil Sovereigns, (which is the thing in question) is not, as I take it, proving it to be so. But let us take it so for once, what then is your Answer ? *God will one Day call those Sovereigns to an Account for the Neglect of their Duty*. The Question is not, What God will do with the Sovereigns who have neglected their Duty ; but how Mankind is furnished with your competent Means for the promoting of God's Honour in the World, and the good of Souls in Countries where the Sovereign is of a wrong Religion ? For there, how clearly soever the Right of using it be in the Sovereign, yet as long as he uses not Force to bring his Subjects to the true Religion, they are destitute of your competent Means. For I imagine you do not make the Right to use that Force, but the actual Application of it by Penal Laws to be your useful and necessary Means. For if you think the bare having that Right be enough, if that be your sufficient Means without the actual Use of Force, we readily allow it you. And (as I tell you elsewhere)

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where) I see not then what need you had of Miracles to supply the Want of the Magistrates Assistance, till Christianity was supported and encouraged by the Laws of the Empire: For, by your own Rule, the Magistrates of the World, during the three first Centuries after the publishing the Christian Religion, had the same Right, if that had been enough, that they have now in Turkey, Persia, or China. That this is all that can be said in this Matter, I easily grant you; but that it is all that needs be said to make good your Doctrine, I must beg your Pardon.

In the same Sentence wherein you tell me, *I should have added Necessity to Usefulness*, I call it necessary Usefulness, which I imagine is not much different. But that with the following Words wherein my Argument lay, had the ill luck to be overseen; but if you please to take my Argument, as I have now again laid it before you, it will serve my turn.

L. 2. p.
282.

In your next Paragraph you tell me, That *what is said by me is with the same Ingenuity I have used in other places*; my Words in that Place are these: "The Author having endeavoured to shew that no body at all, of any Rank or Condition, had any Power to punish, torment, or use any Man ill for matter of Religion: You tell us, you do not understand why Clergymen are not as capable of such Power as other Men: Which Words of mine containing in them nothing but true Matter of Fact, give you no Reason to tax my Ingenuity: Nor will what you alledge make it otherwise than such Power; for if the Power you there speak of, were externally coactive Power, is not that the same Power the Author was speaking of, made use of to those Ends he mentions of tormenting and punishing? And do not you own that those who have that Power, ought to punish those who offend in rejecting the true Religion? As to the remaining part of that Paragraph, I shall leave the Reader to judge whether I sought any Occasion so much as to name the Clergy; or whether the itching of your Fingers to be handling the Rod, guided not your Pen to what was nothing to the Purpose: For the Author had not said any thing so much as tending to exclude the Clergy from secular Employments, but only (if you will take your own Report of it) that no Ecclesiastical Officer, as such, has any externally coactive Power; whereupon you cry out, that you do not yet understand why Ecclesiasticks or Clergymen are not as capable of such Power as other Men. Had you stood to be Constable of your Parish, or of the Hundred, you might have had Cause to vindicate thus your Capacity, if Orders had been objected to you; or if your Aim be at a Justice of the Peace, or Lord Chief Justice of England, much more. However you must be allowed to be a Man of Forecast, in clearing the way to secular Power, if you know your self, or any of your Friends desirous of it: Otherwise I confess you have Reason to be on this Occasion a little out of Humour, as you are, for bringing this Matter in Question so wholly out of Season. Nor will (I fear) the ill-fitted Excuse you bring,

A. P. 17. give your self, or one who consults the Places in both yours and the Author's Letter, a much better Opinion of it. However I cannot but thank you for your wonted Ingenuity, in saying, that it seems I wanted an Occasion to shew my good Will to the Clergy, and so I made my self one. And to find more Work for the excellent Gift you have this way, I desire you to read over that Paragraph of mine again, and tell me, whether you can find any thing said in it not true? Any Advice in it that you your self would disown? any thing that any worthy Clergyman that adorns his Function is concerned in? And when you have set it down in my Words, the World shall be Judge, whether I have shewed any ill Will to the Clergy. Till then I may take the Liberty to own, that I am more a Friend to them and their Calling, than those amongst them, who shew their Forwardness to leave the Word of God to serve other Employments. The Office of a Minister of the Gospel requires so the whole Man, that the very looking after their Poor was by the joint Voice of the Twelve Apostles, called, *leaving the Word of God, and serving of Tables*. But if you think no Mens

Acts 4.

2. Faults can be spoken of without ill Will, you will make a very ill Preacher: Or if you think this to be so only in speaking of Mistakes in any of the Clergy, there must be in your Opinion something peculiar in their Case, that makes it so much a Fault to mention any of theirs; which I must be pardoned for, since I was not aware of it: And there will want but a little cool Reflection to convince you, that had not the present Church of England a greater Number in Proportion, than possibly any other Age of the Church ever had, of those who by their pious Lives and Labours in their Ministry adorn their Profession, such busy Men as cannot be content to be Divines without being Lay-men too, would so little keep up the Reputation which

ought to distinguish the Clergy, or preserve the Esteem due to a holy, *i. e.* a separate Order, that no body can shew greater good Will to them than by taking all Occasions to put a Stop to any Forwardness, to be meddling out of their Calling. This I suppose made a learned Prelate of our Church, out of Kindness to the Clergy, mind them of their Stipulation and Duty in a late Treatise, and tell them that *the Pastoral Care is to be a Man's entire Business, and to possess both his Thoughts and his Time.* Disc. of Past. Care, p. 121.

To your saying, *That the Magistrate may lay Penalties upon those who refuse to embrace the Doctrine of the proper Ministers of Religion, or are alienated from the Truth:* A. p. 20.

I answered, "God never gave the Magistrate an Authority to be Judge of Truth *L. 2. p. 287.*
"for another Man. This you grant; but withal say, *That if the Magistrate knows* Pag. 64.

the Truth, though he has no Authority to judge of Truth for another Man; yet he may be Judge whether other Men be alienated from the Truth or no; and so may have Authority to lay some Penalties upon those whom he sees to be so, to bring them to judge more sincerely for themselves. For Example, *The Doctrine of the proper Ministers of Religion* is, that the three Creeds, Nice, Athanasius's, and that commonly called the *Apostles Creed*, ought to be thorowly received and believed: As also that the Old and New Testament contain all things necessary to Salvation. The one of these *Doctrines* a *Papist Subject* embraces not; and a *Socinian* the other. What now is the Magistrate by your Commission to do? He is to lay Penalties upon them, and continue them: How long? Only 'till they conform, *i. e.* till they profess they embrace these Doctrines for true. In which Case he does not judge of the Truth for other Men: he only judges that other Men are alienated from the Truth. Do you not now admire your own Subtilty and Acuteness? I that cannot comprehend this, tell you my dull Sense in the Case. He that thinks another Man in an Error, judges him, as you phrase it, *alienated from the Truth*, and then judges of Truth and Falshood only for himself. But if he lays any Penalty upon others, which they are to lie under till they embrace for a Truth what he judges to be so, he is then so far a Judge of Truth for those others. This is what I think to *judge of Truth for another*, means: If you will tell me what else it signifies, I am ready to learn.

You grant, you say, *God never gave the Magistrate any Authority to be Judge of Truth for another Man:* and then add, *But how does it follow from thence that he cannot be Judge, whether any Man be alienated from the Truth or no?* And I ask you, who ever said any such thing did follow from thence? That which I say, and which you ought to disprove, is, That whoever punishes others for not being of the Religion he judges to be true, judges of Truth for others. But you prove that a Man may be Judge of Truth, without having Authority to judge of it for other Men, or to prescribe to them what they shall believe; which you might have spared, till you meet with some body that denies it. But yet your Proof of it is worth remembering: *Rectum* (say you) *est Index sui & obliqui.* And certainly whoever does but know the Truth, may easily judge whether other Men be alienated from it or no. But though *Rectum* be *Index sui & obliqui*; yet a Man may be ignorant of that which is the right; and may take Error for Truth. The Truth of Religion, when known, shews what contradicts it is false: But yet that Truth may be unknown to the Magistrate, as well as to any other Man. But you conclude (I know not upon what ground) as if the Magistrate could not miss it, or were surer to find it than other Men. I suppose you are thus favourable only to the Magistrate of your own Profession, as no doubt in Civility a Papist or a Presbyterian would be to those of his. And then infer; *And therefore if the Magistrate knows the Truth, though he has no Authority to judge of Truth for other Men, yet he may be Judge whether other Men be alienated from the Truth or no.* Without doubt! who denies it him? 'Tis a Privilege that he and all Men have, that when they know the Truth, or believe the Truth, and have embraced an Error for Truth, they may judge whether other Men are alienated from it or no, if those other Men own their Opinions in that matter.

You go on with your Inference, *And so may have Authority to lay some Penalties upon those whom he sees to be so.* Now, Sir, you go a little too fast. This he cannot do without making himself judge of Truth for them: The Magistrate, or any one, may judge as much as he pleases, of Mens Opinions and Errors; he in that judges only for himself: But as soon as he uses Force to bring them from their own to his Opinion, he makes himself Judge of Truth for them; let it be to bring them to judge more sincerely for themselves, as you here call it, or under what Pretence or Colour soever; for that, what you

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you say, is but a Pretence, the very Expression discovers. For does any one ever judge insincerely *for himself*, that he needs Penalties to make him judge *more sincerely for himself*? A Man may judge wrong for himself, and may be known or thought to do so: But who can either know or suppose another is not *sincere* in the Judgment he makes for himself, or (which is the same thing) that any one knowingly puts a mixture of Falshood into the Judgment he makes? For as speaking insincerely is to speak otherwise than one thinks, let what he says be true or false; so judging insincerely must be to judge otherwise than one thinks, which I imagine is not very feasible. But how improper soever it be to talk of judging insincerely for one's self, it was better for you in that Place to say, Penalties were *to bring Men to judge more sincerely*, rather than to say, more rightly, or more truly: for had you said, the Magistrate might use Penalties *to bring Men to judge more truly*, that very Word had plainly discovered, that he made himself a *Judge of Truth for them*. You therefore wisely chose to say what might best cover this Contradiction to your self, whether it were Sense or no, which perhaps whilst it sounded well, every one would not stand to examine.

One thing give me leave here to observe to you, which is, That when you speak of the Entertainment Subjects are to give to Truth, *i. e.* the true Religion, you call it *believing*; but this in the Magistrate you call *knowing*. Now let me ask you, Whether any Magistrate, who laid Penalties on any who dissented from what he judged the true Religion, or as you call it here, were *alienated from the Truth*, was or could be determined in his judging of that Truth by any Assurance greater than believing? When you have resolved that, you will then see to what Purpose is all you have said here concerning the Magistrate's *knowing* the Truth; which at last amounting to no more than the Assurance wherewith a Man certainly believes and receives a thing for true, will put every Magistrate under the same, if there be any Obligation to use Force, whilst he believes his own Religion. Besides, if a Magistrate *knows* his Religion to be true, he is to use Means not to make his People believe, but know it also; Knowledge of them, if that be the way of entertaining the Truths of Religion, being as necessary to the Subjects as the Magistrate. I never heard yet of a Master of Mathematicks, who had the Care of informing others in those Truths, who ever went about to make any one believe one of *Euclid's Propositions*.

Pag. 65. The pleasantness of your Answer, notwithstanding what you say, doth remain still
66. the same: for you making, (as is to be seen) *the Power of the Magistrate ORDAINED*
A. p. 22. *for the bringing Men to take such Care as they ought of their Salvation*; the reason why it is *every Man's Interest* to vest this Power in the Magistrate, must suppose this Power so *ordained*, before the People vested it; or else it could not be an Argument for their *vesting* it in the Magistrate. For if you had not here built upon your Fundamental Supposition, that this Power of the Magistrate is *ordained* by God to that End, the proper and intelligible way of expressing your meaning had not been to say as you do; *As the Power of the Magistrate is ordained for bringing, &c. so if we suppose this POWER vested in the Magistrate by the People*: in which way of speaking this Power of the Magistrate is evidently supposed already *ordained*. But a clear way of making your Meaning understood, had been to say, That for the People to ordain such a Power of the Magistrate, or to vest such a Power in the Magistrate, (which is the same thing) was their *true Interest*: but whether it were your Meaning or your Expression that was guilty of the Absurdity, I shall leave it with the Reader.

A. p. 22. As to the other pleasant thing of your Answer, it will still appear by barely reciting
L. 2 p. 288. it: the pleasant Thing I charge on you is, that you say, That *the Power of the Magistrate is to bring Men to such a Care of their Salvation, that they may not blindly leave it to the Choice of any Person, or their own Lusts or Passions, to prescribe to them what Faith or Worship they shall embrace*; and yet that 'tis their best Course *to vest a Power in the Magistrate* liable to the same Lusts and Passions as themselves, to chuse for them. To this you answer, by asking *where it is that you say that it is the Peoples best Course to vest a Power in the Magistrate to choose for them*. That you tell me I do not pretend to shew? If you had given your self the Pains to have gone on to the end of the Paragraph, or will be pleased to read it as I have here again set it down for your Perusal, you will find that I at least pretended to shew it: my Words are these; "If they vest a Power in the Magistrate, to punish them when they dissent from his Religion, to bring them to act even against their own Inclination, according to Reason and sound Judgment, which is (as you explain your self in another place) *to bring them to consider Reasons and Arguments proper and sufficient to convince them*; how far is this from leaving

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"leaving it to the Choice of another Man to prescribe to them what Faith or Worship they shall embrace? Thus far you cite my words, to which let me join the remaining part of the Paragraph, to let you see that I pretended to them that the Course you proposed to the People as best for them, was to vest a Power in the Magistrate to chuse for them. My words which follow those where you left off, are these; "Especially if we consider, that you think it a strange thing, that the Author would have the Care of every Man's Soul left to himself. So that this Care being vested in the Magistrate, with a Power to punish Men to make them consider Reasons and Arguments proper and sufficient to convince them of the Truth of his Religion; the choice is evidently in the Magistrate, as much as it can be in the power of one Man to chuse for another what Religion he shall be of; which consists only in a power of compelling him by Punishments to embrace it. But all this you tell me, is just nothing to my purpose: Why I beseech you? Because you speak not of the Magistrate's Religion, but of the true Religion, and that proposed with sufficient Evidence. L.2.p.288.

The Case in short is this; Men are apt to be misled by their Passions, Lusts, and other Men in the choice of their Religion. For this great Evil you propose a Remedy, which is, That Men (for you must remember you are here speaking of the People putting this Power into the Magistrate's hand) should chuse some of their Fellow-Men, and give them a Power by Force to guard them, that they might not be alienated from the Truth by their own Passions, Lusts, or by other Men. So it was in the first Scheme; or, as you have it now, to punish them, whenever they rejected the true Religion, and that proposed with sufficient Evidence of the Truth of it. A pretty Remedy, and manifestly effectual at first sight: That because Men were all promiscuously apt to be misled in their Judgment, or Choice of their Religion, by Passion, Lust, and other Men, therefore they should chuse some amongst themselves, who might, they and their Successors, Men made just like themselves, punish them when they rejected the true Religion.

If the blind lead the blind, both shall fall into the Ditch, says our Saviour. If Men apt to be misled by their Passions and Lusts, will guard themselves from falling into Error, by Punishments laid on them, by Men as apt to be misled by Passions and Lusts as themselves, how are they the safer from falling into Error? Now hear the infallible Remedy for this Inconvenience, and admire; the Men to whom they have given this Power, must not use it, till they find those who gave it them in an Error. A Friend, to whom I shewed this Expedient, answered, This is none: For why is not a Man as fit to judge for himself when he is in an Error, as another to judge for him, who is as liable to Error himself? I answered, This Power however in the other can do him no harm, but may indirectly, and at a distance, do him good; because the Magistrate who has this Power to punish him, must never use it but when he is in the right, and he that is punish'd is in the wrong. But, said my Friend, who shall be Judge whether he be in the right or no? For Men in an Error think themselves in the right, and that as confidently as those who are most so. To which I replied, No body must be Judge; but the Magistrate may know when he is in the right. And so may the Subject too (said my Friend) as well as the Magistrate, and therefore it was as good still be free from a Punishment, that gives a Man no more Security from Error than he had without it. Besides, said he, who must be Judge whether the Magistrate knows or no? For he may mistake, and think it to be Knowledge and Certainty, when it is but Opinion and Belief. It is no matter, for that in this Scheme, replied I, the Magistrate, we are told, may know which is the true Religion, and he must not use Force but to bring Men to the true Religion; and if he does, God will one day call him to an Account for it, and so all is safe. As safe as beating the Air can make a thing, replied my Friend: for if believing, being assured, confidently being persuaded that they know that the Religion they profess is true, or any thing else short of true Knowledge will serve the turn, all Magistrates will have this Power alike, and so Men will be well guarded, or recovered from false Religions, by putting it into the Magistrate's Hand to punish them when they have alienated themselves from it.

If the Magistrate be not to punish Men but when he knows, i. e. is infallibly certain (for so is a Man in what he knows) that his National Religion is all true, and knows also, that it has been proposed to those he punishes with sufficient Evidence of the Truth of it: 'Twould have been as good this Power had never been given him, since he will never be in a Condition to exercise it; and at best it was given him to no Purpose, since those who gave it him were one with another as little indisposed to

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consider impartially, examine diligently, study, find, and infallibly know the Truth as he. But, said he at parting, to talk thus of the Magistrate's punishing Men that *reject the true Religion*, without telling us, who those Magistrates are, who have a Power to judge which is the *true Religion*, is to put this Power in all Magistrate's Hands alike, or none. For to say he only is to be Judge which is the true Religion, who is of it, is but to begin the round of Enquiries again, which can at last end no where but in every one's supposing his own to be it. But, said he, if you will continue to talk on thus, there is nothing more to be done with you, but to pity or laugh at you, and so he left me.

I assure you, Sir, I urged this part of your Hypothesis, with all the Advantage I thought your Answer afforded me; and if I have erred in it, or there be any way to get out of the Strait (if Force must in your way be used) either of the Magistrate's punishing Men for rejecting the true Religion, without judging which is the true Religion; or else that the Magistrate should judge which is the true Religion; which way ever of the two you shall determine it, I see not of what Advantage it can be to the People (to keep them from chusing amiss) that this Power of punishing them should be put into the Magistrate's Hands.

And then, if the Magistrate must judge which is the true Religion, (as how he should without judging, punish any one who rejects it, is hard to find) and punish Men who reject it till they do embrace it, (let it be to make them consider, or what you please) he does, I think, chuse their Religion for them. And if you have not the dexterity to chuse the National Religion where-ever you are, I doubt not but you would think so too if you were in *France*, though there were none but moderate Penalties laid on you to *bring you even against your own Inclination to act according to what they there call Reason and sound Judgment.*

That Paragraph and mine to which it is an Answer, runs thus.

L. 2. pag. 288. "I do neither
" you nor the Magistrate Injury,
" when I say that the Power you
" give the Magistrate of punish-
" ing Men to make them consider
" Reasons and Arguments proper
" and sufficient to convince them,
" is to convince them of the
" Truth of his Religion, and
" to bring them to it. For Men
" will never, in his Opinion, act
" according to Reason and sound
" Judgment, (which is the thing
" you here say Men should be
" brought to by the Magistrate,
" even against their own Inclina-
" tion) till they embrace his Re-
" ligion. And if you have the
" brow of an honest Man, you
" will not say the Magistrate
" will ever punish you, to bring
" you to consider any other Rea-
" sons and Arguments, but such
" as are proper to convince you
" of the Truth of his Religion,
" and to bring you to that.
" Thus you shift forwards and
" backwards. You say, The Ma-
" gistrate has no Power to punish
" Men to compel them to his Re-
" ligion; but only to compel them
" to consider Reasons and Argu-
" ments proper to convince them
" of the Truth of his Religion;
" which

L. 3. pag. 67. But it seems you have not done with this yet: For you say, you do neither me nor the Magistrate Injury, when you say that the Power I give the Magistrate, of punishing Men to make them consider Reasons and Arguments proper and sufficient to convince them, is to convince them of the truth of his Religion, (whatever that be) and to bring them to it. Which seems a little strange and pleasant too. But thus you prove it: For Men will never, in his Opinion, act according to Reason and sound Judgment, till they embrace his Religion. And if you have the Brow of an honest Man, you will not say the Magistrate will ever punish you, to bring you to consider any other Reasons and Arguments but such as are proper to convince you of the Truth of his Religion, and to bring you to that. Which (besides the pleasant Talk of such Reasons and Arguments as are proper and sufficient to convince Men of the Truth of the Magistrate's Religion, though it be a false one) is just as much as to say, It is so, because in the Magistrate's Opinion it is so; and because it is not to be expected that he will act against his Opinion. As if the Magistrate's Opinion could change the Nature of things, and turn a Power to promote the true Religion, into a Power to promote a false one. No, Sir, the Magistrate's Opinion has no such Virtue. It may indeed keep him from exercising the Power he has to promote the true Religion; and it may lead him to abuse the Pretence of it, to the promoting a false one: But it can neither destroy that Power, nor make it any thing but what it is. And therefore, whatever the Magistrate's Opinion be, his Power was given him (as the Apostles Power was to them) for Edification only, not for Destruction: And

“ which is all one as to say, no
 “ Body has Power to chuse your
 “ way for you to Jerusalem; but
 “ yet the Lord of the Mannor
 “ has Power to punish you, to
 “ bring you to consider Reasons
 “ and Arguments proper and suffi-
 “ cient to convince you (of what?)
 “ that the way he goes in, is the
 “ right, and so to make you join
 “ in Company; and go along
 “ with him. So that, in effect,
 “ what is all your going about;
 “ but to come at last to the same
 “ Place again; and put a Power
 “ into the Magistrate’s Hands;
 “ (under another Pretence) to
 “ compel Men to his Religion;
 “ which Use of Force the Author
 “ has sufficiently overthrown,
 “ and you your self have quit-
 “ ted. But I am tired to fol-
 “ low you so often round the
 “ same Circle.

And it may always be said of him, (what St. Paul said of himself) that he can do nothing against the Truth, but for the Truth. And therefore if the Magistrate punishes me, to bring me to a false Religion; it is not his Opinion that will excuse him, when he comes to answer for it to his Judge. For certainly Men are as accountable for their Opinions (those of them, I mean, which influence their Practice) as they are for their Actions.

Here is therefore no shifting forwards and backwards, as you pretend; nor any Circle, but in your own Imagination. For though it be true that I say, The Magistrate has no Power to punish Men, to compel them to his Religion; yet I no where say, nor will it follow from any thing I do say, That he has Power to compel them to consider Reasons and Arguments proper to convince them of the Truth of his Religion. But I do not much wonder that you endeavour to put this upon me. For I think by this time it is pretty plain, that otherwise you would have but little to say: And it is an Art very much in Use among some sort of learned Men, when they cannot confute what an Adversary does say, to make him say what he does not; that they may have something which they can confute.

The beginning of this Answer is part of the old Song of Triumph; *What! Reasons and Arguments proper and sufficient to convince Men of the Truth of Falshood?* Yes, Sir, the Magistrate may use Force to make Men consider those Reasons and Arguments, which he thinks proper and sufficient to convince Men of the Truth of his Religion, though his Religion be a false one. And this is as possible for him to do, as for a Man as learned as your self, to write a Book, and use Arguments, as he thinks proper and sufficient to convince Men of the Truth of his Opinion, though it be a Falshood.

As to the remaining part of your Answer, the Question is not, Whether the Magistrate’s Opinion can change the Nature of things, or the Power he has, or excuse him to his Judge for misusing of it? But this, that since all Magistrates, in your Opinion, have Commission, and are obliged to promote the true Religion by Force, and they can be guided in the discharge of this Duty by nothing but their own Opinion of the true Religion, What Advantage can this be to the true Religion, what Benefit to their Subjects, or whether it amounts to any more than a Commission to every Magistrate to use Force for the promoting his own Religion? To this Question therefore you will do well to apply your Answer, which a Man of less Skill than you, will be scarce able to do.

You tell us indeed, that *whatever the Magistrate’s Opinion be, his Power was given him (as the Apostles Power was to them) for Edification only, and not for Destruction.* But if the Apostles Power had been given them for one End, and St. Paul, St. Peter, and nine others of the Twelve had had nothing to guide them but their own Opinion, which led them to another End; I ask you whether the Edification of the Church could have been carried on as it was?

You tell us farther, that *it may always be said of the Magistrate (what St. Paul said of himself) that he can do nothing against the Truth, but for the Truth.* Witness the K. of France. If you say this in the same Sense that St. Paul said it of himself, who in all things requisite for Edification, had the immediate Direction and Guidance of the unerring Spirit of God, and so was infallible, we need not go to Rome for an infallible Guide, every Country has one in their Magistrate. If you apply these words to the Magistrate in another Sense, than what St. Paul spoke them in of himself, sober Men will be apt to think; you have a great Care to insinuate into others a high Veneration for the Magistrate; but that you your self have no over-great Reverence for the Scripture, which you thus use; nor for Truth, which you thus defend.

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To deny the Magistrate to have a Power to compel Men to his Religion: But yet to say the Magistrate has a Power, and is bound to punish Men to make them consider, till they cease to reject the true Religion; of which true Religion he must be Judge, or else nothing can be done in Discharge of this his Duty, is so like going round about to come to the same Place, that it will always be a Circle in mine and other Peoples Imagination, and not only there, but in your Hypothesis.

Pag. 76.

All that you say turns upon the Truth or Falshood of this Proposition; *That whoever punishes any one in matters of Religion to make him consider, takes upon him to be Judge for another what is right in matters of Religion.* This you think plainly involves a Contradiction; and so it would, if these general Terms had in your use of them their ordinary and usual meaning. But, Sir, be but pleased to take along with you, *That whoever punishes any Man your way in matters of Religion, to make him consider, as you use the Word consider, takes upon him to be Judge for another what is right in matters of Religion:* and you will find it so far from a Contradiction, that it is a plain Truth. For your way of punishing is a peculiar way, and is this; That the Magistrate, where the National Religion is the true Religion, should punish those who dissent from it, to make them consider as they ought, i. e. till they cease to reject; or, in other Words, till they conform to it. If therefore he punishes none but those who dissent from, and punishes them till they conform to that which he judges the true Religion, does he not take on him to judge for them what is the true Religion?

Pag. 27.

'Tis true indeed what you say, there is no other reason to punish another to make him consider, but that he should judge for himself: And this will always hold true amongst those, who when they speak of considering, mean considering, and nothing else. But then these things will follow from thence: 1. That in inflicting of Penalties to make Men consider, the Magistrate of a Country, where the National Religion is false, no more misapplies his Power, than he whose Religion is true; for one has as much right to punish the Negligent to make them consider, study, and examine matters of Religion, as the other. 2. If the Magistrate punishes Men in matters of Religion, truly to make them consider, he will punish all that do not consider, whether Conformists or Nonconformists. 3. If the Magistrate punishes in matters of Religion to make Men consider, it is, as you say, to make Men judge for themselves: For there is no use of considering, but in order to judging. But then when a Man has judg'd for himself, the Penalties for not considering are to be taken off: For else your saying that a Man is punished to make him consider, that he may judge for himself, is plain Mockery. So that either you must reform your Scheme, or allow this Proposition to be true, viz. *Whoever punishes any Man in matters of Religion, to make him in your sense consider, takes upon him to judge for another what is right in matters of Religion:* and with it the Conclusion, viz. *Therefore whoever punishes any one in matters of Religion, to make him consider, takes upon him to do what no Man can do, and consequently misapplies his Power of punishing, if he has that Power.* Which Conclusion, you say, you should readily admit as sufficiently demonstrated, if the Proposition before-mentioned were true.

But farther, if it could enter into the Head of any Law-maker but you, to punish Men for the Omission of, or to make them perform any internal Act of the Mind, such as is Consideration; whoever in matter of Religion would lay an Injunction on Men to make them consider, could not do it without judging for them in matters of Religion, unless they had no Religion at all; and then they come not within our Author's Toleration, which is a Toleration only of Men of different Religions, or of different Opinions in Religion. For supposing you the Magistrate with full Power, and (as you imagin'd) Right of punishing any one in matters of Religion, how could you possibly punish any one to make him consider, without judging for him what is right in matters of Religion? I will suppose my self brought before your Worship, under what Character you please, and then I desire to know what one or more Questions you would ask me, upon my Answer to which you could judge me fit to be punished to make me consider, without taking upon you to judge for me what is right in matters of Religion? For I conclude from the Fashion of my Coat, or the Colour of my Eyes, you would not judge that I ought to be punished in matters of Religion to make me consider. If you could, I should allow you not only as capable, but much more capable of coercive Power than other Men.

But

But since you could not judge me to need Punishment in matters of Religion, to make me consider, without knowing my Thoughts concerning Religion, we will suppose you (being of the Church of *England*) would examine me in the Catechism and Liturgy of that Church, which possibly I could neither say nor answer right to. 'Tis like, upon this, you would judge me fit to be punished to make me consider. Wherein, 'tis evident, you judg'd for me, that the Religion of the Church of *England* was right; for without that Judgment of yours you would not have punished me. We will suppose you to go yet farther, and examine me concerning the Gospel, and the Truth of the Principles of the Christian Religion, and you find me answer therein not to your liking: Here again no doubt you will punish me to make me consider; but is it not because you judge for me, that the Christian Religion is the right? Go on thus as far as you will, and till you find I had no Religion at all, you could not punish me to make me to consider, without taking upon you to judge for me what is right in matters of Religion.

To punish without a Fault, is Injustice; and to punish a Man without judging him guilty of that Fault, is also Injustice; and to punish a Man, who has any Religion to make him consider, or, which is the same thing, for not having sufficiently considered, is no more nor less, but punishing him for not being of the Religion you think best for him; that is the Fault, and that is the Fault you judge him guilty of, call it *considering* as you please. For let him fall into the Hands of a Magistrate of whose Religion he is, he judgeth him to have considered sufficiently. From whence 'tis plain, 'tis Religion is judg'd of, and not Consideration, or want of Consideration. And 'tis in vain to pretend that he is punish'd to make him judge for himself: For he that is of any Religion, has already judg'd for himself; and if you punish him after that, under Pretence to make him consider that he may judge for himself, 'tis plain you punish him to make him judge otherwise than he has already judg'd, and to judge as you have judg'd for him.

Your next Paragraph complains of my not having contradicted the following Words of yours, which I had cited out of your *A. p. 26.* which that the Reader may judge of, I shall here set down again. *And all the Hurt that comes to them by it, is only the suffering some tolerable Inconveniences, for their following the Light of their own Reason, and the Dictates of their own Consciences: which certainly is no such Mischief to Mankind, as to make it more eligible, that there should be no such Power vested in the Magistrate; but the Care of every Man's Soul should be left to him alone, (as this Author demands it should be:) that is, that every Man should be suffered quietly, and without the least molestation; either to take no care at all of his Soul, if he be so pleased; or in doing it, to follow his own groundless Prejudices, or unaccountable Humour, or any crafty Seducer, whom he may think fit to take for his Guide. To which I shall here subjoin my Answer and your Reply.*

L. 2. p. 291. "Why should not the Care of every Man's Soul be left to himself, rather than the Magistrate? Is the Magistrate like to be more concern'd for it? Is the Magistrate like to take more Care of it? Is the Magistrate commonly more careful of his own, than other Men are of theirs? Will you say the Magistrate is less expos'd, in matters of Religion, to Prejudices,
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L. 3. p. 76. which Words you set down at large; but instead of contradicting them, or offering to shew that the Mischief spoken of, is such as makes it more eligible, &c. you only demand, Why should not the Care of every Man's Soul be left to himself, rather than the Magistrate? Is the Magistrate like to be more concern'd for it? Is the Magistrate like to take more Care of it, &c. As if not to leave the Care of every Man's Soul to himself alone, were, as you express it afterwards, to take the Care of Mens Souls from themselves: Or as if to vest a Power in the Magistrate, to procure as much as in him lies (i. e. as far as it can be procured by convenient Penalties) that Men take such Care of their Souls as they ought to do, were to leave the Care of their Souls to the Magistrate rather than to themselves: Which no Man but your self will imagine. I acknowledge as freely as you can do, that as every Man is more concern'd than any Man else can be, so he is likewise more oblig'd to take Care of his Soul; and that no Man can by any means be discharged of the Care of his Soul; which, when all is done, will never be saved but by his own Care of it. But do I contradict any thing of this, when I say, that the Care of every Man's Soul ought not to be left to himself alone? Or, that it is the

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" Humours, and crafty Seducers, than other Men? If cannot lay your Hand on your Heart, and say all this, what then will be got by the Change? And why may not the Care of every Man's Soul be left to himself? Especially, if a Man be in so much Danger to miss the Truth, who is suffered quietly, and without the least molestation, either to take no Care of his Soul, if he be so pleased, or to follow his own Prejudices, &c. For if want of molestation be the dangerous State wherein Men are likeliest to miss the right way, it must be confessed, that of all Men, the Magistrate is most in Danger to be in the wrong, and so the unfittest (if you take the Care of Mens Souls from themselves) of all Men, to be intrusted with it. For he never meets with that great and only Antidote of yours against Error, which you here call molestation. He never has the Benefit of your sovereign Remedy, Punishment, to make him consider, which you think so necessary, that you look on it as a most dangerous State for Men to be without it; and therefore tell us, 'Tis

Interest of Mankind, that the Magistrate be entrusted and obliged to take Care, as far as lies in him, that no Man neglect his own Soul? I thought, I confess, that every Man was in some sort charged with the Care of his Neighbour's Soul. But in your way of reasoning, he that affirms this, takes away the Care of every Man's Soul from himself, and leaves it to his Neighbour rather than to himself. But if this be plainly absurd, as every one sees it is, then so it must be likewise to say, That he that vests such a Power as we here speak of in the Magistrate, takes away the Care of Mens Souls from themselves, and places it in the Magistrate, rather than in themselves.

What trifling then is it to say here, If you cannot lay your Hand upon your Heart, and say all this, (viz. that the Magistrate is like to be more concerned for other Men's Souls than themselves, &c.) What then will be got by the Change? For 'tis plain, here is no such Change as you would insinuate: But the Care of Souls which I assert to the Magistrate, is so far from discharging any Man of the Care of his own Soul, or lessening his Obligation to it, that it serves to no other purpose in the World, but to bring Men, who otherwise would not, to consider and do what the Interest of their Souls obliges them to.

'Tis therefore manifest, that the thing here to be consider'd, is not, Whether the Magistrate be like to be more concern'd for other Mens Souls, or to take more Care of them than themselves: nor, Whether he be commonly more careful of his own Soul, than other Men are of theirs: nor, Whether he be less exposed, in matters of Religion, to Prejudices, Humours, and crafty Seducers, than other Men: nor yet, Whether he be not more in danger to be in the wrong than other Men, in regard that he never meets with that great and only Antidote of mine (as you call it) against Error, which I here call Molestation. But the Point upon which this matter turns, is only this, Whether the Salvation of Souls be not better provided for, if the Magistrate be obliged to procure, as much as in him lies, that every Man take such Care as he ought of his Soul, than if he be not so obliged, but the Care of every Man's Soul be left to himself alone: Which certainly any Man of common Sense may easily determine. For as you will not, I suppose, deny but God has more amply provided for the Salvation of your own Soul, by obliging your Neighbour, as well as your self, to take care of it; tho' 'tis possible your Neighbour may not be more concern'd for it than your self; or may not be more careful of his own Soul, than you are of yours; or may be no less exposed, in matters of Religion, to Prejudices, &c. than you are; because if you are your self wanting to your own Soul, it is more likely that you will be brought to take Care of it, if your Neighbour be obliged to admonish and exhort you to it, than if he be not; though it may fall out that he will not do what he is obliged to do in that Case: So I think it cannot be denied, but the Salvation of all Mens Souls is better provided for, if besides the Obligation which every Man has to take care of his own Soul (and that which every Man's Neighbour has likewise to do it) the Magistrate also be entrusted and obliged to see that no Man neglect his Soul, than it would be, if every Man were left to himself in this matter: Because tho' we should admit that the Magistrate is not like to be, or is not ordinarily more concern'd for other Mens Souls, than they themselves are, &c. it is nevertheless undeniably true still, that whoever neglects his Soul, is more likely to be brought to take care of it, if the Magistrate

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"very Man's true
"Interest, not to be
"left wholly to him-
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gistrate be obliged to do what lies in him to bring him to do it, than if he be not. Which is enough to shew, that it is every Man's true Interest, that the Care of his Soul should not be left to himself alone, but that the Magistrate should be so far entrusted with it as I contend that he is.

Your Complaint of my not having formally contradicted the Words above-cited out of *A. p. 26.* looking as if there were some weighty Argument in them: I must Pag. 274 inform my Reader, that you are subjoyn'd to those, wherein you recommend the Use of Force in matters of Religion, by the *Gain* those that are punish'd shall make by it, though it be misapplied by the Magistrate to bring them to a wrong Religion. So that these Words of yours, *all the Hurt that comes to them by it,* is *all the Hurt* that comes to Men by a Misapplication of the Magistrate's Power, when being of a false Religion, he uses Force to bring Men to it. And then your Proposition stands thus, That *the suffering* what you call *tolerable Inconveniences* for their following the Light of their own Reasons, and the Dictates of their own Consciencés, is no such Mischief to Mankind as to make it more eligible, that there should be no Power vested in the Magistrate to use Force to bring Men to the true Religion, though the Magistrates misapply this Power, i.e. use it to bring Men to their own Religion when false.

This is the Sum of what you say, if it has any coherent meaning in it: For it being to shew the Usefulness of such a Power vested in the Magistrate, under the Miscarriages and Misapplications it is in common Practice observed to be liable to, can have no other Sense. But I having proved, that if such a Power be by the Law of Nature vested in the Magistrate, every Magistrate is obliged to use it for the promoting of his Religion as far as he believes it to be true, shall not much trouble myself, if like a *Man of Art* you should use your Skill to give it another Sense: For such is your natural Talent, or great Caution, that you love to speak indefinitely, and, as seldom as may be, leave your self accountable for any Propositions of a clear determined Sense; but under Words of doubtful, but seeming plausible Signification, conceal a meaning, which plainly expressed would, at first sight, appear to contradict your own Positions, or common Sense. Instances whereof, more than one, we have here in this Sentence of yours. For, 1. The Words *tolerable Inconveniences* carry a very fair shew of some very slight matter; and yet when we come to examine them, may comprehend any of those Severities lately used in *France*. For these *tolerable Inconveniences* are the same you in this very Page and elsewhere call *convenient Penalties*. *Convenient* for what? In this very Place they must be such, as may keep Men from following their own groundless Prejudices, unaccountable Humours, and crafty Seducers. And you tell us, the Magistrate may require Men under *convenient Penalties* to forsake their false Religions, and embrace the true. Who now must be Judge, in these Cases, what are *convenient Penalties*? Common Sense will tell us, the Magistrate that uses them: But besides, we have your Word for it, that the Magistrate's Prudence and Experience enables him to judge best what Penalties do agree with your Rule of Moderation, which, as I have shewn, is no Rule at all. So that at last your *tolerable Inconveniences* are such as the Magistrate shall judge *convenient* to oppose to Mens Prejudices, Humours, and to Seducers; such as he shall think *convenient* to bring Men from their false Religions, or to punish their rejecting the true; which whether they will not reach Mens Estates and Liberties, or go as far as any the King of *France* has used, is more than you can be Security for. 2. Another Set of good Words we have here, which at first hearing are apt to engage Mens Concern, as if too much could not be done to recover Men from so perilous a State as they seem to describe; and those are Men following their own groundless Prejudices, unaccountable Humours, or crafty Seducers. Are not these Expressions to set forth a deplorable Condition, and to move Pity in all that hear them? Enough to make the unattentive Reader ready to cry out, Help for the Lord's sake; do any thing rather than suffer such poor prejudiced seduced People to be eternally lost. Whereas he that examines what Persons these Words can in your Scheme describe, will find they are only such as any where dissent from those Articles of Faith, and Ceremonies of outward Worship, which the Magistrate, or at least you his Director, approve of. For whilst you talk thus of the true Religion in general; (and that so general, that you cannot allow your self to descend so near to Particulars, as to recommend the

searching

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searching and study of the Scriptures to find it) and that the Power in the Magistrates Hands to use Force, is to bring Men to the true Religion; I ask, whether you do not think, either he or you must be Judge, which is the true Religion, before he can exercise that Power? and then he must use his Force upon all those who dissent from it, who are then the *prejudiced, humoursome, and seduced* you here speak of. Unless this be so, and the Magistrate be Judge, I ask, Who shall resolve which is the *prejudiced* Person, the Prince with his Politicks, or he that suffers for his Religion? Which the more dandrous *Seducer*, *Lewis* the XIVth with his Dragoons, or Mr. *Claud* with his Sermons? It will be no small Difficulty to find out the Persons who are guilty of *following groundless Prejudices, unaccountable Humours, or crafty Seducers*, unless in those Places where you shall be graciously pleased to decide the Question; and out of the Plenitude of your Power and Infallibility to declare which of the *Civil Sovereigns* now in being do, and which do not espouse the one only true Religion, and then we shall certainly know that those who dissent from the Religion of those Magistrates, are these *prejudiced, humoursome, seduced Persons*.

But truly as you put it here, you leave the Matter very perplex'd, when you defend the Eligibleness of vesting a Power in the Magistrate's Hands, to remedy by Penalties Mens *following their own groundless Prejudices, unaccountable Humours, and crafty Seducers*, when in the same Sentence you suppose the Magistrate who is vested with this Power, may inflict those Penalties on Men, *for their following the Light of their own Reason, and the Dictates of their own Consciences*; which when you have considered, perhaps you will not think my Answer so wholly besides the Matter, though it shewed you but that one Absurdity, without a formal Contradiction to so loose and undetermined a Proposition, that it required more Pains to unravel the Sense of what was covered under deceitful Expressions, than the Weight of the Matter contained in them was worth.

For besides what is already said to it: How is it possible for any one (who had the greatest Mind in the World to Contradiction) to deny it to be *more eligible* that such a Power should be vested in the Magistrate, till he knows, to whom you affirm it to be *more eligible*? Is it *more eligible* to those who suffer by it, *for following the Light of their own Reason, and the Dictates of their own Consciences*? for these you know are *Gainers* by it, *for they know better than they did before where the Truth does lie*. Is it *more eligible* to those who have no other Thoughts of Religion, but to be of that of their Country without any farther Examination? Or is it *more eligible* to those who think it their Duty to examine Matters of Religion, and to follow that which upon Examination appears to them the Truth? The former of these two make, I think, the greater part of Mankind, though the latter be the better advised: but upon what Grounds it should be *more eligible* to either of them, that the Magistrate should, than that he should not have a *Power vested* in him to use Force to bring Men to the true Religion, when it cannot be employed but to bring Men to that which he thinks the true, *i. e.* to his own Religion, is not easy to guess. Or is it *more eligible* to the Priests and Ministers of National Religions every where, that the Magistrate should be vested with this Power? who being sure to be Orthodox, will have Right to claim the Assistance of the Magistrate's Power to bring those whom their Arguments cannot prevail or no Arguments can prevail on, to *embrace their true Religion, and to worship God in decent Ways prescribed by those to whom God has left the ordering of such Matters*. Or last of all, Is it *more eligible* to all Mankind? And are the Magistrates of the World so careful or so lucky in the Choice of their Religion, that it would be an Advantage to Mankind, that they should have a Right to *do what in them lies, i. e.* to use all the Force they have, if they think convenient, to bring Men to the Religion they think true? When you have told us to which of these, or what other, *it is more eligible*; I suppose the Reader will without my contradicting it, see how little Truth there is in it, or how little to your Purpose.

If you will pardon me for not having contradicted that Passage of yours we have been considering, I will endeavour to make you amends in what you say in Reply to my Answer to it, and tell you that, notwithstanding all you say to the contrary, such a Power as you would have to be *vested in the Magistrate*, takes away the Care of Mens Souls from themselves, and places it in the Magistrate, rather than in themselves. For if when Men have examined, and upon Examination embrace what appears to them the true Religion, the Magistrate has a Right to treat them as misled by *Prejudice, Humour, or Seducers*; if he may use what Force, and inflict what Punishments

ments he shall think *convenient* till they conform to the Religion the Magistrate judges the true; I think you will scarce deny, but that the Care of their Souls is by such a Power placed rather in the Magistrate than in themselves, and taken as much from them as by Force and Authority it can be. This, whatever you pretend, is the Power which your System places in the Magistrate. Nor can he upon your Principles exercise it otherwise, as I imagine I have shewed.

You speak here, as if this *Power*, which you would have to be *vested* in the Magistrate, did not at all *discharge*, but assist the Care every one has or ought to have of his own Soul. I grant, were the Power you would place in the Magistrate such as every Man has to take Care of his Neighbour's Soul, which is to express it self only by Counsel, Arguments and Persuasion; it left him still the free Liberty of judging for himself; and so the Care of his Soul remained still in his own Hands. But if Men be persuaded, that the wise and good God has *vested a Power in the Magistrate*, to be so far Judge for them, what is the *true Religion*, as to punish them for *rejecting* the Religion which the Magistrate thinks the true, when offer'd with such *Evidence* as he judges *sufficient* to convince them; and to punish them on till they consider so as to embrace it; what remains, but that they render themselves to the Care and Conduct of a Guide that God in his Goodness has appointed them, who having Authority and Commission from God to be Judge for them, which is the true Religion, and what are Arguments proper and sufficient to convince any one of it; and he himself being convinc'd of it, why should they be so foolish, as to suffer Punishments in Opposition to a Power which is in the right, and they ought to submit to? To what Purpose should they, under the Weight of Penalties waste Time and Pains in examining, since whatever they should judge upon Examination, the Magistrate judging the Arguments and Reasons he offers for the Truth of his Religion, *proper and sufficient to convince* them, they must still lie under the Punishment the Magistrate shall think *convenient* till they do comply?

Besides, when they are thus punished by their Magistrate for not conforming, what need they examine? Since you tell them, *it is not strictly necessary to Salvation, that all that are of the true Religion should understand the Grounds of it.* The Magistrate being of the one only true Religion, *knows* it to be so; and he *knows* that that Religion was tender'd to them with *sufficient Evidence*, and therefore is obliged to punish them for rejecting it. This is that which Men must upon your Scheme suppose; for it is, what you your self must suppose, before the Magistrate can exercise that Power you contend to be *vested* in him, as is evident to any one, who will put your System together, and particularly weigh what you say.

When therefore Men are put into such a State as this, that the Magistrate may judge which is the true Religion; the Magistrate may judge what is *sufficient Evidence* of its Truth; the Magistrate may be Judge to whom it is tender'd with *sufficient Evidence*, and *punish* them that *reject* it so proposed with such Penalties as he also shall judge *convenient*, and all this by God's Appointment, and an Authority received from the wise and benign Governour of all Things, I ask, whether the Care of Mens Souls are not taken out of their own Hands, and put into the Magistrates? Whether in such a State they can or will think there is any Need, or that it is to any Purpose for them to examine? And whether this be a Cure for the natural Aversion that is in Men to consider and weigh Matters of Religion; and the way to force, or so much as encourage them to examine?

But, say you, the Salvation of all Mens Souls is better provided for, if besides the Obligation that every Man has to take Care of his own Soul, the Magistrate also be intrusted and obliged to see that no Man neglect his own Soul, than it would be if every Man were left to himself in that Matter. Whatever Ground another may have to say this, you can have none: You who give so good Reason why Conformists, though never so ignorant and negligent in examining Matters of Religion, cannot yet be punished to make them consider, must acknowledge that *ALL Mens Salvation is not the better provided for by a Power* vested in the Magistrate, which cannot reach the far greatest part of Men, which are every-where the Conformist to the National Religion. You that plead so well for the Magistrate's not examining whether those that conform, do it upon Reason and Conviction, but say it is ordinary presumable they do so; Wherein I beseech you do you put this Care of Mens Salvation that is placed in the Magistrate? even in bringing them to outward Conformity to the National Religion, and there leaving them. And are the Souls of all Mankind the better provided for, if the Magistrates of the

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the World are vested with a Power to use Force to bring Men to an outward Profession of what they think the true Religion, without any other Care of their Salvation? For thither, and no farther, reaches their Use of Force in your way of applying it.

Give me leave therefore to *trifle* with you once again, and to desire you to lay your Hand upon your Heart, and tell me what Mankind shall gain by the Change? For I hope by this time it is not so much a Paradox to you, that if the Magistrate be commissioned by God to take Care of Mens Souls, in your way it takes away the Care of Mens Souls from themselves in all those who have need of this Assistance of the Magistrate, *i. e.* all those who neglect to consider, and are averse to Examination.

One thing more give me leave to observe to you, and that is, that *taking Care of Mens Souls*, or *taking Care that they neglect not their Souls*, and laying Penalties on them to bring them in outward Profession to the National Religion, are two very different things, though in this Place and elsewhere you confound them, and would have Penal Laws, requiring Church-Conformity, pass under the Name of *Care of Mens Souls*, for that is the utmost your way of applying Force does or can reach to; and what *Care* is therein taken of *Mens Souls*, may be seen by the Lives and Knowledge observable in not a few Conformists. This is not said to lay any Blame on Conformity, but to shew how improperly you speak, when you call Penal Laws made to promote Conformity, and Force used to bring Men to it, a *Care of Mens Souls*; when even the exactest Observers, and most zealous Advancers of Conformity may be as irreligious, ignorant, and vicious as any other Men.

Pag. 13. In the first Treatise we heard not a Syllable of any other Use or End of Force in Matters of Religion, but only to make Men consider. But in your second, being forced to own bare-faced the punishing of Men for their Religion, you call it, a *Vice to reject the true Faith*, and to *refuse to worship God in decent ways prescribed by those to whom God has left the ordering of it*; and tell us, that it is a *Fault which may justly be punished* by the Magistrate, *not to be of the National Religion, where the true is the National Religion*. To make this Doctrine of Persecution seem limited, and go down the better, to your telling us it must be only where the *National Religion* is the *true*, and that the Penalties must be *moderate* and *convenient*; both which Limitations having no other Judge but the Magistrate, (as I have shewed elsewhere) are no Limitations at all, you in Words add a third, that in Effect signifies just as much as the other two: Pag. 20. and that is, *If there be sufficient Means of Instruction provided for all for instructing them in the Truth of it*; of which Provision the Magistrate also being to be Judge, your Limitations leave him as free to punish all Dissenters from his own Religion, as any Persecutor can wish: For what he will think *sufficient Means of Instruction*, it will be hard for you to say.

In the mean time, as far as may be gathered from what you say in another Place, we will examine what you think *sufficient Provision for instructing Men*, which you have expressed in these Words; *For if the Magistrate provides sufficiently for the Instruction of all his Subjects in the true Religion, and then requires them all under convenient Penalties to hearken to the Teachers and Ministers of it, and to profess and exercise it with one Accord under their Direction in publick Assemblies*. That which stumbles one at the first View of this your Method of Instruction is, that you leave it uncertain, whether Dissenters must first be instructed, and then profess; or else first profess, and then be instructed in the National Religion. This you will do well to be a little more clear in the next time; for you mentioning no Instruction but in publick Assemblies, and perhaps meaning it for a Country where there is little other Pains taken with Dissenters but the Confutation and Condemnation of them in Assemblies, where they are not, they must cease to be Dissenters before they can partake of this sufficient means of Instruction.

And now for those who do *with one Accord* put themselves *under the Direction of the Ministers of the National*, and *hearken to these Teachers of the true Religion*. I ask whether one half of those whereof most of the Assemblies are made up, do or can (so ignorant as they are) understand what they hear from the Pulpit? And then whether if a Man did understand, what in many Assemblies ordinarily is delivered once a Week there for his Instruction, he might not yet at threescore Years end be ignorant of the Grounds and Principles of the Christian Religion? Your having so often in your Letter mentioned *sufficient Provision of Instruction*, has forced these two short Questions from me. But I forbear to tell you what I have heard very sober People, even of the Church of England, say upon this Occasion: For you have warned me already, that it

it shall be interpreted to be a Quarrel to the Clergy in general, if any thing shall be taken notice of in any of them worthy to be mended. I leave it to those whose Profession it is to judge, whether Divinity be a Science wherein Men may be instructed by an Harangue or two once a Week, upon any Subject at a venture, which has no Coherence with that which preceded, or that which is to follow, and this made to People that are ignorant of the first Principles of it, and are not capable of understanding such ways of Discourses. I am sure he that should think this a *sufficient Means of instructing* People in any other Science, would at the End of seven or twenty Years find them very little advanced in it. And bating perhaps some Terms and Phrases belonging to it, would be as far from all true and useful Knowledge of it as when they first began. Whether it be so in Matters of Religion, those who have the Opportunity to observe must judge. And if it appear that amongst those of the National Church there be very many so ignorant, that there is nothing more frequent than for the Ministers themselves to complain of it, it is manifest from those of the National Church (whatever may be concluded from Dissenters) that the *Means of Instruction* provided by the Law, are not sufficient, unless that be sufficient Means of Instruction, which Men of sufficient Capacity for other things, may live under many Years, and yet know very little by. If you say it is for want of Consideration, must not your Remedy of Force be used to bring them to it? Or how will the Magistrate answer for it, if he use Force to make Dissenters consider, and let those of his own Church perish for want of it?

This being all one can well understand by your *sufficient means of Instruction*, as you there explain it, I do not see but Men who have no Aversion to be instructed, may yet fail of it, notwithstanding such a Provision. Perhaps by *exercising the true Religion with one Accord under the Direction of the Ministers of it in publick Assemblies*, you mean something farther; but that not being an ordinary Phrase, will need your Explication to make it understood.

CHAP. II.

Of the Magistrate's Commission to use Force in Matters of Religion.

THOUGH in the foregoing Chapter our examining your Doctrine concerning the Magistrates who may or may not use Force in Matters of Religion, we have in several places happened to take notice of the Commission whereby you authorize Magistrates to act; yet we shall in this Chapter more particularly consider that Commission. You tell us, *To use Force in Matters of Religion, is a Duty of the Magistrate as old as the Law of Nature, in which the Magistrate's Commission lies: for the Scripture does not properly give it him, but supposes it.* And more at large you give us an account of the Magistrate's Commission in these Words: *'Tis true indeed, the Author and Father of our Faith has given the Magistrate no new Power or Commission: nor was there any need that he should, (if himself had any Temporal Power to give:)* For he found him already, even by the Law of Nature, the Minister of God to the People for Good, and bearing the Sword not in vain, i. e. invested with coactive Power, and obliged to use it for all the good Purposes which it might serve, and for which it should be found needful; even for the restraining of false and corrupt Religion: as Job long before (perhaps before any part of the Scriptures were written) acknowledged, when he said, that the worshipping the Sun or the Moon, was an Iniquity to be punished by the Judge. But though our Saviour has given the Magistrates no new Power; yet being King of Kings, he expects and requires that they should submit themselves to his Scepter, and use the Power which always belonged to them, for his Service, and for the advancing his Spiritual Kingdom in the world. And even that Charity which our great Master so earnestly recommends, and so strictly requires of all his Disciples, as it obliges all Men to seek and promote the Good of others, as well as their own, especially their Spiritual and Eternal Good, by such means as their several Places and Relations enable them to use; so does it especially oblige the Magistrate to do it as a Magistrate, i. e. by that Power which enables him to do it above the rate of other Men.

So far therefore is the Christian Magistrate, when he gives his helping-Hand to the furtherance of the Gospel, by laying convenient Penalties upon such as reject it, or any part

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of it, from using any other means for the Salvation of Mens Souls, than what the Author and Finisher of our Faith has directed, that he does no more than his Duty to God, to his Redeemer, and to his Subjects requires of him.

Christ, you say, has given no new Power or Commission to the Magistrate: and for this you give several Reasons. 1. *There was no need that he should.* Yet it seems strange that the Christian Magistrates alone should have an Exercise of coercive Power in Matters of Religion; and yet our Saviour should say nothing of it, but leave them to that Commission which was common to them with all other Magistrates. The Christian Religion in Cases of less moment is not wanting in its Rules; and I know not whether you will not charge the New Testament with a great Defect, if that Law alone which teaches the only true Religion, that Law which all Magistrates who are of the true Religion, receive and embrace, should say nothing at all of so necessary and important a Duty to those who alone are in a Capacity to discharge it, but leave them only to that general Law of Nature, which others who are not qualified to use this Force, have in common with them.

This at least seems needful, if a new Commission does not, that the Christian Magistrates should have been instructed what Degree of Force they should use, and been limited to your moderate Penalties; since for above these 1200 Years, though they have readily enough found out your Commission to use Force, they never found out your moderate use of it, which is that alone which you assure us is useful and necessary.

2. You say, *If our Saviour had any Temporal Power to give*; whereby you seem to give this as a Reason why he gave not the Civil Magistrate Power to use Force in Matters of Religion, that he had it not to give. You tell us in the same Paragraph, that he is *King of Kings*; and he tells us himself, *That all Power is given unto him in Heaven and in Earth*: So that he could have given what Power, to whom, and to what Purpose he had pleased: and concerning this there needs no if.

3. *For he found him already by the Law of Nature invested with coercive Power, and obliged to use it for all the good Purposes which it might serve, and for which it should be found needful.* He found also Fathers, Husbands, Masters, invested with their distinct Powers by the same Law, and under the same Obligation; and yet he thought it needful to prescribe to them in the use of those Powers: But *there was no need he should do so to the Civil Magistrates in the use of their Power in Matters of Religion*; because tho' Fathers, Husbands, Masters, were liable to Excess in the Use of theirs, yet Christian Magistrates were not, as appears by their having always kept to those moderate Measures, which you assure us to be the only necessary and useful.

And what at last is their Commission? Even that of Charity, which obliges all Men to seek and promote the Good of others, especially their Spiritual and Eternal Good, by such means as their several Places and Relations enable them to use, especially Magistrates as Magistrates. This Duty of Charity is well discharged by the Magistrate as Magistrate, is it not? in bringing Men to an outward Profession of any, even of the true Religion, and leaving them there? But, Sir, I ask you who must be Judge, what is for the Spiritual and Eternal Good of his Subjects, the Magistrate himself or no? If not he himself, who for him? Or can it be done without any one's judging at all? If he, the Magistrate, must judge every where himself what is for the spiritual and eternal Good of his Subjects, as I see no help for it; if the Magistrate be every where by the Law of Nature obliged to promote their Spiritual and Eternal Good, is not the true Religion like to find great Advantage in the World by the use of Force in the Magistrate's Hands? And is not this a plain Demonstration that God has by the Law of Nature given Commission to the Magistrate to use Force for the promoting the true Religion, since (as it is evident) the Execution of such a Commission will do so much more Harm than Good?

To shew that your indirect and at a distance Usefulness, with a general necessity of Force, authorizes the Civil Power in the use of it, you use the following Words, *That Force does some service towards the making of Scholars and Artists, I suppose you will easily grant. Give me leave therefore to ask, how it does it? I suppose you will say, not by its direct and proper Efficacy, (for Force is no more capable to work Learning or Arts, than the Belief of the true Religion in Men, by its direct and proper Efficacy;) but by prevailing upon those who are designed for Scholars or Artists, to receive Instruction, and to apply themselves to the Use of those Means and Helps which are proper to make them what they are designed to be: that is, it does it indirectly, and at a distance. Well then, if all the Usefulness of the Force towards the bringing Scholars or Apprentices to the Learning or Skill they are designed to attain, be only an indirect and at a distance Usefulness*

ness; I pray what is it that warrants and authorizes School-masters, Tutors or Masters, to use Force upon their Scholars or Apprentices, to bring them to Learning, or the Skill of their Arts and Trades, if such an indirect, and at a distance Usefulness of Force, together with that Necessity of it which Experience discovers, will not do it? I believe you will acknowledge that even such an Usefulness, together with that Necessity, will serve the turn in these Cases. But then I would fain know, why the same kind of Usefulness, joined with the like Necessity, will not as well do it in the case before us? I confess I see no reason why it should not; nor do I believe you can assign any. You ask here, what authorizes Schoolmasters or Masters to use Force on their Scholars and Apprentices, if such an indirect and at a distance Usefulness, together with Necessity, does not do it? I answer, neither your indirect, and at a distance Usefulness, nor the Necessity you suppose of it. For I do not think you will say, that any Schoolmaster has a Power to teach; much less to use Force on any one's Child, without the Consent and Authority of the Father; but a Father, you will say, has a Power to use Force to correct his Child to bring him to Learning or Skill in that Trade he is designed to; and to this the Father is authorized by the Usefulness and Necessity of Force. This I deny, that the there-supposed Usefulness and Necessity of Force authorizes the Father to use it; for then whenever he judg'd it useful and necessary for his Son, to prevail with him to apply himself to any Trade, he might use Force upon him to that purpose; which I think neither you nor any body else will say, a Father has a right to do on his idle and perhaps married Son at 30 or 40 Years old.

There is then something else in the case; and whatever it be that authorizes the Father to use Force upon his Child, to make him a Proficient in it, authorizes him also to chuse that Trade, Art or Science he would have him a Proficient in: for the Father can no longer use Force upon his Son, to make him attain any Art or Trade, than he can prescribe to him the Art or Trade he is to attain. Put your Parallel now if you please: The Father by the Usefulness and Necessity of Force is authorized to use it upon his Child, to make him attain any Art or Science; therefore the Magistrate is authorized to use Force to bring Men to the true Religion, because it is useful and necessary. Thus far you have used it, and you think it does well. But let us go on with the Parallel: This Usefulness and Necessity of Force authorizes the Father to use it, to make his Son apply himself to the use of the Means and Helps which are proper to make him *what he is designed to be*, no longer than it authorizes the Father to design what his Son shall be, and to chuse for him the Art or Trade he shall be of: and so the Usefulness and Necessity you suppose in Force to bring Men to any Church, cannot authorize the Magistrate to use Force any farther, than he has a right to chuse for any one what Church or Religion he shall be of. So that if you will stick to this Argument, and allow the Parallel between a Magistrate and a Father, and the right they have to use Force for the instructing of their Subjects in Religion, and Children in Arts, you must either allow the Magistrate to have Power to chuse what Religion his Subjects shall be of, which you have denied, or else that he has no Power to use Force to make them use means to be of it.

A Father being entrusted with the Care and Provision for his Child, is as well bound in Duty, as fitted by natural Love and Tenderneſs, to supply the Defects of his tender Age. When it is born the Child cannot move it self for the Ease and Help of natural Necessities; the Parents Hands must supply that Inability, and feed, cleanse and swaddle it. Age having given more Strength, and the exercise of the Limbs, the Parents are discharged from the trouble of putting Meat into the Mouth of the Child, clothing or unclothing, or carrying him in their Arms. The same Duty and Affection which required such kind of Helps to the Infant, makes them extend their Thoughts to other Cares for him when he is grown a little bigger; 'tis not only a present Support, but a future comfortable Subsistence begins to be thought on: To this some Art or Science is necessary, but the Child's Ignorance and want of Prospect makes him unable to chuse. And hence the Father has a Power to chuse for him, that the flexible and docile part of Life may not be squandred away, and the time of Instruction and Improvement be lost for want of Direction. The Trade or Art being chosen by the Father, 'tis the Exercise and Industry of the Child must acquire it to himself: But Industry usually wanting in Children, the Spur which Reason and Foresight gives to the Endeavours of grown Men, the Father's Rod and Correction is fain to supply that Want, to make him *apply himself to the use of those Means and Helps which are proper to make him what he is designed to be*. But when the Child is once come to the State

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of Manhood, and to be the Possessor and free Disposer of his Goods and Estate, he is then discharged from this Discipline of his Parents, and they have no longer any right to chuse any Art, Science, or Course of Life for him, or by Force to make him apply himself to the use of those Means which are proper to make him be *what he designs to be*. Thus the want of Knowledge to chuse a fit Calling, and want of Knowledge of the Necessity of Pains and Industry to attain Skill in it, puts a Power into the Parents Hands to use Force where it is necessary to procure the Application and Diligence of their Children in that, which their Parents have thought fit to set them to; but it gives this Power to the Parents only, and to no other, whilst they live; and if they die whilst their Children need it, to their Substitutes; and there it is safely placed: for since their want of Knowledge during their Nonage, makes them want Direction; and want of Reason often makes them need Punishment and Force to excite their Endeavours, and keep them intent to the use of those means that lead to the End they are directed to, the Tenderness and Love of Parents will engage them to use it only for their Good, and generally to quit it too, when by the Title of Manhood they come to be above the Direction and Discipline of Children. But how does this prove that the Magistrate has any right to force Men to *apply themselves to the use of those Means and Helps which are proper to make them of any Religion*, more than it proves that the Magistrate has a right to chuse for them what Religion they shall be of?

To your Question therefore, *What is it that warrants and authorizes Schoolmasters, Tutors and Masters to use Force upon their Scholars or Apprentices?* I answer, A Commission from the Father or Mother, or those who supply their Places; for without that no indirect, or at a distance Usefulness, or supposed Necessity, could authorize them.

But then you will ask, Is it not this Usefulness and Necessity that gives this Power to the Father and Mother? I grant it. *I would fain know then, say you, why the same Usefulness joined with the like Necessity, will not as well do in the Case before us?* And I, Sir, will as readily tell you: Because the Understanding of the Parents is to supply the want of it in the Minority of their Children, and therefore they have a right not only to use Force to make their Children apply themselves to the means of acquiring any Art or Trade, but to chuse also the Trade or Calling they shall be of. But when being come out of the State of Minority, they are supposed of Years of Discretion to chuse what they will design themselves to be, they are also at liberty to judge what Application and Industry they will use for the attaining of it; and then how negligent soever they are in the use of the means, how averse soever to Instruction or Application, they are past the Correction of a Schoolmaster, and their Parents can no longer chuse or design for them what they shall be, nor use Force to prevail with them to *apply themselves to the use of those Means and Helps which are proper to make them what they are designed to be*. He that imagines a Father or Tutor may send his Son to School at thirty or forty Years old, and order him to be whipp'd there, or that any indirect, and at a distance Usefulness will authorize him to be so used, will be thought fitter to be sent thither himself, and there to receive due Correction.

When you have consider'd 'tis otherwise in the case of the Magistrate using Force your way in matters of Religion; that there his Understanding is not to supply the defect of Understanding in his Subjects, and that only for a time; that he cannot chuse for any of his Subjects what Religion he shall be of, as you your self confess; and that this Power of the Magistrate, if it be (as is claimed by you) over Men of all Ages, Parts and Endowments, you will perhaps see some reason why it should not do in the Case before us, as well as in that of Schoolmasters and Tutors, though you believe I cannot assign any. But, Sir, will your indirect and at a distance Usefulness, together with your supposed Necessity, authorize the Master of the Shoe-makers Company to take any one who comes in his Hands, and punish him for not being of the Shoe-makers Company, and not coming to their Guild, when he, who has a right to chuse of what Trade and Company he will be, thinks it not his Interest to be a Shoe-maker? Nor can he or any body else imagine that this Force, this Punishment is used to make him a good Shoe-maker, when it is seen and avowed that the Punishments cease, and they are free from it who enter themselves of the Company, whether they are really Shoe-makers, or in earnest apply themselves to be so or no. How much it differs from this, that the Magistrate should punish Men for not being of his Church, who chuse not to be of it, and when they are once entred into the Communion of it, are punished no more, though they are as ignorant, unskilful, and unpractised in the Religion of it as before: how much, I say, this differs from the Case I proposed,

posed, I leave you to consider. For after all your Pretences of using Force for the *Salvation of Souls*, and consequently to make *Men really Christians*, you are fain to allow, and you give Reasons for it, that Force is used only to those who are out of your Church: but whoever are once in it, are free from Force, whether they be *really Christians*, and apply themselves to those things which are for the *Salvation of their Souls*, or no.

As to what you say, That whether they chuse it or no, they ought to chuse it; for your Magistrate's Religion is the true Religion, that is the Question between you and them: but be that as it will, if Force be to be used in the case, I have proved that, be the Magistrate's Religion true or false, he, whilst he believes it to be true, is under an Obligation to use Force, as if it were true.

But since you think your Instance of Children so weighty and pressing, give me leave to return you your Question; I ask you then, Are not Parents as much *authorized* to teach their Children their Religion, as they are to teach them their Trade, when they have *designed* them to it? May they not as lawfully correct them to make them learn their Catechise, or the Principles of their Religion, as they may to make them learn *Clenard's Grammar*? Or may they not use Force to make them go to Mass, or whatever they believe to be the Worship of the true Religion, as to go to School, or to learn any Art or Trade? If they may, as I think you will not deny, unless you will say, that none but Orthodox Parents may teach their Children any Religion: If they may, I say then, pray tell me a Reason (if your Arguments from the Discipline of Children be good) why the Magistrate may not use Force to bring Men to his Religion, as well as Parents may use Force to instruct Children, and bring them up in theirs? When you have considered this, you will perhaps find some difference between the State of Children and grown Men, betwixt those under Tutelage, and those who are free and at their own Disposal; and be inclined to think that those Reasons which subject Children in their Non-age to the use of Force, may not, nor do concern Men at Years of Discretion.

You tell us farther, That *Commonwealths are instituted for the attaining of all the Benefits which Political Government can yield: and therefore if the spiritual and eternal Interests of Men may any way be procured or advanced by Political Government, the procuring and advancing those Interests must in all Reason be received amongst the Ends of Civil Society, and so consequently fall within the compass of the Magistrate's Jurisdiction.* Concerning the Extent of the Magistrate's Jurisdiction, and the Ends of Civil Society, whether the Author or you have begg'd the Question, which is the chief business of your 56th, and two or three following Pages, I shall leave it to the Readers to judge, and bring the matter, if you please, to a shorter Issue. The Question is, Whether the Magistrate has any Power to interpose Force in matters of Religion, or for the Salvation of Souls? The Argument against it is, That Civil Societies are not constituted for that End, and the Magistrate cannot use Force for Ends for which the Commonwealth was not constituted. A. p. 18.

The End of a Commonwealth constituted can be supposed no other, than what Men in the Constitution of, and entering into it propos'd; and that could be nothing but Protection from such Injuries from other Men, which they desiring to avoid, nothing but Force could prevent or remedy: all things but this being as well attainable by Men living in Neighbourhood without the Bonds of a Commonwealth, they could propose to themselves no other thing but this in quitting their natural Liberty, and putting themselves under the Umpirage of a *Civil Sovereign*, who therefore had the Force of all the Members of the Commonwealth put into his Hands, to make his Decrees to this end be obeyed. Now since no Man, or Society of Men can by their Opinions in Religion, or Ways of Worship, do any Man who differed from them, any Injury, which he could not avoid or redress, if he desired it, without the help of Force; the punishing any Opinion in Religion, or Ways of Worship by the Force given the Magistrate, could not be intended by those who constituted, or entered into the Commonwealth, and so could be no End of it, but quite the contrary. For Force from a stronger Hand to bring a Man to a Religion, which another thinks the true, being an Injury which in the State of Nature every one would avoid, Protection from such Injury is one of the Ends of a Commonwealth, and so every Man has a right to Toleration.

If you will say, that Commonwealths are not voluntary Societies constituted by Men, and by Men freely entered into, I shall desire you to prove it.

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In the mean time allowing it you for good, that Commonwealths are constituted by God for Ends which he has appointed, without the Consent and Contrivance of Men. If you say, that one of those Ends is the Propagation of the true Religion, and the Salvation of Mens Souls; I shall desire you to shew me any such End expressly appointed by God in Revelation; which since, as you confess, you cannot do, you have recourse to the general Law of Nature; and what is that? The Law of Reason, whereby every one is commissioned to do good. And the propagating the true Religion for the Salvation of Mens Souls, being doing good, you say, the *Civil Sovereigns* are commissioned and required by that Law to use their Force for those Ends. But since by this Law all *Civil Sovereigns* are commissioned and obliged alike to use their *coactive Power* for the propagating the true Religion, and the Salvation of Souls; and it is not possible for them to execute such a Commission, or obey that Law, but by using Force to bring Men to that Religion which they judge the true; by which use of Force, much more harm than good would be done towards the propagating the true Religion in the World, as I have shewed elsewhere: Therefore no such Commission, whose Execution would do more harm than good, more hinder than promote the End for which it is supposed given, can be a Commission from God by the Law of Nature. And this I suppose may satisfy you about the End of Civil Societies or Commonwealths, and answer what you say concerning the Ends attainable by them.

But that you may not think the great Position of yours, which is so often usher'd in with *doubtless*, (for which you imagine you have sufficient warrant in a misapplied School-Maxim) is past over too slightly, and is not sufficiently answered; I shall give you that farther Satisfaction.

Pag. 58.

You say, *Civil Societies are instituted for the attaining all the Benefits which Civil Society or Political Government can yield*; and the reason you give for it, because it has hitherto been universally acknowledged that no Power is given in vain: And therefore if I except any of those Benefits, I shall be obliged to admit that the Power of attaining them was given in vain. And if I do admit it, no harm will follow in human Affairs: Or if I may borrow an elegant Expression of yours out of the foregoing Leaf, *The Fortune of Europe does not turn upon it*. In the voluntary Institution, and bestowing of Power, there is no Absurdity or Inconvenience at all, that Power, sufficient for several Ends, should be limited by those that give the Power only to one or some part of them. The Power which a General, commanding a potent Army, has, may be enough to take more Towns than one from the Enemy; or to suppress a domestick Sedition, and yet the Power of attaining those Benefits, which is in his Hand, will not authorize him to employ the Force of the Army therein, if he be commission'd only to besiege and take one certain Place. So it is in a Commonwealth. The Power that is in the Civil Sovereign is the Force of all the Subjects of the Commonwealth, which supposing it sufficient for other Ends, than the preserving the Members of the Commonwealth in Peace from Injury and Violence: Yet if those who gave him that Power, limited the Application of it to that sole End, no Opinion of any other Benefits attainable by it can authorize him to use it otherwise.

Matth. 18. 18.

Our Saviour tells us expressly, That *all Power was given him in Heaven and Earth*. By which Power I imagine you will not say, that the *spiritual and eternal Interest* of those Men whom you think need the Help of Political Force, and of all other Men too, could not any way be procured or advanced; and yet if you will hear him in another Place, you will find this Power (which being all Power, could certainly have wrought on all Men) limited to a certain Number: He says, *Thou hast given him [i. e. thy Son] Power over all Flesh, that he should give Eternal Life to as many as thou hast given him*. Whether your universally acknowledged Maxim of Logick be true enough to authorize you to say, that any part of this Power was given him in vain, and to enable you to draw Consequences from it, you were best see.

Joh. 17.2.

Pag. 56.

But were your Maxim so true that it proved, that since it might indirectly and at a distance do some Service towards the *procuring or advancing the spiritual Interest* of some few Subjects of a Commonwealth, therefore Force was to be employed to that End; yet that will scarce make good this Doctrine of yours; Doubtless, *Commonwealths are instituted for the attaining all those Benefits which Political Government can yield*; therefore if the *spiritual and eternal Interests of Men* may any

any way be procured or advanced by Political Government, the procuring and advancing those Interests must in all reason be reckoned among the Ends of Civil Societies, and so consequently fall within the Compass of the Magistrate's Jurisdiction. For granting it true that Commonwealths are instituted for the attaining all those Benefits which Political Government can yield; it does not follow that the procuring and advancing the spiritual and eternal Interest of some few Members of the Commonwealth by an Application of Power, which indirectly, and at a distance, or by Accident, may do some Service that way, whilst at the same time it prejudices a far greater Number in their Civil Interests, can with reason be reckon'd amongst the Ends of Civil Society.

That Commonwealths are instituted for these Ends, viz. for the procuring, preserving, and advancing Mens Civil Interests, you say, No Man will deny. To sacrifice therefore these Civil Interests of a great Number of People, which are the allowed Ends of the Commonwealths, to the uncertain Expectation of some Service to be done indirectly and at a distance to a far less Number, as Experience has always shewed those really converted to the true Religion by Force to be, if any at all, cannot be one of the Ends of the Commonwealth. Though the advancing of the spiritual and eternal Interest be of infinite Advantage to the Persons who receive that Benefit, yet if it can be thought a Benefit to the Commonwealth when it is procured them with the diminishing or destroying the Civil Interests of great Numbers of their Fellow-Citizens, then the ravaging of an Enemy, the Plague, or a Famine may be said to bring a Benefit to the Commonwealth: For either of these may indirectly and at a distance do some Service towards the advancing or procuring the spiritual and eternal Interest of some of those who suffer in it. Pag. 55.

In the two latter Paragraphs you except against my want of Exactness, in setting down your Opinion I am arguing against. Had it been any way to take off the Force of what you say, or that the Reader could have been misled by my Words in any part of the Question I was arguing against, you had had reason to complain: if not, you had done better to have entertain'd the Reader with a clearer Answer to my Argument, than spent your Ink and his Time needlessly, to shew such Niceness. Pag. 57.

My Argument is as good against your Tenet in your own Words, as in mine which you except against: Your Words are, Doubtless Commonwealths are instituted for the attaining all the Benefits which Political Government can yield; and therefore if the spiritual and eternal Interest of Men may any way be procured or advanced by Political Government, the procuring and advancing those Interests must in all reason be reckon'd amongst the Ends of Civil Societies. A. p. 18.

To which I answer'd, That if this be so, "Then this Position must be true, viz. L. 2. p. 18.
 "That all Societies whatsoever are instituted for the attaining all the Benefits that
 "they may any way yield; there being nothing peculiar to Civil Society in the
 "Case, why that Society should be instituted for the attaining all the Benefits it can
 "any way yield, and other Societies not. By which Argument it will follow, that
 "all Societies are instituted for one and the same End, i. e. for the attaining all
 "the Benefits that they can any way yield. By which Account there will be no Dif-
 "ference between Church and State, a Commonwealth and an Army, or between
 "a Family and the East-India Company; all which have hitherto been thought
 "distinct sorts of Societies, instituted for different Ends. If your Hypothesis hold
 "good, one of the Ends of the Family must be to preach the Gospel, and admi-
 "nister the Sacraments; and one Business of an Army to teach Languages, and
 "propagate Religion; because these are Benefits some way or other attainable by
 "those Societies; unless you take want of Commission and Authority to be a suf-
 "ficient Impediment: And that will be so in other Cases. To which you reply,
 "Nor will it follow from hence, that all Societies are instituted for one and the same End, Pag. 58.
 "(as you imagine it will) unless you suppose all Societies enabled by the Power they are
 "endued with to attain the same End, which I believe no Man hitherto did ever affirm.
 "And therefore, notwithstanding this Position, there may be still as great a Difference as
 "you please between Church and State, a Commonwealth and an Army, or between a
 "Family and the East-India Company. Which several Societies, as they are instituted
 "for different Ends, so are they likewise furnished with different Powers proportionate to
 "their respective Ends. In which the reason you give to destroy my Inference, I am
 "to thank you for, if you understood the Force of it, it being the very same I bring
 "to shew that my Inference from your way of arguing is good. I say, that from
 "your

your way of reasonings about the Ends of Government, "It would follow that all Societies were instituted for one and the same End; unless you take want of Commission and Authority to be a sufficient Impediment. And you tell me here it will not follow, *unless I suppose all Societies enabled by the Powers they are endued with, to attain the same End*; which in other Words is, unless I suppose all who have in their Hands the Force of any Society, to have all of them the same Commission.

The natural Force of all the Members of any Society, or of those who by the Society can be procured to assist it, is in one Sense called the Power of that Society. This Power or Force is generally put into some one or few Persons Hands with Direction and Authority how to use it; and this in another Sense is called also the Power of the Society: And this is the Power you here speak of, and in these following Words, *viz. Several Societies, as they are instituted for different Ends; so likewise are they furnished with different Powers proportionate to their respective Ends.* The Power therefore of any Society in this Sense, is nothing but the Authority and Direction given to those that have the Management of the Force or natural Power of the Society, how and to what Ends to use it, by which Commission the Ends of Societies are known and distinguished. So that all Societies wherein those who are intrusted with the Management of the Force or natural Power of the Society, have Commission and Authority to use the Force or natural Power of the Society, to attain the same Benefits, are instituted for the same End. And therefore, if in all Societies those who have the Management of the Force or natural Power of the Society, are commission'd or authorized to use that Force to attain all the Benefits attainable by it, all Societies are instituted to the same End: And so what I said will still be true, *viz.* "That a Family and an Army, a Commonwealth and a Church, have all the same End. And if your Hypothesis hold good, one of the Ends of a Family must be to preach the Gospel, and administer the Sacraments; and one Business of an Army to teach Languages, and propagate Religion, because these are Benefits *some way or other attainable* by those Societies; unless you take want of Commission and Authority to be a sufficient Impediment: And that will be so too in other Cases. To which you have said nothing but what does confirm it, which you will a little better see, when you have considered that any Benefit attainable by Force or natural Power of a Society, does not prove the Society to be instituted for that End, till you also shew, that those to whom the Management of the Force of the Society is intrusted, are commission'd to use it to that End.

And therefore to your next Paragraph, I shall think it Answer enough to print here side by side with it, that Paragraph of mine to which you intended it as an Answer.

L. 2. p. 283. "Tis a Benefit to have true Knowledge and Philosophy embraced and assented to, in any Civil Society or Government. But will you say, therefore, that it is a Benefit to the Society, or one of the Ends of Government, that all who are not Peripateticks should be punished, to make Men find out the Truth, and profess it? This indeed might be thought a fit way to make some Men embrace the Peripatetick Philosophy, but not a proper way to find the Truth. For, perhaps the Peripatetick Philosophy may not be true; perhaps a great many have not Time, nor Parts to study it; perhaps a great many who have studied it, cannot be convinced of the Truth of it: And therefore it cannot be a Benefit to the Commonwealth, nor one of the Ends of it, that these Members of the Society should be disturb'd, and diseas'd to no purpose, when they are guilty of no Fault. For

L. 3. p. 58. To your next Paragraph, after what has already been said, I think it may suffice to say as follows. Though perhaps the Peripatetick Philosophy may not be true, (and perhaps it is no great matter, if it be not) yet the true Religion is undoubtedly true. And though perhaps a great many have not Time, nor Parts to study that Philosophy, (and perhaps it may be no great matter neither, if they have not) yet all that have the true Religion duly tender'd them, have time, and all, but Idiots and Madmen, have Parts likewise to study it, as much as it is necessary for them to study it. And though perhaps a great many who have studied that Philosophy cannot be convinced of the Truth of it, (which perhaps is no great wonder) yet no Man ever studied the true Religion with such Care and Diligence as he might and ought to use, and

“ For just the same reason, it cannot be a
 “ Benefit to Civil Society, that Men should
 “ be punished in *Denmark* for not being *Lutherans*, in *Geneva* for not being *Calvinists*, and in *Vienna* for not being *Papists*,
 “ as a means to make them find out the true
 “ Religion. For so, upon your grounds, Men
 “ must be treated in those Places as well as in
 “ *England*, for not being of the Church of *England*. And then, I beseech you, consider the
 “ great Benefit will accrue to Men in Society
 “ by this Method; and I suppose it will be a
 “ hard thing for you to prove, That ever
 “ Civil Governments were instituted to punish Men for not being of this or that
 “ Sect in Religion; however by Accident,
 “ indirectly, and at a distance, it may be an
 “ Occasion to one perhaps of a thousand,
 “ or an hundred, to study that Controversy,
 “ which is all you expect from it. If
 “ it be a Benefit, pray tell me what Benefit
 “ it is. A Civil Benefit it cannot be. For
 “ Mens Civil Interests are disturb’d, injur’d,
 “ and impair’d by it. And what Spiritual
 “ Benefit that can be to any Multitude of
 “ Men to be punished for dissenting from a
 “ false or erroneous Profession, I would have
 “ you find out; unless it be a spiritual Benefit to be in danger to be driven into a
 “ wrong way. For if in all differing Sects,
 “ one is in the wrong, ’tis a hundred to
 “ one but that from which any one dissents,
 “ and is punished for dissenting from, is the
 “ wrong.

and with an honest Mind, but he was convinced of the Truth of it. And that those who cannot otherwise be brought to do this, shall be a little disturb’d and diseas’d to bring them to it, I take to be the Interest, not only of those particular Persons who by this means may be brought into the way of Salvation, but of the Commonwealth likewise, upon these two Accounts.

1. Because the true Religion, which this Method propagates, makes good Men; and good Men are always the best Subjects, or Members of a Commonwealth; not only as they do more sincerely and zealously promote the Publick Good than other Men; but likewise in regard of the Favour of God, which they often procure to the Societies of which they are Members. And,

2. Because this Care in any Commonwealth, of God’s Honour and Mens Salvation, entitles it to his special Protection and Blessing. So that where this Method is used, it proves both a Spiritual and a Civil Benefit to the Commonwealth.

You tell us, *the true Religion is undoubtedly true*. If you had told us too, who is undoubtedly Judge of it, you had put all past doubt: but till you will be pleased to determine that, it would be undoubtedly true, that the King of *Denmark* is as undoubtedly Judge of it at *Copenhagen*, and the Emperor at *Vienna*, as the King of *England* in this Island: I do not say they judge as right, but they are by as much Right Judges, and therefore have as much Right to punish those who dissent from Lutheranism and Popery in those Countries, as any other Civil Magistrate has to punish any Dissenters from the National Religion any where else. And who can deny but these *Briers and Thorns* laid in their way by the penal Laws of those Countries, may do some Service indirectly and at a distance, to bring Men there severely and impartially to examine matters of Religion, and so to embrace the Truth that must save them, which the bare outward Profession of any Religion in the World will not do?

This true Religion which is undoubtedly true, you tell us too, never any body studied with such Care and Diligence as he might and ought to use, and with an honest Mind, but he was convinced of the Truth of it.

If you will resolve it in your short circular way, and tell me such Diligence as one ought to use, is such Diligence as brings one to be convinced, it is a Question too easy to be asked. If I should desire to know plainly what is to be understood by it, it would be a Question too hard for you to answer, and therefore I shall not trouble you with demanding what this Diligence, which a Man may and ought to use, is; nor what you mean by an honest Mind. I only ask you, whether Force, your way applied, be able to produce them? that so the Commonwealth may have the Benefits you propose from Mens being convinced of, and consequently embracing the true Religion, which you say no body can miss, who is brought to that Diligence, and that honest Mind.

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The Benefits to the Commonwealth are, 1. That *the true Religion that this Method propagates, makes good Men, and good Men are always the best Subjects, and often procure the Favour of God to the Society they are Members of.* Being forward enough to grant that nothing contributes so much to the Benefit of a Society, as that it be made up of good Men, I began presently to give in to your Method, which promises so sure a way to make Men so *study the true Religion, that they cannot miss the being convinced of the Truth of it, and so hardly avoid being really of the true Religion, and consequently good Men.* But that I might not mistake in a thing of that consequence, I began to look about in those Countries where Force had been made use of to propagate what you allowed to be the true Religion, and found Complaints of as great a Scarcity of good Men there, as in other Places. A Friend whom I discoursed on this Point, said, It might possibly be that the World had not yet had the Benefit of your Method; because Law-makers had not yet been able to find that just Temper of Penalties on which your Propagation of the true Religion was built; and that therefore it was great Pity you had not yet discovered this great Secret, but 'twas to be hoped you would. Another, who stood by, said, he did not see how your Method could make Men it wrought on, and brought to Conformity, better than others, unless corrupt Nature with Impunity were like to produce better Men in one outward Profession than in another. To which I replied, That we did not look on Conformists through a due Medium; for if we did with you allow it *presumable* that all who conformed did it upon *Conviction*, there could be no just Complaint of the Scarcity of good Men: And so we got over that Difficulty.

The second Benefit you say your use of Force brings to the Commonwealth, is, That *this Care in any Commonwealth, of God's Honour and Mens Salvation, entitles it to his special Protection and Blessing.* Then certainly all Commonwealths, that have any regard to the *Protection and Blessing of God*, will not neglect to *intitle themselves* to it, by using of Force to promote that Religion they believe to be true. But I beseech you what Care is this of *the Honour of God, and Mens Salvation*, you speak of? Is it, as you have owned it, a Care by Penalties make Men outwardly conform, and without any farther Care or Enquiry to presume that they do it *upon Conviction*, and with a sincere embracing of, and Obedience to the Truth? But if the *Honour of God, and Mens Salvation*, consists not in an outward Conformity to any Religion, but in something farther, what Blessing they may expect whose Care goes so far, and then *presume* the rest, which is the hardest part, and therefore least to be *presumed*, the Prophet *Jeremy* will tell you, who says, *Cursed be he that does the Work of the Lord negligently: Which those who think it is the Magistrate's Business to use Force to bring Men heartily to embrace the Truth that must save them, were best seriously to consider.*

Chap. 48
10.

Pag. 59.

Your next Paragraph containing nothing but Positions of yours, which you suppose elsewhere proved, and I elsewhere examined, 'tis not fit the Reader should be troubled any farther about them.

Pag. 60.

I once knew a Gentleman, who having crack'd himself with an ungovernable Ambition, could never afterwards hear the Place he aimed at mentioned, without shewing marks of his Distemper. I know not what the matter is, that when there comes in your way but the mention of Secular Power in your or Ecclesiastick Hands, you cannot contain your self: We have Instances of it in other parts of your Letter; and here again you fall into a Fit, which since it produces rather marks of your Breeding, than arguments for your Cause, I shall leave them as they are to the Reader; if you can make them go down with him for Reasons from a grave Man; or for a sober Answer to what I say in that and the following Paragraph.

Pag. 61.

Much what of the same size is your ingenious Reply to what I say in the next Paragraph, *viz.* "That Commonwealths, or Civil Societies and Governments, if you will believe the judicious Mr. Hooker, are, as St. Peter calls them, *invented*

1Pet. 2. 13.

"*the Contrivance and Institution of Man.*" To which you smartly reply, for your Choler was up, *'Tis well for St. Peter that he had the judicious Mr. Hooker on his side.* And it would have been well for you too to have seen that Mr. Hooker's Authority was made use of not to confirm the Authority of St. Peter, but to confirm that Sense I gave of St. Peter's Words, which is not so clear in our Translation, but that there are those who, as I doubt not but you know, do not allow of it. But this being said when Passion it seems rather employed your Wit than your Judgment, though

though nothing to the Purpose, may yet perhaps indirectly and at a distance do some Service.

And now, Sir, if you can but imagine that Men in the corrupt State of Nature might be authorized and required by Reason, the Law of Nature, to avoid the Inconveniences of that State, and to that purpose to put the Power of governing them into some one or more Mens Hands, in such Forms, and under such Agreements as they should think fit: which Governours so set over them for a good End by their own Choice, though they received all their Power from those, who by the Law of Nature had a Power to confer it on them, may very fitly be called *Powers ordained of God*; being chosen and appointed by those who had Authority from God so to do. (For he that receives Commission (limited according to the Discretion of him that gives it) from another who had Authority from his Prince so to do, may truly be said, so far as his Commission reaches, to be appointed or ordained by the Prince himself.) It may serve as an Answer to your two next Paragraphs, and to shew that there is no Opposition or Difficulty in all that St. Peter, St. Paul, or the judicious Mr. Hooker says; nor any thing, in what either of them says, to your Purpose. And tho' it be true, those Powers that are, *are ordained of God*; yet it may nevertheless be true, that the Power any one has, and the Ends for which he has it, may be by the Contrivance and Appointment of Men.

To my saying, "The Ends of Commonwealths appointed by the Institutors of them, could not be their Spiritual and Eternal Interest, because they could not stipulate about those one with another, nor submit this Interest to the Power of the Society, or any Sovereign they should set over them. You reply, *Very true, Sir; but they can submit to be punished in their Temporal Interest, if they despise or neglect those greater Interests.*" How they can submit to be punished by any Men in their Temporal Interest, for that which they cannot submit to be judg'd by any Man, when you can shew, I shall admire your Politicks. Besides, if the Compact about Matters of Religion be, that those should be punished in their Temporal, who neglect or despise their Eternal Interest, who I beseech you is by this Agreement rather to be punished, a sober Dissenter, who appears concerned for Religion and his Salvation, or an irreligious prophane or debauched Conformist? By such as *despise or neglect those greater Interests*, you here mean only Dissenters from the National Religion: for those only you punish, though you represent them under such a Description as belongs not peculiarly to them; but that matters not, so long as it best suits your Occasion.

In your next Paragraph you wonder at my *News from the West-Indies*, I suppose because you found it not in your Books of *Europe* or *Asia*. But whatever you may think, I assure you all the World is not *Mile-End*. But that you may be no more surprized with News, let me ask you, Whether it be not possible that Men, to whom the Rivers and Woods afforded the spontaneous Provisions of Life, and so with no private Possessions of Land, had no enlarged Desires after Riches or Power, should live together in Society, make one People of one Language under one Chieftain, who shall have no other Power but to command them in time of War against their common Enemies, without any municipal Laws, Judges, or any Person with Superiority, establish'd amongst them, but ended all their private Differences, if any arose, by the extemporary Determination of their Neighbours, or of Arbitrators chosen by the Parties. I ask you whether in such a Commonwealth, the Chieftain who was the only Man of Authority amongst them, had any Power to use the Force of the Commonwealth to any other End but the Defence of it against an Enemy, though other Benefits were attainable by it?

The Paragraph of mine to which you mean your next for an Answer, shall answer for it self.

L. 2. p. 286. "You quote the Author's Argument, which he brings to prove that the Care of Souls is not committed to the Magistrate, in these Words: *It is not committed to him by God, because it appears not God has ever given any such Authority to one Man over another, as to compel any one to his Religion.* This, when first I read it, I confess I thought a good Argument. But you say, *this is quite besides the Business*; and the Reason you give, is; *For the Authority of the Magistrate is not an Authority to compel any one to his Religion, but only an Authority to procure all his*

L. 3. p. 63. *As to your next Paragraph, I think I might now wholly pass it over. I shall only tell you, that as I have often heard, so I hope*

" *Subjects the means of discovering the way of Salvation, and to pro-*
 " *cure withal, as much as in him lies, that none remain ignorant of*
 " *it, &c. I fear, Sir, you forget your self. The Author was not*
 " *writing against your new Hypothesis, before it was known in the*
 " *World. He may be excused, if he had not the Gift of Prophe-*
 " *cy, to argue against a Notion which was not yet started. He had in*
 " *View only the Laws hitherto made, and the Punishments (in*
 " *Matters of Religion) in use in the World. The Penalties, as I*
 " *take it, are laid on Men for being of different Ways of Religion:*
 " *which, what is it other but to compel them to relinquish their*
 " *own, and to conform themselves to that from which they differ?*
 " *If this be not to compel them to the Magistrate's Religion, pray*
 " *tell us what is? This must be necessarily so understood; unless it*
 " *can be supposed that the Law intends not to have that done,*
 " *which with Penalties it commands to be done; or that Punish-*
 " *ments are not Compulsion, not that Compulsion the Author*
 " *complains of. The Law says, Do this, and live; embrace this*
 " *Doctrine, conform to this way of Worship, and be at Ease and*
 " *Free; or else be Fined, Imprisoned, Banished, Burnt. If you*
 " *can shew among the Laws that have been made in England con-*
 " *cerning Religion, (and I think I may say any where else) any*
 " *one that punishes Men for not having impartially examined the Re-*
 " *ligion they have embraced or refused, I think I may yield you the*
 " *Cause. Law-makers have been generally wiser than to make*
 " *Laws that could not be executed: and therefore their Laws*
 " *were against Nonconformists, which could be known; and not*
 " *for impartial Examination, which could not. 'Twas not then*
 " *besides the Author's Business, to bring an Argument against the Persecutions here*
 " *in fashion. He did not know that any one, who was so free as to acknowledge that*
 " *the Magistrate has not an Authority to compel any one to his Religion, and thereby at*
 " *once (as you have done) give up all the Laws now in Force against Dissenters, had*
 " *yet Rods in store for them, and by a new Trick would bring them under the Lash*
 " *of the Law, when the old Pretences were too much exploded to serve any longer:*
 " *Have you never heard of such a thing as the Religion Establish'd by Law? which is*
 " *it seems the Lawful Religion of a Country, and to be complied with as such.*
 " *There being such Things, such Notions yet in the World, it was not quite besides*
 " *the Author's Business to alledge, that God never gave such Authority to one Man over*
 " *another, as to compel any one to his Religion. I will grant, if you please, Religion*
 " *Establish'd by Law is a pretty odd way of speaking in the Mouth of a Christian,*
 " *(and yet it is much in Fashion) as if the Magistrate's Authority could add any Force*
 " *or Sanction to any Religion, whether true or false. I am glad to find you have so*
 " *far considered the Magistrate's Authority, that you agree with the Author, that he*
 " *hath none to compel Men to his Religion. Much less can he, by any Establishment of*
 " *Law, add any thing to the Truth or Validity of his own, or any Religion*
 " *whatsoever.*

That above-annexed is all the Answer you think this Paragraph of mine deserves.
 But yet in that little you say, you must give me leave to take notice, *that if, as you*
say, the Magistrate's Authority may do much towards the upholding and preserving the
true Religion within his Jurisdiction; so also may it do much towards the upholding and
preserving of a false Religion, and in that respect, if you say true, may be said to esta-
blish it. For I think I need not mind you here again, that it must unavoidably depend
 upon his Opinion, what shall be established for true, or rejected as false.

And thus you have my Thoughts concerning the most material of what you say
 touching the Magistrate's Commission to use Force in Matters of Religion, together
 with some incident Places in your Answer, which I have taken notice of as they have
 come in my Way.

C H A P. III.

Who are to be punished by your Scheme.

TO justify the largeness of the Author's Toleration, who would not have Jews, Mahometans and Pagans excluded from the Civil Rights of the Commonwealth, because of their Religion; I said, "I feared it will hardly be believed, that we pray L. 2. p. 2.
 "in earnest for their Conversion, if we exclude them from the ordinary and probable
 "Means of it, either by driving them from us, or persecuting them when they are
 "among us. You reply; *Now I confess I thought Men might live quietly enough* Pag. 2.
among us, and enjoy the Protection of the Government against all Violence and In-
juries, without being endenizon'd, or made Members of the Commonwealth; which a-
lone can entitle them to the Civil Rights and Privileges of it. But as to Jews, Maho-
metans and Pagans, if any of them do not care to live among us, unless they may be admit-
ted to the Rights and Privileges of the Commonwealth; the refusing them that Favour
is not, I suppose, to be looked upon as driving them from us, or excluding them from the
ordinary and probable Means of Conversion; but as a just and necessary Caution in a
Christian Commonwealth, in respect to the Members of it: who, if such as profess Ju-
daism, or Mahometanism, or Paganism, were permitted to enjoy the same Rights with
them, would be much the more in Danger to be seduced by them; seeing they would lose
no Worldly Advantage by such a Change of their Religion: Whereas if they could not turn
to any of those Religions, without forfeiting the Civil Rights of the Commonwealth by
doing it, 'tis likely they would consider well before they did it, what Ground there was to
expect that they should get any thing by the Exchange, which would countervail the Loss
they should sustain by it. I thought Protection and Impunity of Men, not offending in
Civil Things, might have been accounted the Civil Rights of the Commonwealth,
which the Author meant: but you, to make it seem more, add the Word Privileges.
 Let it be so. Live amongst you then *Jews, Mahometans and Pagans* may; but *endenizon'd* they must not be. But why? Are there not those who are *Members* of your *Commonwealth*, who do not embrace the *Truth* that must save them, any more than they? What think you of Socinians, Papists, Anabaptists, Quakers, Presbyterians? If they do not reject the *Truth* necessary to Salvation, why do you punish them? Or if some that are in the way to Perdition, may be *Members* of the *Commonwealth*, why must these be excluded upon the account of Religion? For I think there is no great Odds, as to saving of Souls (which is the only End for which they are punished) amongst those Religions, each whereof will make those who are of it miss Salvation. Only if there be any fear of seducing those who are of the National Church, the Danger is most from that Religion which comes nearest to it, and most resembles it. However, this you think but a just and necessary Caution in a *Christian Commonwealth* in respect of the *Members* of it. I suppose (for you love to speak doubtfully) these *Members* of a *Christian Commonwealth* you take such Care of, are *Members* also of the National Church, whose Religion is the true; and therefore you call them in the next Paragraph, *Subjects of Christ's Kingdom, to whom he has a special Regard*. For Dissenters, who are punished to be made good Christians, to whom Force is used to bring them to the true Religion, and to the Communion of the Church of God, 'tis plain are not in your Opinion good Christians, or of the true Religion; unless you punish them to make them what they are already. The Dissenters therefore who are already perverted, and reject the *Truth* that must save them, you are not, I suppose, so careful of, lest they should be seduced. Those who have already the Plague, need not be guarded from Infection: nor can you fear that Men so desperately perverse, that Penalties and Punishments, joined to the Light and Strength of the *Truth*, have not been able to bring from the Opinions they have espoused, into the Communion of the Church, should be seduced to *Judaism, Mahometanism, or Paganism*, neither of which has the Advantage of Truth or Interest to prevail by. 'Tis therefore those of the National Church, as I conclude also from the close of this Paragraph, (where you speak of God's own peculiar People) whom you think would be much the more in Danger to be seduced by them, if they were endenizon'd, since they would lose no Worldly Advantage by such a Change of their Religion, i. e. by quitting the National Church, to turn *Jews, Mahometans, or Pagans*. This

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This shews, whatever you say of the *sufficient Means of Instruction provided by the Law*, how well you think the Members of the National Church are instructed in the true Religion. It shews also, whatever you say of its being *presumable* that they embrace it *upon Conviction*, how much you are satisfied that the Members of the National Church are convinc'd of the Truth of the Religion they profess, or rather herd with, since you think them in great Danger to change it for *Judaism, Mahometanism, or Paganism* it self upon equal Terms, and *because they shall lose no worldly Advantage by such a Change*. But if *the forfeiting the Civil Rights of the Commonwealth*, be the proper Remedy to keep Men in the Communion of the Church, why is it used to keep Men from *Judaism or Paganism*, and not from *Phanaticism*? Upon this Account why might not Jews, Pagans and Mahometans be admitted to the Rights of the Commonwealth, as far as Papists, Independents, and Quakers? But you distribute to every one according to your good Pleasure; and doubtless are fully justified by these following Words:

A. p. 3. *And whether this be not a reasonable and necessary Caution, any Man may judge, who does but consider within how few Ages after the Flood Superstition and Idolatry prevailed over the World, and how apt even God's own peculiar People were to receive that mortal Infection notwithstanding all that he did to keep them from it.*

What the State of Religion was in the first Ages after the Flood, is so imperfectly known now, that as I have shewed you in another Place, you can make little Advantage to your Cause from thence. And since it was the same Corruption then, which as you own, withdraws Men now from the true Religion, and hinders it from prevailing by its own Light, without the Assistance of Force; and it is the same Corruption that keeps *Dissenters*, as well as *Jews, Mahometans and Pagans*, from embracing of the Truth: why different Degrees of Punishments should be used to them, till there be found in them different Degrees of Obstinacy, would need some better Reason. Why this common *Pravity of humane Nature* should make *Judaism, Mahometanism or Paganism* more catching than any sort of Nonconformity, which hinders Men from embracing the true Religion; so that *Jews, Mahometans and Pagans* must, for fear of infecting others, be shut out from the Commonwealth, when others are not, I would fain know? Whatever it was that so disposed the Jews to Idolatry before the Captivity, sure it is, they firmly resisted it, and refused to change, not only where they might have done it on equal Terms, but have had great Advantage to boot; and therefore 'tis possible that there is something in this Matter, which neither you nor I do fully comprehend, and may with a becoming Humility sit down and confess, that in this, as well as other Parts of his Providence, God's Ways are past finding out. But this we may be certain from this Instance of the Jews, that it is not reasonable to conclude, that because they were once inclin'd to Idolatry, that therefore they, or any other People are in *Danger* to turn Pagans, whenever they *shall lose no worldly Advantage by such a Change*. But if we may oppose nearer and known Instances to more remote and uncertain, look into the World, and tell me, since Jesus Christ brought Life and Immortality to light through the Gospel, where the Christian Religion meeting *Judaism, Mahometanism or Paganism* upon equal Terms, lost so plainly by it, that you have Reason to suspect the Members of a Christian Commonwealth would be in *Danger* to be seduced to either of them, if they should lose no worldly Advantage by such a Change of their Religion, rather than likely to increase among them? Till you can find then some better Reason for excluding *Jews, &c.* from the Rights of the Commonwealth, you must give us leave to look on this as a bare Pretence. Besides, I think you are under a Mistake, which shews your Pretence against admitting *Jews, Mahometans and Pagans*, to the Civil Rights of the Commonwealth, is ill grounded; for what Law I pray is there in *England*, that they who turn to any of those Religions, forfeit the Civil Rights of the Commonwealth by doing it? Such a Law I desire you to shew me; and if you cannot, all this Pretence is out of Doors, and Men of your Church, since on that Account they would lose no worldly Advantage by the Change, are in as much Danger to be seduced, whether *Jews, Mahometans and Pagans* are endenizon'd or no.

Pag. 3. But that you may not be thought too gracious, you tell us, That as to *Pagans* particularly you are so far from thinking that they ought not to be excluded from the Civil Rights of the Commonwealth, because of their Religion, that you cannot see how their Religion can be suffered by any Commonwealth that knows and worships the only true God, if they would be thought to retain any jealousy for his Honour, or even for that of humane Nature. Thus then you order the Matter; *Jews and Mahometans* may be permitted

permitted to live in a Christian Commonwealth with the Exercise of their Religion, but not be endenizon'd: *Pagans* may also be permitted to live there, but not to have the Exercise of their Religion, nor be endenizon'd.

This according to the best of my Apprehension is the Sense of your Words; for the Clearness of your Thoughts, or your Cause does not always suffer you to speak plainly and directly; as here, having been speaking a whole Page before what Usage the Persons of Jews, Mahometans and Pagans were to have, you on a sudden tell us their Religion is not to be suffered, but say not what must be done with their Persons. For do you think it reasonable that Men who have any Religion, should live amongst you without the Exercise of that Religion, in order to their Conversion? which is no other but to make them down-right irreligious, and render the very Notion of a Deity insignificant, and of no Influence to them in order to their Conversion: It being less dangerous to Religion in general, to have Men ignorant of a Deity, and so without any Religion; than to have them acknowledge a superior Being, but yet to teach or allow them to neglect or refuse worshipping him in that way, that they believe he requires, to render them acceptable to him: It being a great deal less Fault (and that which we were every one of us once guilty of) to be ignorant of him, than acknowledging a God, and not to pay him the Honour which we think due to him. I do not see therefore how those who retain any Jealousy for the Honour of God, can permit Men to live amongst them in order to their Conversion, and require of them not to honour God according to the best of their Knowledge: unless you think it a Preparation to your true Religion, to require Men sensibly and knowingly to affront the Deity; and to persuade them that the Religion you would bring them to, can allow Men to make bold with the Sense they have of him, and to refuse him the Honour which in their Consciences they are persuaded is due to him, which must to them and every body else appear inconsistent with all Religion. Since therefore to admit their Persons without the Exercise of their Religion, cannot be reasonable, nor conducing to their Conversion; if the Exercise of their Religion, as you say, be not to be suffered among us till they are converted, I do not see how their Persons can be suffered among us, if that Exception must be added, till they are converted; and whether then they are not excluded from the ordinary means of Conversion, I leave you to consider.

Pag. 62.

I wonder this Necessity had not made you think on another way of their having the ordinary means of Conversion, without their living amongst us, that way by which in the beginning of Christianity it was brought to the Heathen World by the Travels and Preaching of the Apostles. But the Successors of the Apostles are not, it seems, Successors to this part of the Commission, *Go and teach all Nations*. And indeed it is one thing to be an Ambassador from God to People that are already converted, and have provided good Benefices, another to be an Ambassador from Heaven in a Country where you have neither the Countenance of the Magistrate, nor the devout Obedience of the People. And who sees not how one is bound to be zealous for the propagating of the true Religion, and the convincing, converting and saving of Souls, in a Country where it is establish'd by Law? who can doubt but that there those who talk so much of it are in earnest? Though yet some Men will hardly forbear doubting, that those Men, however they pray for it, are not much concerned for the Conversion of Pagans, who will neither go to them to instruct them, nor suffer them to come to us for the means of Conversion.

'Tis true what you say, *what Pagans call Religion is Abomination to the Almighty*. But if that requires any thing from those who retain any Jealousy for the Honour of God, it is something more than barely about the Place where those Abominations shall be committed. The true Concern for the Honour of God is not, that Idolatry should be shut out of England, but that it should be lessen'd every where, and by the Light and Preaching of the Gospel be banished out of the World. If Pagans and Idolaters are, as you say, the greatest Dishonour conceivable to God Almighty, they are as much so on t'other side of Tweed, or the Sea, as on this; for he from his Throne equally beholds all the Dwellers upon Earth. Those therefore who are truly jealous for the Honour of God, will not, upon the Account of his Honour, be concerned for their being in this or in that Place, while there are Idolaters in the World; but that the Number of those who are such a Dishonour to him, should every Day be as much as possible diminished, and they be brought to give him his due Tribute of Honour and Praise in a right way of Worship. 'Tis in this that a Jealousy, which is in earnest for God's Honour, truly shews it self in wishing and endeavouring to abate the Abomination, and drive Idolatry out

out

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out of the World, not in driving Idolaters out of any one Country, or sending them away to Places and Company, where they shall find more Encouragement to it. 'Tis a strange Jealousy for the Honour of God, that looks not beyond such a Mountain or River as divides a Christian and Pagan Country. Where-ever Idolatry is committed, there God's Honour is concerned; and thither Mens Jealousy for his Honour, if it be sincere indeed, will extend, and be in Pain to lessen and take away the Provocation. But the Place God is provoked and dishonoured in, which is a narrow Consideration in respect of the Lord of all the Earth, will no otherwise imploy their Zeal, who are in earnest, than as it may more or less conduce to the Conversion of the Offenders.

But if your Jealousy for the Honour of God, engages you so far against Mens committing Idolatry in certain Places, that you think those ought to be excluded from the Rights of the Commonwealth, and not to be suffered to be Denizens, who according to that Place in the Romans brought by you, *are without Excuse, because when they knew God, they glorified him not as God, but became vain in their Imaginations, and changed the Glory of the incorruptible God into an Image made like to corruptible Man.* I shall only change some of the Words in the Text you cite out of *Isaiah*; *I have baked part thereof on the Coals, and eaten it, and shall I make the residue thereof a God? shall I fall down to that which comes of a Plant?* And so leave them with you to consider whether your Jealousy in earnest carries you so far as you talk of; and whether when you have looked about you, you are still of the Mind, that those who do such things should be disfranchised and sent away, and the Exercise of no such Religion be any where permitted amongst us? for those things are no less an Abomination to God under a Christian than Pagan Name. One Word more I have to say to your Jealousy for the Honour of God, that if it be any thing more than in Talk, it will set it self no less earnestly against other Abominations, and the Practisers of them, than against that of Idolatry.

As to that in *Job xxxi. 26, 27, 28.* where he says Idolatry is to be punished by the Judge; this Place alone, were there no other, is sufficient to confirm their Opinion, who conclude that Book to be writ by a Jew. And how little the punishing of Idolatry in that Commonwealth concerns our present Case, I refer you for Information to the Author's Letter. But how does your Jealousy for the Honour of God, carry you to an Exclusion of the Pagan Religion from amongst you, but yet admit of the Jewish and Mahometan? Or is not the Honour of God concern'd in their denying our Saviour?

If we are to look upon *Job* to have been writ before the time of *Moses*, as the Author would have it, *p. 32.* and so by a Stranger to the Commonwealth of *Israel*. 'Tis plain the general Apostacy he lays so much Strefs on, was not spread so far, but that there was a Government by his own Confession, established out of *Judea*, free from, nay zealous against Idolatry. And why there might not be many more as well as this, which we hear of but by chance, it will concern him to shew.

Pag. 4. You go on, *But as to the converting Jews, Mahometans and Pagans to Christianity, I fear there will be no great Progress made in it, till Christians come to a better Agreement and Union among themselves. I am sure our Saviour prayed that all that should believe in him, might be one in the Father and him, (i. e. I suppose in that holy Religion which he taught them from the Father)* that the World might believe that the Father had sent him: *And therefore when he comes to make Inquisition, why no more Jews, Mahometans and Pagans have been converted to his Religion; I very much fear, that a great part of the Blame will be found to lie upon the Authors and Promoters of Sects and Divisions among the Professors of it: which therefore, I think, all that are guilty, and all that would not be guilty, ought well to consider.*

Joh. 17. 2. I easily grant that our Saviour pray'd that all might be one in that holy Religion which he taught them, and in that very Prayer teaches what that Religion is, *This is Life eternal, that they might know thee the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom thou hast sent.* But must it be expected, that therefore they should all be of one Mind in things not necessary to Salvation? For whatever Unity it was our Saviour pray'd for here, 'tis certain the Apostles themselves did not all of them agree in every thing: but even the chief of them have had Differences amongst them in matters of Religion, as appears, *Gal. ii. 11.*

An Agreement in Truths necessary to Salvation, and the maintaining of Charity and brotherly Kindness with the Diversity of Opinions in other things, is that which will very well consist with Christian Unity, and is all possibly to be had in this World, in such

such an incurable Weakness and Difference of Mens Understandings. This probably would contribute more to the Conversion of *Jews, Mahometans and Pagans*, if there were proposed to them and others, for their Admittance into the Church, only the plain and simple Truths of the Gospel necessary to Salvation, than all the fruitless Pudding and Talk about uniting Christians in matters of less moment, according to the Draught and Prescription of a certain Set of Men any where.

What Blame will lie on the Authors and Promoters of Sects and Divisions, and (let me add) Animosities amongst Christians, *when Christ comes to make Inquisition why no more Jews, Mahometans and Pagans were converted*, they who are concerned ought certainly well to consider. And to abate in great measure this Mischief for the future, they who talk so much of *Sects and Divisions*, would do well to consider too, whether those are not most Authors and Promoters of Sects and Divisions, who impose Creeds, Ceremonies and Articles of Mens making; and make things not necessary to Salvation, the necessary Terms of Communion, excluding and driving from them such as out of Conscience and Persuasion cannot assent and submit to them; and treating them as if they were utter Aliens from the Church of God, and such as were deservedly shut out as unfit to be Members of it; who narrow Christianity within Bounds of their own making, and which the Gospel knows nothing of; and often for things by themselves confessed indifferent, thrust Men out of their Communion, and then punish them for not being of it.

Who sees not, but the Bond of Unity might be preserved, in the different Persuasions of Men concerning things not necessary to Salvation, if they were not made necessary to Church-Communion? What two thinking Men of the Church of *England* are there, who differ not one from the other in several material Points of Religion, who nevertheless are Members of the same Church, and in Unity one with another? Make but one of those Points the *Shibboleth* of a Party, and erect it into an Article of the National Church, and they are presently divided; and he of the two, whose Judgment happens not to agree with National Orthodoxy, is immediately cut off from Communion. Who I beseech you is it in this Case that makes the Sect? Is it not those who contract the Church of Christ within Limits of their own Contrivance? who by Articles and Ceremonies of their own forming, separate from their Communion all that have not persuasions which just jump with their Model?

'Tis frivolous here to pretend Authority. No Man has or can have Authority to shut any one out of the Church of Christ, for that for which Christ himself will not shut him out of Heaven. Whosoever does so, is truly the Author and Promoter of Schism and Division, sets up a Sect, and tears in Pieces the Church of Christ, of which every one who believes, and practises what is necessary to Salvation, is a Part and Member; and cannot, without the Guilt of Schism, be separated from, or kept out of its external Communion. In this *lording it over the Heritage of God*, and thus *overseeing* by Imposition on the unwilling, and not consenting, which seems to be the meaning of *St. Peter*, most of the lasting Sects which so mangle Christianity, had their Original, and continue to have their Support: and were it not for these establish'd Sects under the specious Names of National Churches, which by their contracted and arbitrary Limits of Communion, justify against themselves the Separation and like Narrowness of others, the Difference of Opinions which do not so much begin to be, as to appear and be owned under Toleration, would either make no Sect nor Division; or else, if they were so extravagant as to be opposite to what is necessary to Salvation, and so necessitate a Separation, the clear Light of the Gospel, joined with a strict Discipline of Manners, would quickly chase them out of the World. But whilst needless Impositions, and moot Points in Divinity are established by the penal Laws of Kingdoms, and the specious Pretences of Authority, what Hopes is there, that there should be such an Union amongst Christians any where, as might invite a rational Turk or Infidel to embrace a Religion, whereof he is told they have a Revelation from God, which yet in some Places he is not suffered to read, and in no Place shall he be permitted to understand for himself, or to follow according to the best of his Understanding, when it shall at all thwart (though in things confessed not necessary to Salvation) any of those select Points of Doctrine, Discipline, or outward Worship, whereof the National Church has been pleased to make up its Articles, Polity, and Ceremonies? And I ask, what a sober sensible Heathen must think of the Divisions amongst Christians not owing to Toleration, if he should find in an Island, where Christianity seems to be in its greatest Purity, the South and North Parts establishing

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Churches upon the Differences of only whether fewer or more, thus and thus chosen, should govern; tho' the Revelation they both pretend be their Rule, say nothing directly one way or t'other: each contending with so much Eagerness, that they deny each other to be Churches of Christ, that is, in effect, to be true Christians? To which if one should add Transubstantiation, Consubstantiation, Real Presence, Articles and Distinctions set up by Men without Authority from Scripture, and other less Differences, (which good Christians may dissent about without endangering their Salvations) *established by Law* in the several Parts of Christendom: I ask, Whether the Magistrates interposing in matters of Religion, and establishing National Churches by the Force and Penalties of Civil Laws, with their distinct (and at home reputed necessary) Confessions and Ceremonies, do not by Law and Power authorize and perpetuate Sects among Christians, to the great Prejudice of Christianity, and Scandal to Infidels, more than any thing that can arise from a mutual Toleration, with Charity and a good Life?

Those who have so much in their Mouths, the *Authors of Sects and Divisions*, with so little Advantage to their Cause, I shall desire to consider, whether National Churches established as now they are, are not as much Sects and Divisions in Christianity, as smaller Collections, under the Name of distinct Churches, are in respect of the National? only with this Difference, that these Sub-divisions and discountenanced Sects, wanting Power to enforce their peculiar Doctrines and Discipline, usually live more friendly like Christians, and seem only to demand Christian Liberty; whereby there is less Appearance of unchristian Division among them: Whereas those National Sects, being back'd by the Civil Power, which they never fail to make use of, at least as a Pretence of Authority over their Brethren, usually breath out nothing but Force and Persecution, to the great Reproach, Shame, and Dishonour of the Christian Religion.

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I said, "That if the Magistrates would severely and impartially set themselves against Vice in whomsoever it is found, and leave Men to their own Consciences in their Articles of Faith, and Ways of Worship, true Religion would spread wider, and be more fruitful in the Lives of its Professors, than ever hitherto it has done by the imposing of Creeds and Ceremonies. Here I call only Immorality of Manners, *Vice*; you on the contrary, in your Answer, give the Name of *Vice* to Errors in Opinion, and Difference in ways of Worship from the National Church: For this is the Matter in question between us, express it as you please. This being a Contest only about the Signification of a short Syllable in the *English* Tongue, we must leave to the Masters of that Language to judge which of these two is the proper use of it. But yet, from my using the Word *Vice*, you conclude presently, (taking it in your Sense, not mine) that the Magistrate has a Power in *England* (for *England* we are speaking of) to punish Dissenters from the National Religion, because it is a *Vice*. I will, if you please, in what I said, change the Word *Vice* into that I meant by it, and say thus, [If the Magistrates will severely and impartially set themselves against the Dishonesty and Debauchery of Mens Lives, and such Immoralities as I contra-distinguish from Errors in speculative Opinions of Religion, and ways of Worship:] and then pray see how your Answer will look, for thus it runs; *It seems then with you the rejecting the true Religion, and refusing to worship God in decent ways prescribed by those to whom God has left the ordering of those Matters, are not comprehended in the Name Vice. But you tell me, If I except these things, and will not allow them to be called by the Name of Vice, perhaps other Men may think it as reasonable to except some other things [i. e. from being called Vices] which they have a Kindness for: For instance, some may perhaps except arbitrary Divorce, Polygamy, Concubinage, simple Fornication, or Marrying within Degrees thought forbidden. Let them except these, and if you will, Drunkenness, Theft, and Murder too, from the Name of Vice; nay, call them Vertues: Will they, by their calling them so, be exempt from the Magistrate's Power of punishing them? Or can they claim an Impunity by what I have said? Will these Immoralities by the Names any one shall give, or forbear to give them, become Articles of Faith, or ways of Worship? Which is all, as I expressly say in the Words you here cite of mine, that I would have the Magistrates leave Men to their own Consciences in. But, Sir, you have, for me, Liberty of Conscience to use Words in what Sense you please; only I think, where another is concerned, it favours more of Ingenuity and love of Truth, rather to mind*

the

the Sense of him that speaks, than to make a dust and noise with a mistaken Word, if any such Advantage were given you.

You say, *That some Men would through Carelessness never acquaint themselves with the Truth which must save them, without being forced to do it, which (you suppose) may be very true, notwithstanding that (as I say) some are called at the third Hour, some at the ninth, and some at the eleventh Hour; and whenever they are called, they embrace all the Truths necessary to Salvation. At least I do not shew why it may not: And therefore this may be no Slip for any thing I have said to prove it to be one. This I take not to be an Answer to my Argument; which was, That since some are not called till the eleventh Hour, no body can know who those are, who would never acquaint themselves with those Truths that must save them, without Force, which is therefore necessary, and may indirectly and at a distance do them some Service. Whether that was my Argument or no, I leave the Reader to judge: But that you may not mistake it now again, I tell you here it is so, and needs another Answer.*

Your way of using Punishments in short is this, That all that conform not to the National Church, where it is true, as in *England*, should be punished; what for? *To make them consider.* This I told you had something of impracticable. To which you reply, That you used the Word *only* in another Sense, which I mistook: Whether I mistook your meaning in the use of that Word or no, or whether it was natural so to take it, or whether that Opinion which I charged on you by that Mistake, when you tell us, *That not examining, is indeed the next end for which they are punished*, be not your Opinion, let us leave to the Reader: For when you have that Word in what Sense you please, what I said will be nevertheless true, viz. "That to punish Dissenters, as Dissenters, to make them consider, has something impracticable in it, unless not to be of the National Religion, and not to consider, be the same thing. These Words you answer nothing to, having as you thought a great Advantage of talking about my Mistake of your Word *only*. But unless you will suppose, not to be of the National Church, and not to consider, be the same thing, it will follow, that to punish Dissenters, as Dissenters, to make them consider, has something of impracticable in it.

The Law punishes all Dissenters: For what? To make them all conform, that's evident; To what End? To make them all *consider*, say you: That cannot be, for it says nothing of it; nor is it certain that all Dissenters have not considered; nor is there any Care taken by the Law to enquire whether they have considered, when they do conform; yet this was the End intended by the Magistrate. So then with you it is practicable and allowable in making Laws, for the Legislator to lay Punishments by Law on Men, for an End which they may be ignorant of, for he says nothing of it; on Men, whom he never takes Care to enquire, whether they have done it or no, before he relax the Punishment, which had no other *next End*, but to make them do it. But though he says nothing of considering, in laying on the Penalties, nor asks any thing about it, when he takes them off; yet every body must understand that he so meant it. Sir, *Sancho Pancha* in the Government of his Island, did not expect that Men should understand his meaning by his gaping: But in another Island it seems, if you had the Management, you would not think it to have any thing of impracticable or impolitick in it. For how far the Provision of Means of Instruction takes this off, we shall see in another Place. And lastly, to lay Punishments on Men for an End which is already attained, (for some among the Dissenters may have considered) is what other Law-makers look on as impracticable, or at least unjust. But to this you answer, in your usual way of Circle. That if I suppose you are for punishing Dissenters whether they consider or no, I am in a great Mistake; for the Dissenters (which is my Word, not yours) whom you are for punishing, are only such as reject the true Religion proposed to them, with Reasons and Arguments sufficient to convince them of the Truth of it, who therefore can never be supposed to consider those Reasons and Arguments as they ought; whilst they persist in rejecting that Religion, or (in my Language) continue Dissenters; for if they did so consider them, they would not continue Dissenters. Of the Fault for which Men were to be punished, distinguished from the End for which they were to be punished, we heard nothing, as I remember, in the first Draught of your Scheme, which we had in *The Argument considered*; &c. But I doubt not but in some of your general Terms you will be able to find it, or what else you please: For now having spoken out, that Men, who are of a different Religion from the true, which has been *tended them with sufficient Evidence*,

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(and who are they whom the wise and benign Disposer and Governor of all things has not furnished with competent Means of Salvation) are Criminals, and are by the Magistrate to be punished as such, 'tis necessary your Scheme should be compleated; and whither that will carry you, 'tis easy to see.

But pray, Sir, are there no Conformists that *so reject the true Religion*? and would you have them punished too, as you here profess? Make that practicable by your Scheme, and you have done something to persuade us that your End in earnest, in the use of Force, is to make Men *consider*, understand, and be of the true Religion; and that the *rejecting the true Religion tender'd with sufficient Evidence*, is the Crime which *bonâ fide* you would have punished; and till you do this, all that you may say concerning punishing Men to make them *consider as they ought; to make them receive the true Religion, to make them embrace the Truth that must save them, &c.* will with all sober, judicious, and unbiaſſed Readers, pass only for the mark of great Zeal, if it scape amongst Men as warm and as sagacious as you are, a harsher Name: whilst those Conformists, who neglect matters of Religion, who *reject* the saving Truths of the Gospel, as visibly and as certainly as any Dissenters, have yet no Penalties laid upon them.

You talk much of *considering and not considering as one ought; of embracing and rejecting the true Religion*, and abundance more to this purpose; which all, however very good and savoury Words, that look very well, when you come to the Application of Force, to procure that End expressed in them, amount to no more but Conformity and Non-Conformity. If you see not this, I pity you; for I would fain think you a fair Man, who means well, though you have not light upon the right way to the End you propose: But if you see it, and persist in your Use of these good Expressions to lead Men into a Mistake in this matter; consider what my Pagans and Mahometans could do worse to serve a bad Cause.

Whatever you may imagine, I write so in this Argument, as I have before my Eyes the Account, I shall one Day render for my Intention, and regard to Truth in the Management of it. I look on my self as liable to Error as others; but this I am sure of, I would neither impose on you, my self, nor any body; and should be very glad to have the Truth in this Point clearly establish'd: and therefore it is, I desire you again to examine, whether all the Ends you name to be intended by your Use of Force, do in effect, when Force is to be your way put in practice, reach any farther than bare outward Conformity? Pray consider whether it be not that which makes you so shy of the Term *Dissenters*, which you tell me is mine not your Word. Since none are by your Scheme to be punished, but those who do not conform to the National Religion. *Dissenters*, I think, is the proper Name to call them by; and I can see no Reason you have to boggle at it, unless your Opinion has something in it you are unwilling should be spoke out, and call'd by its right Name: But whether you like it or no, *Persecution*, and *Persecution of Dissenters*, are Names that belong to it as it stands now.

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And now I think I may leave you your Question, wherein you ask, *But cannot Dissenters be punished for not being of the National Religion, as the Fault, and yet only to make them consider, as the End for which they are punished?* To be answered by your self, or to be used again, where you think there is any need of so nice a Distinction, as between the *Fault* for which Men are punished by Laws, and the *End* for which they are punished: For to me I confess it is hard to find any other immediate End of Punishment in the Intention of human Laws, but the Amendment of the Fault punished; though it may be subordinate to other and remoter Ends. If the Law be only to punish Non-Conformity, one may truly say, to cure that Fault, or to produce Conformity, is the End of that Law; and there is nothing else immediately aimed at by that Law, but Conformity; and whatever else it tends to as an End, must be only as a Consequence of Conformity, whether it be Edification, increase of Charity, or saving of Souls, or whatever else may be thought a Consequence of Conformity. So that in a Law, which with Penalties requires Conformity, and nothing else; one cannot say (properly I think) that Consideration is the End of that Law, unless Consideration be a Consequence of Conformity, to which Conformity is subordinate, and does naturally conduce, or else is necessary to it.

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To my arguing that it is unjust as well as impracticable, you reply, *where the National Church is the true Church of God, to which all Men ought to join themselves,* and

and sufficient Evidence is offered to convince Men that it is so: There it is a Fault to be out of the National Church, because it is a Fault not to be convinced that the National Church is that true Church of God. And therefore since there Mens not being so convinced, can only be imputed to their not considering as they ought, the Evidence which is offered to convince them; it cannot be unjust to punish them to make them so to consider it. Pray tell me, which is a Man's Duty, to be of the National Church first, or to be convinced first, that its Religion is true, and then to be of it? If it be his Duty to be convinced first, why then do you punish him for not being of it, when it is his Duty to be convinced of the Truth of its Religion, before it is his Duty to be of it? If you say it is his Duty to be of it first, why then is not Force used to him afterwards, though he be still ignorant and unconvinced? But you answer, It is his Fault not to be convinced. What, every one's Fault every where? No, you limit it to Places where sufficient Evidence is offered to convince Men that the National Church is the true Church of God. To which pray let me add, the National Church is so the true Church of God, that no body out of its Communion can embrace the Truth that must save him, or be in the way to Salvation. For if a Man may be in the way to Salvation out of the National Church, he is enough in the true Church, and needs no Force to bring him into any other: For when a Man is in the way to Salvation, there is no Necessity of Force to bring him into any Church of any Denomination, in order to his Salvation. So that not to be of the National Church, though true, will not be a Fault which the Magistrate has a right to punish, until sufficient Evidence is offered to prove that a Man cannot be saved out of it. Now since you tell us, that by sufficient Evidence you mean such as will certainly win Assent; when you have offer'd such Evidence to convince Men, that the National Church, any where, is so the true Church, that Men cannot be saved out of its Communion, I think I may allow them to be so faulty as to deserve what Punishment you shall think fit. If you hope to mend the matter by the following Words, where you say, that where such Evidence is offered, there Mens not being convinced, can only be imputed to Mens not considering as they ought, they will not help you. For to consider as they ought, being by your own Interpretation, to consider so as not to reject; then your Answer amounts to just thus much, That it is a Fault not to be convinced that the National Church is the true Church of God, where sufficient Evidence is offered to convince Men that it is so. Sufficient Evidence is such as will certainly gain Assent with those who consider as they ought, i. e. who consider so as not to reject, or to be moved heartily to embrace, which I think is to be convinced. Who can have the Heart now to deny any of this? Can there be any thing surer, than that Mens not being convinc'd, is to be imputed to them if they are not convinc'd, where such Evidence is offered to them as does convince them? And to punish all such you have my free Consent. Pag. 51.

Whether all you say have any thing more in it than this, I appeal to my Readers; and should willingly do it to you, did not I fear, that the jumbling of those good and plausible Words in your Head, of sufficient Evidence, consider as one ought; &c. might a little jargole your Thoughts, and lead you hoodwink'd the round of your own beaten Circle. This is a Danger those are much expos'd to, who accustom themselves to relative and doubtful Terms, and so put together, that though asunder they signify something, yet when their meaning comes to be cast up as they are placed, it amounts to just nothing. Pag. 25.

You go on, What Justice it would be for the Magistrate to punish one for not being a Cartesian, it will be time enough to consider when I have proved it to be as necessary for Men to be Cartesians, as it is to be Christians, or Members of God's Church. This will be a much better Answer to what I said, when you have proved that to be a Christian or a Member of God's Church, it is necessary for a Dissenter to be of the Church of England. If it be not Justice to punish a Man for not being a Cartesian, because it is not as necessary to be a Cartesian, as to be a Christian; I fear the same Argument will hold against punishing a Man for not using the Cross in Baptism, or not kneeling at the Lord's Supper; and it will lie on you to prove, that it is as necessary to use the Cross in Baptism, or kneeling at the Lord's Supper, as it is to be a Christian: For if they are not as necessary as it is to be a Christian, you cannot by your own Rule, without Injustice, punish Men for not conforming to a Church wherein they are made an indispensable Part of Conformity; and by this Rule it will be Injustice to punish any Pag. 40.

any Man for not being of that Church wherein any thing is required not necessary to Salvation; for that, I think, is the Necessity of being a Christian.

L. 2. p. 270.

Page. 45.

To shew the Unreasonableness of punishing Dissenters to make them examine, I said, that so they were punished for not having offended against a Law; for there is no Law of the Land that requires them to examine. Your Reply is, That *you think the contrary is plain enough: For where the Laws provide sufficient Means of Instruction in the true Religion, and then require all Men to embrace that Religion; you think the most natural Construction of those Laws is, that they require Men to embrace it upon Instruction and Conviction, as it cannot be expected they should do without examining the Grounds upon which it stands.* Your Answer were very true, if they could not embrace without Examining and Conviction. But since there is a shorter way to embracing, which cost no more Pains than walking as far as the Church, your Answer no more proves, that the Law requires examining, than if a Man at *Harwich* being subpoena'd to appear in *Westminster-Hall* next Term, you should say the Subpoena required him to come by Sea, because there was sufficient Means provided for his Passage in the ordinary Boat that by Appointment goes constantly from *Harwich* to *London*: But he taking it to be more for his Ease and Dispatch, goes the shorter way by Land, and finds that having made his Appearance in Court as was required, the Law is satisfied, and there is no Enquiry made, what way he came thither.

A. p. 6, & c.

Page. 43.

L. 2. p. 281.

If therefore Men can embrace so as to satisfy the Law without examining, and it be true that they *so fly from the Means of right Information*, are so negligent in, and *averse to examining*, that there is need of Penalties to make them do it, as you tell us at large; How is it a *natural Construction* of those Laws, that they require Men to examine, which having provided sufficient Means of Instruction, require Men only to conform, without saying any thing of examining? especially when the Cause assigned by you of Mens neglecting to examine, is not want of *Means of Instruction*, but want of *Penalties to over-balance their Aversion* to the using those Means; which you your self confess, where you say, *When the best Provision is made that can be, for the Instruction of the People, you fear a great part of them will still need Penalties to bring them to hear and receive Instruction*: And therefore perhaps the remainder of that Paragraph, when you have considered it again, will not appear so impertinent a *Declamation* as you are pleased to think it: For it charged your Method (as it then stood) of punishing Men for not considering and examining with these Absurdities. That it punished Men for not doing that which the Law did not require of them, nor declare the Neglect of to be a Fault, contrary to the Ends of all Laws, contrary to the common Sense of Mankind, and the Practice of all Law-makers, who always first declared the Fault, and then denounced Penalties against those who after a Time set, should be found guilty of it. It charged your Method, that it allows not Impunity to the Innocent, but punishes whole Tribes together, the Innocent with the Guilty; and that the thing designed in the Law was not mentioned in it, but left to the People (whose Fault was want of Consideration) to be by Consideration found out.

To avoid these Absurdities, you have reformed your Scheme, and now in your Reply own with the frankest Persecutors, that you punish Men downright for their Religion, and that to be a Dissenter from the true Religion, is a *Fault* to be punished by the Magistrate. This indeed is plain Dealing, and clears your Method from these Absurdities as long as you keep to it: but where ever you tell us, that your Laws are to make Men *hear*, to make Men *consider*, to make Men *examine*; whilst the Laws themselves say nothing of *hearing*, *considering* and *examining*, there you are still chargeable with all these Absurdities: Nor will the Distinction, which without any Difference you would set up, between the *Fault* for which Men are to be punished, and the *End* for which they are to be punished, do you any Service herein, as I have shewed you in another Place.

To what I said L. 2. from p. 271. to p. 275. concerning those who by your Scheme are to be punished, you having thought fit not to answer any thing, I shall here again offer it to your Consideration.

" Let us inquire, First, Who it is you would have be punished. In the Place
" above cited, they are *those who are got into a wrong way, and are deaf to all Per-*
" *suasions.* If these are the Men to be punished, let a Law be made against them:
" you have my Consent; and that is the proper Course to have Offenders punished.
" For you do not, I hope, intend to punish any Fault by a Law, which you do not
" name in the Law; nor make a Law against any Fault you would not have punish-

" ed.

“ ed. And now, if you are sincere, and in earnest, and are (as a fair Man should be)
 “ for what your Words plainly signify, and nothing else; what will such a Law serve
 “ for? *Men in the wrong Way are to be punished*: but who are *in the wrong Way*, is
 “ the Question. You have no more reason to determine it against one, who differs
 “ from you, than he has to conclude against you, who differ from him: No, not tho’
 “ you have the Magistrate and the National Church on your side. For if to differ from
 “ them be to be *in the wrong way*; you who are *in the right Way* in *England*, will be
 “ *in the wrong Way* in *France*. Every one here must be Judge for himself: And your
 “ Law will reach no body, till you have convinced him he is *in the wrong Way*: and
 “ then there will be no need of Punishment to make him consider; unless you will
 “ affirm again what you have denied, and have Men punished for embracing the Re-
 “ ligion they believe to be true, when it differs from yours or the Publick.

“ Besides being *in the wrong Way*, those who you would have punished, must be
 “ such as are *deaf to all Persuasions*. But any such, I suppose, you will hardly find,
 “ who hearken to no body, not to those of their own Way. If you mean by *deaf to*
 “ *all Persuasions*, all Persuasions of a contrary Party, or of a different Church; such,
 “ I suppose, you may abundantly find in your own Church, as well as elsewhere;
 “ and I presume to them you are so charitable, that you would not have them punish-
 “ ed for not lending an Ear to Seducers. For Constancy in the Truth, and Perseve-
 “ rance in the Faith, is (I hope) rather to be encouraged, than by any Penalties
 “ check’d in the Orthodox. And your Church doubtless, as well as all others, is Or-
 “ thodox to it self in all its Tenets. If you mean by *all Persuasion*, all your Persuasi-
 “ on, or all Persuasion of those of your Communion; you do but beg the Question,
 “ and suppose you have a Right to punish those who differ from, and will not com-
 “ ply with you.

“ Your next Words are, *When Men fly from the Means of a right Information,*
 “ *and will not so much as consider how reasonable it is thoroughly and impartially to ex-*
 “ *amine a Religion, which they embraced upon such Inducements as ought to have no*
 “ *Sway at all in the Matter, and therefore with little or no Examination of the proper*
 “ *Grounds of it; what humane Method can be used to bring them to act like Men, in an*
 “ *Affair of such Consequence, and to make a wiser and more rational Choice, but that of*
 “ *laying such Penalties upon them, as may ballance the Weight of those Prejudices which*
 “ *inclined them to prefer a false Way before the true, and recover them to so much So-*
 “ *briety and Reflection, as seriously to put the Question to themselves, whether it be real-*
 “ *ly worth the while to undergo such Inconveniences for adhering to a Religion, which,*
 “ *for any thing they know, may be false, or for rejecting another (if that be the Case)*
 “ *which, for any thing they know, may be true, till they have brought it to the Bar of*
 “ *Reason, and given it a fair Trial there?* Here you again bring in such as *prefer a*
 “ *false Way before a true*: to which having answered already, I shall here say no
 “ more, but, That since our Church will not allow those to be in a *false Way* who
 “ are out of the Church of Rome, because the Church of Rome (which pretends In-
 “ fallibility) declares hers to be the *only true Way*; certainly no one of our Church
 “ (nor any other, which claims not Infallibility) can require any one to take the Testi-
 “ mony of any Church, as a sufficient Proof of the Truth of her own Doctrine. So
 “ that *true and false* (as it commonly happens, when we suppose them for our selves,
 “ or our Party) in effect, signify just nothing, or nothing to the Purpose; unless
 “ we can think that *true or false* in *England*, which will not be so at *Rome* or *Gene-*
 “ *va*; and *Vice versa*. As for the rest of the Description of those, *on whom* you are
 “ here *laying Penalties*; I beseech you consider whether it will not belong to any of
 “ your Church, let it be what it will. Consider, I say, if there be none in your Church
 “ who have embraced her Religion upon such Inducements as ought to have no Sway at all
 “ in the Matter, and therefore with little or no Examination of the proper Grounds of
 “ it; who have not been inclined by Prejudices; who do not adhere to a Religion which
 “ for any thing they know may be false; and who have rejected another, which for any thing
 “ they know may be true. If you have any such in your Communion, (and ’twill be an ad-
 “ mirable, though I fear but a little Flock that has none such in it) consider well what
 “ you have done. You have prepared Rods for them, for which I imagine they will
 “ con you no Thanks. For to make any tolerable Sense of what you here propose,
 “ it must be understood that you would have Men of all Religions punished, to make
 “ them consider *whether it be really worth the while to undergo such Inconveniences for*
 “ *adhering to a Religion, which for any thing they know may be false*. If you hope to avoid
 “ that,

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“ that, by what you have said of *true and false*; and pretend that the supposed *Pre-
ference of the true Way* in your Church, ought to preserve its Members from your
“ Punishment; you manifestly trifle. For every Church’s Testimony, that it has
“ chosen the *true Way*, must be taken for it self; and then none will be liable; and
“ your new Invention of Punishment is come to nothing: Or else the differing Church-
“ es Testimonies must be taken one for another; and then they will be all out of the
“ *true Way*, and your Church need Penalties as well as the rest. So that, upon your
“ Principles, they must all or none be punished. Chuse which you please; one of
“ them, I think, you cannot escape.

“ What you say in the next Words; *where Instruction is stiffly refused, and all Ad-
monitions and Persuasions prove vain and ineffectual*; differs nothing but in the way of
“ expressing, from *Deaf to all Persuasions*: And so that is answered already.

“ In another Place, you give us another Description of those you think ought to
“ be punished, in these Words; *Those who refuse to embrace the Doctrine, and submit
to the Spiritual Government of the proper Ministers of Religion, who by special Desig-
nation, are appointed to exhort, admonish, reprove, &c.* Here then, those to be
“ punished, *are such who refuse to embrace the Doctrine, and submit to the Government
of the proper Ministers of Religion.* Whereby we are as much still at uncertainty as
“ we were before, who those are who (by your Scheme, and Laws suitable to it)
“ are to be punished; since every Church has, as it thinks, its *proper Ministers of
Religion*: And if you mean *those that refuse to embrace the Doctrine, and submit to
the Government of the Ministers of another Church*; then all Men will be guilty, and
“ must be punished, even those of your own Church as well as others. If you mean
“ *those who refuse, &c. the Ministers of their own Church*, very few will incur your
“ Penalties: But if by these *proper Ministers of Religion*, the Ministers of some par-
“ ticular Church are intended, why do you not name it? Why are you so reserved in
“ a Matter, wherein, if you speak not out, all the rest that you say will be to no pur-
“ pose? Are Men to be punished for *refusing to embrace the Doctrine, and submit to the
Government of the proper Ministers of the Church of Geneva*? For this time (since
“ you have declared nothing to the contrary) let me suppose you of that Church; and
“ then I am sure, that is it that you would name: for of whatever Church you are,
“ if you think the Ministers of any one Church ought to be hearkened to, and obey-
“ ed, it must be those of your own. There are Persons to be punished, you say:
“ This you contend for all through your Book, and lay so much Stress on it, that
“ you make the Preservation and Propagation of Religion, and the Salvation of Souls,
“ to depend on it: and yet you describe them by so general and equivocal Marks, that,
“ unless it be upon Suppositions which no body will grant you, I dare say, neither
“ you nor any body else will be able to find one guilty. Pray find me, if you can, a
“ Man whom you can judicially prove (for he that is to be punished by Law, must
“ be fairly tried) *is in a wrong Way*, in respect of his Faith; I mean, who is *deaf to
all Persuasions, who flies from all Means of a right Information, who refuses to em-
brace the Doctrine, and submit to the Government of the Spiritual Pastors.* And
“ when you have done that, I think I may allow you what Power you please to punish
“ him, without any Prejudice to the Toleration the Author of the Letter pro-
“ poses.

“ But why, I pray, all this boggling, all this loose talking, as if you knew not
“ what you meant, or durst not speak it out? Would you be for punishing some bo-
“ dy, you know not whom? I do not think so ill of you. Let me then speak out for
“ you. The Evidence of the Argument has convinced you that Men ought not to
“ be persecuted for their Religion; That the Severities in use among Christians can-
“ not be defended; That the Magistrate has not Authority to compel any one to his
“ Religion. This you are forced to yield. But you would fain retain some Power in
“ the Magistrate’s Hands to punish Dissenters, upon a new Pretence, *viz.* not for
“ having embraced the Doctrine and Worship they believe to be true and Right, but
“ for not having well considered their own and the Magistrate’s Religion. To shew
“ you that I do not speak wholly without Book, give me leave to mind you of one
“ Passage of yours: the Words are, *Penalties to put them upon a serious and impartial
Examination of the Controversy between the Magistrate and them.* Though these
“ words be not intended to tell us who you would have punished, yet it may be
“ plainly infer’d from them. And they more clearly point out whom you aim at,
“ than all the foregoing Places, where you seem to (and should) describe them.

For

“ For they are such as *between whom and the Magistrate there is a Controversy*; that is, in short, who differ from the Magistrate in Religion. And now indeed you have given us a Note by which these you would have punished, may be known. We have, with much ado, found at last whom it is we may presume you would have punished. Which in other Cases is usually not very difficult: because there the Faults to be amended, easily design the Persons to be corrected. But yours is a new Method, and unlike all that ever went before it.

“ In the next place, let us see for what you would have them punished. You tell us, and it will easily be granted you, that not to *examine and weigh impartially, and without Prejudice or Passion*, (all which, for shortness sake, we will express by this one word *Consider*) the Religion one embraces or refuses, is a Fault very common, and very prejudicial to true Religion, and the Salvation of Mens Souls. But Penalties and Punishments are very necessary, say you, to remedy this Evil.

“ Let us now see how you apply this Remedy. Therefore, say you, let all Dissenters be punished. Why? Have no Dissenters considered of Religion? Or have all Conformists considered? That you your self will not say. Your Project therefore is just as reasonable, as if a Lethargy growing Epidemical in *England*, you should propose to have a Law made to blister and scarify, and shave the Heads of all who wear Gowns; tho’ it be certain that neither all who wear Gowns are Lethargick, nor all who are Lethargick wear Gowns.

— *Dii te, Damasppe, Deaq;*
Verum ob consilium donent tonsore.

“ For there could not be certainly a more learned Advice, than that one Man should be pull’d by the Ears, because another is asleep. This, when you have consider’d of it again, (for I find, according to your Principle, all Men have now and then need to be jogg’d) you will, I guess, be convinced is not like a fair Physician, to apply a Remedy to a Disease; but, like an engaged Enemy, to vent one’s Spleen upon a Party. Common Sense, as well as common Justice, requires, that the Remedies of Laws and Penalties should be directed against the Evil that is to be removed, where-ever it be found. And if the Punishment you think so necessary, be (as you pretend) to cure the Mischief you complain of, you must let it pursue, and fall on the Guilty, and those only, in what Company soever they are; and not, as you here propose, and is the highest Injustice, punish the innocent *considering* Dissenter, with the Guilty; and on the other side, let the *inconsiderate* guilty Conformist scape, with the Innocent. For one may rationally presume that the National Church has some, nay, more, in proportion of those who little consider or concern themselves about Religion, than any Congregation of Dissenters: For Conscience, or the Care of their Souls, being once laid aside; Interest, of Course, leads Men into that Society, where the Protection and Countenance of the Government, and Hopes of Preferment, bid fairest to all their remaining Desires. So that if careless, negligent, inconsiderate Men in matters of Religion, *who, without being forced, would not consider*, are to be rouzed into a Care of their Souls, and a Search after Truth, by Punishments; the National Religion, in all Countries, will certainly have a right to the greatest share of those Punishments, at least, not to be wholly exempt from them.

“ This is that which the Author of the Letter, as I remember, complains of, and that justly, viz. *That the pretended Care of Mens Souls always expresses it self, in those who would have Force any way made use of to that End, in very unequal Methods; some Persons being to be treated with Severity, whilst others guilty of the same Faults, are not to be so much as touched.* Though you are got pretty well out of the deep Mud, and renounce Punishments directly for Religion; yet you stick still in this part of the Mire; whilst you would have Dissenters punished to make them *consider*, but would not have any thing done to Conformists, though never so negligent in this point of *considering*. The Author’s Letter pleased me, because it is equal to all Mankind, is direct, and will, I think, hold every-where; which I take to be a good Mark of Truth. For I shall always suspect that neither to comport with the Truth of Religion, or the Design of the Gospel, which is suited to only some one Country or Party. What is True and Good in *England*, will be True and Good at *Rome* too, in *China* or *Geneva*. But whether your great and only Method for the propagating of Truth, by bringing the inconsiderate by Punish-

"ments to consider, would (according to your way of applying your Punishments only to Dissenters from the National Religion) be of use in those Countries, or any where but where you suppose the Magistrate to be in the right, judge you. Pray, Sir, consider a little, whether Prejudice has not some share in your way of arguing. For this is your Position; *Men are generally negligent in examining the Grounds of their Religion.* This I grant. But could there be a more wild and incoherent Consequence drawn from it, than this; *Therefore Dissenters must be punished?*

Page 48. All this you are pleas'd to pass over without the least Notice: but perhaps you think you have made me full Satisfaction in your Answer to my Demand, who are to be punished? We will here therefore consider that as it stands, where you tell us, *Those who are to be punished according to the whole Tenour of your Answer, are no other but such, as having sufficient Evidence tender'd them of the true Religion, do yet reject it: whether utterly refusing to consider that Evidence, or not considering as they ought, viz. with such Care and Diligence as the matter deserves and requires, and with honest and unbiass'd Minds; and what Difficulty there is in this, you say you cannot imagine.* You promised you would tell the World who they were, plainly and directly. And though you tell us, you cannot imagine what Difficulty there is in this your Account of who are to be punished, yet there are some things in it, that make it to my Apprehension not very plain and direct. For first they must be only those who have the true Religion tender'd them with sufficient Evidence: Wherein there appears some Difficulty to me, who shall be Judge what is the true Religion: and for that, in every Country 'tis most probable the Magistrate will be. If you think of any other, pray tell us. Next there seems some Difficulty to know, who shall be judge what is sufficient Evidence. For where a Man is to be punished by Law, he must be convicted of being guilty; which since in this Case he cannot be, unless it be proved he has had the true Religion tender'd to him with sufficient Evidence, it is necessary that some body there must be Judge what is the true Religion, and what is sufficient Evidence; and others to prove it has been so tender'd. If you were to be of the Jury, we know what would be your Verdict concerning sufficient Evidence, by these words of yours, *To say that a Man who has the true Religion propos'd to him with sufficient Evidence of its Truth, may consider it as he ought, or do his utmost in considering, and yet not perceive the Truth of it, is neither more nor less, than to say that sufficient Evidence is not sufficient: For what does any Man mean by sufficient Evidence, but such as will certainly win Assent wherever it is duly considered?* Upon which his conforming, or not conforming, would without any farther Questions determine the Point. But whether the rest of the Jury could upon this be able ever to bring in any Man guilty, and so liable to Punishment, is a Question. For if sufficient Evidence be only that which certainly wins Assent, where-ever a Man does his utmost in considering, 'twill be very hard to prove that a Man who rejects the true Religion, has had it tender'd with sufficient Evidence, because it will be very hard to prove he has not done his utmost in considering it. So that notwithstanding all you have here said, to punish any Man by your Method is not yet so very practicable.

Page 51. But you clear all in your following words, which say, *There is nothing more evident than that those who reject the true Religion, are culpable, and deserve to be punished.* By whom? By Men: That's so far from being evident, as you talk, that it will require better Proofs than I have yet seen for it. Next you say, *'Tis easy enough to know when Men reject the true Religion.* Yes, when the true Religion is known, and agreed on what shall be taken to be so in judicial Proceedings, which can scarce be till 'tis agreed who shall determine what is true Religion, and what not. Suppose a Penalty should in the University be laid on those who rejected the true Peripatetick Doctrine, could that Law be executed on any one, unless it were agreed who should be Judge what was the true Peripatetick Doctrine? If you say it may be known out of Aristotle's Writings: then I answer, that it would be a more reasonable Law to lay the Penalty on any one, who rejected the Doctrine contained in the Books allowed to be Aristotle's, and printed under his Name. You may apply this to the true Religion, and the Books of the Scripture, if you please: though after all, there must be a Judge agreed on, to determine what Doctrines are contained in either of those Writings, before the Law can be practicable.

Page 48. But you go on to prove, that it is easy to know when Men reject the true Religion: for, say you, *that requires no more than that we know that that Religion was tender'd to them with sufficient Evidence of the Truth of it.* And that it may be tender'd to Men with such Evidence, and that it may be known when it is so tender'd, these things, you say, you take leave here to suppose. You suppose then more than can be allow'd you. For that

it can be judicially known that the true Religion has been tender'd to any one with sufficient Evidence, is what I deny, and that for Reasons abovementioned, which, were there no other Difficulty in it, were sufficient to shew the Unpracticableness of your Method.

You conclude this Paragraph thus, *which is all that needs be said upon this Head to shew the Consistency and Practicableness of this Method: And what do you any where say against this?* Whether I say any thing or no against it, I will bring a Friend of yours that will say that Dissenters ought to be punished for being out of the Communion of the Church of England. I will ask you now, how it can be proved that such an one is guilty of rejecting the *one only true Religion*? Perhaps it is because he scruples the Cross in Baptism, or Godfathers and Godmothers as they are used, or kneeling at the Lord's Supper; perhaps it is because he cannot pronounce all damn'd that believe not all *Athanasius's* Creed, or cannot join with some of those Repetitions in our Common-Prayer, thinking them to come within the Prohibition of our Saviour, each of which shuts a Man out from the Communion of the Church of England, as much as if he denied Jesus Christ to be the Son of God. Now, Sir, I beseech you, how can it be known, that ever sufficient Evidence was tender'd to such a Dissenter to prove, that what he rejects is a part of that one only true Religion, which unless he be of, he cannot be saved? Or indeed how can it be known, that any Dissenter rejects that one only true Religion, when being punished barely for not conforming, he is never asked, what part it is he dissents from or rejects? and so it may be some of those things which I imagine will always want sufficient Evidence to prove them to be Parts of that only one true Religion, without the hearty embracing whereof no Man can be saved.

CHAP. IV.

What Degrees of Punishment.

HOW much soever you have endeavoured to reform the Doctrine of Persecution to make it serve your Turn, and give it the Colour of Care and Zeal for the true Religion in the Country where alone you are concern'd it should be made use of; yet you have laboured in vain, and done no more, but given the old Engine a new Varnish to set it off the better, and make it look less frightful: For by what has been said in the foregoing Chapters, I think it will appear, that if any Magistrate have Power to punish Men in matters of Religion, all have; and that Dissenters from the National Religion must be punished every where or no where. The horrid Cruelties that in all Ages, and of late in our View, have been committed under the Name, and upon the Account of Religion, give so just an Offence and Abhorrence to all who have any Remains, not only of Religion, but Humanity left, that the World is ashamed to own it. This Objection therefore, as much as Words or Professions can do, you have laboured to fence against it; and to exempt your Design from the Suspicion of any Severities, you take Care in every Page almost to let us hear of *moderate* Force, *moderate* Penalties; but all in vain: and I doubt not but when this part too is examined, it will appear, that as you neither have, nor can limit the Power of punishing to any distinct sort of Magistrates, nor exempt from Punishment the Dissenters from any National Religion: So neither have, nor can you limit the Punishment to any Degree short of the highest, if you will use Punishments at all in matters of Religion. What you have done in this Point besides giving us good Words, I will now examine.

You tell me, *I have taken a Liberty which will need Pardon*, because I say, "You have plainly yielded the Question by owning those greater Severities to be improper and unfit. But if I shall make it out, that those are as proper and fit as your *moderate Penalties*; and that if you will use one, you must come to the other, as will appear from what you your self say: whatever you may think, I shall not imagine other Readers will conclude I have taken too great a Liberty, or shall much need Pardon. For if as you say in the next Page, *Authority may reasonably and justly use some Degrees of Force where it is needful*; I say they may also use any Degree of Force where it is needful. Now upon your Grounds, Fire and Sword, tormenting and undoing, and those other Punishments which you condemn, will be needful, even

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to Torments of the highest Severity, and be as necessary as those moderate Penalties which you will not name. For I ask you, to what purpose do you use any Degree of Force? Is it to prevail with Men to do something that is in their Power, or that is not? The latter I suppose you will not say, till your Love of Force is so increased, that you shall think it necessary to be made use of to produce Impossibilities: If Force then be to be used only to bring Men to do what is in their Power, what is the Necessity you assign of it? only this, as I remember, *viz.* That *when gentle Admonitions and earnest Intreaties will not prevail, what other means is there left but Force?* And I upon the same ground reply; If lesser Degrees of Force will not prevail, what other means is there left but greater; If the lowest Degree of Force be necessary where gentler means will not prevail, because there is no other means left; higher Degrees of Force are necessary, where lower will not prevail, for the same Reason. Unless you will say all Degrees of Force work alike; and that lower Penalties prevail as much on Men as greater, and will equally bring them to do what is in their Power. If so, a Philip on the Forehead, or a Farthing Mulct, may be Penalty enough to bring Men to what you propose. But if you shall laugh at these, as being for their smallness insufficient, and therefore will think it necessary to increase them, I say, wherever Experience shews any Degree of Force to be insufficient to prevail, there will be still the same necessity to increase it. For wherever the End is necessary, and Force is the means, *the only means left* to procure it, both which you suppose in our Case, there it will be found always necessary to increase the Degrees of Force, where the lower prove ineffectual, as well till you come to the highest as when you begin with the lowest. So that in your present Case I do not wonder you use so many Shifts, as I shall shew by and by you do, to decline naming the highest Degree of what you call *moderate*. If any Degree be necessary, you cannot assign any one (*condemn it in Words as much as you please*) which may not be so, and which you must not come to the Use of. If there be no such Necessity of Force as will justify those higher Degrees of it, which are *Severities* you condemn, neither will it justify the Use of your lower Degrees.

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If, as you tell us, *false Religions prevail against the true, merely by the Advantage they have in the Corruption and Pravity of humane Nature left to itself unbridled by Authority.* If the not receiving the true Religion be a Mark and Effect merely of the Prevalency of the Corruption of human Nature; may not, nay, must not the Magistrate, if less will not do, use his utmost Force to bring Men to the true Religion? his Force being given him to suppress that Corruption; especially since you give it for a measure of the Force to be used, that it must be *so much, as without which ordinarily they will not embrace the Truth that must save them.* What *ordinarily* signifies here to make any determinate measure is hard to guess; but signify it what it will, so much Force must be used, as *without which Men will not embrace the Truth;* which, if it signify any thing intelligible, requires, that where lower Degrees will not do, greater must be used, till you come to what will *ordinarily* do; but what that *ordinarily* is, no Man can tell. If one Man will not be wrought on by as little Force as another, must not greater Degrees of Force be used to him? Shall the Magistrate who is *obliged to do what lies in him*, be excused, for letting him be damn'd, without the Use of all the means was in his Power? And will it be sufficient for him to plead, that though he did not *all what lay in him*, yet he did what *ordinarily* prevailed, or what prevailed on several others. Force, if that be the Remedy, must be proportion'd to the Opposition. If the Dose that has frequently wrought on others, will not purge a Man whose Life lies on it, must it not therefore be made sufficient and effectual, because it will be more than what is called *ordinary*? Or can any one say the Physician has done his Duty, who lets his Patient in an extraordinary Case perish in the Use of only moderate Remedies, and pronounces him incurable, before he has tried the utmost he can with the powerfullest Remedies which are in his reach?

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Having renounced *less of Estate, corporal Punishments, Imprisonment*, and such sort of *Severities*, as unfit to be used in matters of Religion; you ask, *Will it follow from hence that the Magistrate has no right to use any Force at all?* Yes, it will follow, till you give some Answer to what I say in that Place, *viz.* That if you give up Punishments of a Man in his Person, Liberty and Estate, I think we need not stand with you for any Punishments may be made use of. But this you pass by without any notice. I doubt not but you will here think you have a ready Answer, by telling me,

me, you mean only depriving Men of their Estates, maiming them with corporal Punishments, starving and tormenting them in noisome Prisons, and other such Severities which you have by name excepted; but lower Penalties may yet be used, for Penalties is the Word you carefully use, and disclaim that of Punishment, as if you disowned the thing. I wish you would tell us too by name, what those lower Penalties are you would have used, as well as by name you tell us those Severities you disallow. They may not maim a Man with corporal Punishments; may they use any corporal Punishments at all? They may not starve and torment them in noisome Prisons for Religion; that you condemn as much as I. May they put them in any Prison at all? They may not deprive Men of their Estates; I suppose you mean their whole Estates: May they take away half, or a quarter, or an hundredth part? 'Tis strange you should be able to name the Degrees of Severity that will hinder more than promote the Progress of Religion, and cannot name those Degrees that will promote rather than hinder it; that those who would take their Measures by you, and follow your Scheme, might know how to proceed so, as not to do more Harm than Good: For since you are so certain, that there are Degrees of Punishments or Penalties that will do Good, and other Degrees of them that will do Harm; ought you not to have told us, what that true Degree is, or how it may be known, without which all your goodly Scheme is of no use? For allowing all you have said to be as true as you would have it, no Good can be done without shewing the just Measure of Punishment to be used.

If the Degree be too great, it will, you confess, do Harm: Can one then not err on the other hand, by using too little? If you say so, we are agreed, and I desire no better Toleration. If therefore too great will do Harm, and too little, in your Opinion will do no Good, you ought to tell us the just mean. This I pressed upon you; whereof that the Reader may be Judge, I shall here trouble him with the Repetition.

" There is a third Thing, that you are as tender and reserv'd in, as either naming L. 2 p. 278.
 " the Criminals to be punished, or positively telling us the End for which they should
 " be punished; and that is, with what sort of Penalties, what degree of Punishment
 " they should be forced. You are indeed so gracious to them, that you renounce
 " the Severities and Penalties hitherto made use of. You tell us, they should be but A. p. 24.
 " moderate Penalties. But if we ask you what are moderate Penalties, you confess
 " you cannot tell us: So that by moderate here, you yet mean nothing. You tell A. p. 15.
 " us, The outward Force to be applied, should be duly tempered. But what that due
 " Temper is, you do not, or cannot say; and so, in effect, it signifies just nothing.
 " Yet if in this you are not plain and direct, all the rest of your Design will signify
 " nothing. For it being to have some Men, and to some End, punished; yet if it
 " cannot be found what Punishment is to be used, it is (notwithstanding all you have
 " said) utterly useless. You tell us modestly, That to determine precisely the just A. p. 12.
 " measure of the Punishment, will require some Consideration. If the Faults were pre-
 " cisely determined, and could be proved, it would require no more Consideration
 " to determine the measure of the Punishment in this, than it would in any other
 " Case, where those were known. But where the Fault is undefined, and the Guilt
 " not to be proved, (as I suppose it will be found in this present Business of exa-
 " mining) it will without doubt require Consideration to proportion the Force to the
 " Design: Just so much Consideration as it will require to fit a Coat to the Moon,
 " or proportion a Shoe to the Feet of those who inhabit her. For to proportion a
 " Punishment to a Fault that you do not name, (and so we in Charity ought to
 " think you do not yet know) and a Fault that when you have named, it will be
 " impossible to be proved who are or are not guilty of it, will, I suppose, require
 " as much Consideration as to fit a Shoe to Feet whose Size and Shape are not
 " known.

" However, you offer some measures whereby to regulate your Punishments; which
 " when they are looked into, will be found to be just as good as none, they be-
 " ing impossible to be any Rule in the Case. The first is, So much Force, or such A. p. 14.
 " Penalties as are ordinarily sufficient to prevail with Men of common Discretion,
 " and not desperately perverse and obstinate, to weigh Matters of Religion carefully and
 " impartially, and without which ordinarily they will not do this. Where it is to be
 " observed:

" First,

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" First, That who are these Men of *common Discretion*, is as hard to know, as to know what is a fit Degree of Punishment in the Case; and so you do but regulate one Uncertainty by another. Some Men will be apt to think, that he who will not weigh *Matters of Religion*, which are of infinite Concernment to him, without Punishment, cannot in reason be thought a Man of *common Discretion*. Many Women of *common Discretion* enough to manage the ordinary Affairs of their Families, are not able to read a Page in an ordinary Author, or to understand and give an account what it means, when read to them. Many Men of *common Discretion* in their Callings, are not able to judge when an Argument is conclusive or no; much less to trace it through a long Train of Consequences. *What Penalties shall be sufficient to prevail with such (who upon Examination, I fear, will not be found to make the least part of Mankind) to examine and weigh Matters of Religion carefully and impartially?* The Law allows all to have *common Discretion*, for whom it has not provided Guardians or Bedlam. So that, in effect, your Men of *common Discretion*, are all Men, not judg'd Idiots or mad Men: And Penalties sufficient to prevail with Men of *common Discretion*, are Penalties sufficient to prevail with all Men but Idiots and mad Men. Which what a Measure it is to regulate Penalties by, let all Men of *common Discretion* judge.

" Secondly, You may be pleased to consider, that all Men of the same Degree of *Discretion*, are not apt to be moved by the same Degree of Penalties. Some are of a more yielding, some of a more stiff Temper; and what is sufficient to prevail on one, is not half enough to move the other; though both Men of *common Discretion*. So that *common Discretion* will be here of no use to determine the Measure of Punishment: especially, when in the same Clause you except Men *desperately perverse and obstinate*; who are as hard to be known, as what you seek, viz. the just Proportions of Punishments necessary to prevail with Men to consider, examine, and weigh *Matters of Religion*; wherein, if a Man tells you he has considered, he has weighed, he has examined, and so goes on in his former Course, 'tis impossible for you ever to know whether he has done his Duty, or whether he be *desperately perverse and obstinate*. So that this Exception signifies just nothing.

" There are many things in your use of Force and Penalties, different from any I ever met with elsewhere. One of them, this Clause of yours concerning the Measure of Punishments, now under Consideration, offers me; wherein you proportion your Punishments only to the Yielding and Corrigible, not to the Perverse and Obstinate; contrary to the common Discretion which has hitherto made Laws in other Cases, which levels the Punishments against refractory Offenders, and never spares them because they are obstinate. This however I will not blame as an Oversight in you. Your new Method, which aims at such impracticable and inconsistent things as Laws cannot bear, nor Penalties be useful to, forced you to it. The Uselessness, Absurdity, and Unreasonableness of great Severities, you had acknowledged in the foregoing Paragraphs: Dissenters you would have brought to consider by moderate Penalties; they lie under them; but whether they have considered or no, (for that you cannot tell) they still continue Dissenters. What is to be done now? Why, the Incurable are to be left to God, as you tell us. Your Punishments were not meant to prevail on the *desperately Perverse and Obstinate*, as you tell us here. And so whatever be the Success, your Punishments are however justified.

A. p. 12. The fulness of your Answer to my Question, *With what Punishments?* made you possibly pass by these two or three Pages without making any particular Reply to any thing I said in them: we will therefore examine that Answer of yours, where you tell us, That having in your Answer declared that you take the Severities so often mentioned (which either destroy Men, or make them miserable) to be utterly unapt and improper (for Reasons there given) to bring Men to embrace the Truth that must save them: but just how far within those Bounds that Force extends it self, which is really serviceable to that End, you do not presume to determine. To determine how far moderate Force reaches, when it is necessary to your Business that it should be determined, is not presuming: You might with more Reason have called it presuming, to talk of moderate Penalties, and not to be able to determine what you mean by them; or to promise, as you do, That you will tell plainly and directly, with what Punishments; and here to tell us, You do not presume to determine. But you give a Reason for this Modesty of yours, in what follows, where you tell me, I have not shown any Cause why you should. And yet you may find in what is above repeated to you, these

these Words, " If in this you are not plain and direct, all the rest of your Design will " signify nothing. But had I failed in shewing *any Cause why you should* ; and your Charity would not enlighten us, unless driven by my Reasons, I dare say yet, If I have not shewn *any Cause why you should determine* in this Point, I can shew a Cause why you should not. For I will be answerable to you, that you cannot name any Degree of Punishment, which will not be either so great, as to come among those you condemn, and shew what your Moderation, what your Aversion to Persecution is ; or else too little to attain those Ends for which you propose it. But whatever you tell me, that I have shewn *no Cause why you should determine*, I thought it might have passed for a Cause why you should determine more particularly, that (as you will find in those Pages) I had proved that the Measures, you offer whereby to regulate your Punishments, are just as good as none.

Your Measures in your *Argument considered*, and which you repeat here again, are in these Words ; *So much Force, or such Penalties as are ordinarily sufficient to prevail with Men of common Discretion, and not desperately perverse, to weigh Matters of Religion carefully and impartially, and without which ordinarily they will not do this ; so much Force, or such Penalties may fitly and reasonably be used for the promoting true Religion in the World, and the Salvation of Souls. And what just Exception this is liable to, you do not understand.* Some of the Exceptions it is liable to, you might have seen in what I have here again caused to be reprinted, if you had thought them worth your Notice. But you go on to tell us here, That when you speak of *Men of common Discretion, and not desperately perverse and obstinate*, you think 'tis plain enough, that by common Discretion you exclude not Idiots only, and such as we usually call mad Men, but likewise the desperately Perverse and Obstinate, who perhaps may well enough deserve that Name, though they be not wont to be sent to Bedlam. Pag. 49.

Whether by this you have at all taken off the Difficulty, and shewn your Measure to be any at all in the use of Force, I leave the Reader to judge. I asked, Since great ones are unfit, what Degrees of Punishment or Force are to be used ? You answer, *So much Force, and such Penalties as are ordinarily sufficient to prevail with Men of ordinary Discretion.* I tell you 'tis as hard to know who those Men of common Discretion are, as what Degree of Punishment you would have used ; unless we will take the " Determination of the Law, which allows all to have common Discretion, " for whom it has not provided Guardians or Bedlam : so that in Effect, your Men " of common Discretion are all Men not judg'd Idiots or mad Men. To clear this, you tell us, When you speak of *Men of common Discretion, and not desperately perverse and obstinate*, you think 'tis plain enough, by common Discretion you exclude not Idiots only, and such as are usually called mad Men, but likewise the desperately perverse and obstinate. It may be you did, for you best know what you meant in writing : but if by *Men of common Discretion*, you excluded the desperately perverse and obstinate, let us put what you meant by the Words, *Men of common Discretion*, in the place of those Words themselves, and then according to your meaning, your Rule stands thus ; *Penalties ordinarily sufficient to prevail with Men not desperately perverse and obstinate, and with Men not desperately perverse and obstinate : so that at last, by Men of common Discretion, either you excluded only Idiots, and mad Men ; or if we must take your Word for it, that by them you excluded likewise the desperately perverse and obstinate, and so meant something else ; 'tis plain, you meant only a very useless and insignificant Tautology.*

You go on, and tell us, *If the Penalties you speak of, be intended for the curing Mens unreasonable Prejudices and Refractoriness against the true Religion, then the reason why the desperately perverse and obstinate are not to be regarded in measuring these Penalties, is very apparent. For as Remedies are not provided for the Incurable, so in the preparing and tempering them, regard is to be had only to those for whom they are designed. Which, true or false, is nothing to the purpose, in a Place where you profess to inform us, what Punishments are to be used.* We are enquiring who are the desperately perverse and obstinate, and not whether they are to be punished or no. You pretend to give us a Rule to know what Degrees of Force are to be used, and tell us, *it is so much as is ordinarily sufficient to prevail with Men of common Discretion, and not desperately perverse and obstinate.* We again ask, who are your *Men of common Discretion* ? You tell us, such as are not Madmen or Idiots, or desperately perverse and obstinate. Very well ; but who are those desperately perverse and obstinate, how shall we know them ? and to this you

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you tell us, *they are not to be regarded in measuring these Penalties.* Whereby certainly we have got a plain Measure of your moderate Penalties. No, not yet, you go on in the next Paragraph to perfect it, where you say, *To prevent a little Cavil, it may be needful to note that there are Degrees of Perverseness and Obstinacy, and that Men may be perverse and obstinate without being desperately so.* So then now we have your Measure compleat; and to determine the just Degrees of Punishments; and to clear up the Doubt, who are the *desperately perverse and obstinate*, we need but be told that *there are Degrees of Perverseness and Obstinacy; and that Men may be perverse and obstinate without being desperately so: And that therefore some perverse and obstinate Persons may be thought curable, though such as are desperately so, cannot.* But does all this tell us who are the *desperately perverse and obstinate*? which is the thing we want to be informed in; nor till you have told us that, have you removed the Objection.

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But if by *desperately perverse and obstinate*, you will tell us, you meant those, that are not wrought upon by your moderate Penalties, as you seem to intimate in your Reason, why the *desperately perverse and obstinate* are not to be regarded in measuring these Penalties: For, say you, *as Remedies are not provided for the incurable; so in preparing and tempering them, Regard is to be had only to those for whom they are designed.* So that by the *desperately perverse and obstinate*, you will perhaps say 'twas plain you meant the *incurable*; for you ordinarily shift off the Doubtfulness of one Place, by appealing to as doubtful an Expression in another. If you say then, that by *desperately perverse and obstinate*, you mean *incurable*; I ask you again by what *incurable*? by your lower Degrees of Force? For I hope where Force is proper to work, those who are not wrought on by lower Degrees, may yet be by higher. If you mean so, then your Answer will amount to thus much, *Moderate Penalties* are such as are sufficient to prevail on those who are not *desperately perverse and obstinate*. The *desperately perverse and obstinate* are those who are *incurable*, and the *Incurable* are those on whom moderate Penalties are not sufficient to prevail: Whereby at last we have got a sure Measure of what are moderate Penalties; just such an one, as if having a Sovereign Universal Medicine put into your Hand, which will never fail, if you can hit the right Dose, which the Inventer tells you must be moderate: You should ask him what was the moderate Quantity it is to be given in; and he should answer, In such a Quantity as was ordinarily sufficient to work on common Constitutions, and not *desperately perverse and obstinate*. And to you asking again, who were of *desperately perverse and obstinate* Constitutions? It should be answered, Those that were *incurable*. And who were *incurable*? Those whom a moderate Quantity would not work on. And thus to your Satisfaction, you know the moderate Dose by the *desperately perverse and obstinate*; and the *desperately perverse and obstinate* by being *incurable*; and the *Incurable* by the moderate Dose. For if, as you say, *Remedies are not provided for the incurable*, and none but moderate Penalties are to be provided, is it not plain, that you mean, that all that will not be wrought on by your moderate Penalties, are in your Sense *incurable*?

To ease you, Sir, of justifying your self, and shewing that I have mistaken you, do but tell us positively what in Penalties is the highest Degree of moderate; who are *desperately perverse and obstinate*; or who are *incurable*, without this relative and circular way of defining one by the other; and I will yield my self to have mistaken you, as much as you please.

If by *incurable* you mean such as no Penalties, no Punishments, no Force is sufficient to work on; then your Measure of moderate Penalties will be this, that they are such, as are sufficient to prevail with Men not *incurable*, i. e. who cannot be prevailed on by any Punishments, any Force whatsoever; which will be a Measure of moderate Punishments, which (whatsoever you do) some will be very apt to approve of.

But let us suppose by these Marks (since you will afford us no better) that we can find who are *desperately perverse and obstinate*, we are yet as far as ever from finding the Measures of your moderate Punishments, till it can be known, what Degree of Force it is, that is ordinarily sufficient to prevail with all that are Men of common Discretion, and not *desperately perverse and obstinate*; for you are told, that all Men of the same Degree of Discretion are not apt to be moved with the same Degree of Penalties: But to this too you answer nothing, and so we are still without any Rule or Means of knowing how to adjust your Punishments, that being ordinarily sufficient to prevail upon one, the double whereof is not ordinarily sufficient to prevail on another.

I tell

I tell you in the same Place, "That you have given us in another Place, something like another Boundary to your moderate Penalties: But when examined, it proves just like the rest, amusing us only with good Words, so put together as to have no direct meaning; an Art very much in use amongst some sort of learned Men: The Words are these; *Such Penalties as may not tempt Persons who have any Concern for their Eternal Salvation (and those who have none, ought not to be considered) to renounce a Religion which they believe to be true, or profess one which they do not believe to be so.* If by any Concern, you mean such as Men ought to have for their Eternal Salvation; By this Rule you may make your Punishments as great as you please; and all the Severities you have disclaimed may be brought in Play again: For none of those will be able to make a Man, who is truly concerned for his Eternal Salvation, renounce a Religion he believes to be true, or profess one he does not believe to be so. If by those who have any Concern, you mean such, who have some faint Wishes for Happiness hereafter, and would be glad to have things go well with them in the other World, but will venture nothing in this World for it; these the moderateest Punishments you can imagine will make to change their Religion. If by any Concern, you mean whatever may be between these two; the Degrees are so infinite, that to proportion your Punishments by that, is to have no Measure of them at all. To which all the Reply I can find is only this, That there are Degrees of Carelessness in Men of their Salvation, as well as of Concern for it. So that such as have some Concern for their Salvation, may yet be careless of it to a great Degree. And therefore if those who have any Concern for their Salvation, deserve Regard and Pity; then so may some careless Persons: though those who have no Concern for their Salvation, deserve not to be considered, which spoils a little Harangue you give us, P. 43. If you think this to be an Answer to what I said, or that it can satisfy any one concerning the way of knowing what Degrees of Punishment are to be used, pray tell us so. The Enquiry is, what Degrees of Punishment will tempt a Man, who has any Concern for his Eternal Salvation, to renounce a Religion he believes to be true? And 'tis answered, There are Degrees of Carelessness in Men of their Salvation, as well as Concern for it. A happy Discovery: What's the Use of it? So that such as have some Concern for their Salvation, may yet be careless of it to a great Degree. Very true: By this we may know what Degree of Force is to be used. No, not a Word of that, but the Inference is, And therefore if those who have any Concern for their Salvation, deserve Regard and Pity, then so may some careless Persons; though those who have no Concern for their Salvation, deserve not to be considered. And by this time we know what Degree of Force will make a Man, who has any Concern for his Salvation, renounce a Religion he believes true, and profess one he does not believe to be so. This might do well at cross Questions: but you are satisfied with what you have done, and what that is, you tell me in the next Words, which spoils a little Harangue of yours given us, P. 43. The Harangue I suppose is contained in these Words.

"One thing I cannot but take notice of in this Passage before I leave it: and that is, that you say here, *Those who have no Concern for their Salvation, deserve not to be considered.* In other Parts of your Letter you pretend to have Compassion on the Careless, and provide Remedies for them: But here of a sudden your Charity fails you, and you give them up to eternal Perdition, without the least Regard, the least Pity, and say, *They deserve not to be considered.* Our Saviour's Rule was, the Sick and not the Whole need a Physician: Your Rule here is; *Those that are careless, are not to be considered, but are to be left to themselves.* This would seem strange, if one did not observe what drew you to it. You perceiv'd that if the Magistrate was to use no Punishments, but such as would make no body change their Religion, he was to use none at all: For the Careless would be brought to the National Church with any slight Punishments; and when they are once there, you are it seems satisfied, and look no farther after them. So that by your own Measures, if the Careless, and those who have no Concern for their Eternal Salvation, are to be regarded and taken Care of, if the Salvation of their Souls is to be promoted, there is to be no Punishments to be used at all: And therefore you leave them out as not to be considered.

What you have said is so far from spoiling that Harangue, as you are pleased to call it, that you having nothing else to say to it, allows what is laid to your Charge in it.

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You wind up all concerning the Measures of your Force in these Words; *And as those Medicines are thought safe and advisable, which do ordinarily cure, though not always (as none do;) so those Penalties or Punishments, which are ordinarily found sufficient (as well as necessary) for the Ends for which they are designed, may fitly and reasonably be used for the compassing these Ends.* Here your ordinarily comes to your Help again; and here one would think that you meant such as cure sometimes, not always; some though not all: And in this Sense will not the utmost Severities come within your Rule? For can you say, if Punishments are to be used to prevail on any, that the greater will (where lower fail) prevail on none? At least can you be sure of it till they have been tried for the compassing these Ends? which as we shall see in another Place, you have assigned various enough. I shall only take notice of two or three often repeated by you, and those are to make Men *hear*, to make Men *consider*, to make Men *consider as they ought*, i. e. as you explain it, to make Men *consider* so, as not to *reject*. The Greatness of the Force then, according to this measure, must be *sufficient* to make Men *hear*, *sufficient* to make Men *consider*, and *sufficient* to make Men *embrace* the true Religion.

And now the Magistrate has all your Rules about the measures of Punishments to be used, and may confidently and safely go to work to establish it by a Law: for he having these Marks to guide him, that they must be great enough ordinarily to prevail with those who are not Idiots or Madmen, nor desperately perverse and obstinate, great enough ordinarily to prevail with Men to *hear*, *consider*, and *embrace* the true Religion, and yet not so great as might tempt Persons, who have any Concern for their eternal Salvation, to renounce a Religion which they believe to be true, or profess one which they do not believe to be so: Do you not think you have sufficiently instructed him in your meaning, and enabled him to find the just Temper of his Punishments according to your Scheme, neither too much, nor too little? But however you may be satisfied with them, I suppose others, when it comes to be put in practice, will by these measures (which are all I can find in your Scheme) be scarce able to find, what are the Punishments you would have used.

In *Eutopia* there is a Medicine call'd *Hiera Picra*, which 'tis supposed would cure a troublesome Disease of that Country: but it is not to be given, but in the Dose prescribed by the Law, and in adjusting the Dose lies all the Skill: For if you give too much, it heightens the Distemper, and spreads the mortal Contagion; and if too little, it does no good at all. With this Difficulty the Law-makers have been perplexed these many Ages, and could not light on the right Dose, that would work the Cure, till lately there came an Undertaker, who would shew them how they could not mistake. He bid them then prescribe so much, as would ordinarily be effectual upon all that were not Idiots or Mad-men, or in whom the Humour was not desperately perverse and obstinate, to produce the End for which it was designed; but not so much as would make a Man in Health, who had any Concern for his Life, fall into a mortal Disease. These were good Words, and he was rewarded for them: but when by them they came to fix the Dose, they could not tell whether it ought to be a Grain, a Dram, or an Ounce, or a whole Pound, any more than before; and so the Dose of their *Hiera Picra*, notwithstanding this Gentleman's Pains, is as uncertain, and that sovereign Remedy as useless as ever it was.

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In the next Paragraph you tell us, You do not see what more can be required to justify the Rule here given. So quick a Sight needs no Spectacles. For if I demand that it should express what Penalties particularly are such as it says may fitly and reasonably be used; this I must give you leave to tell me is a very unreasonable Demand. It is an unreasonable Demand, if your Rule be such, that by it I may know without any more ado, the particular Penalties that are fit; otherwise it is not unreasonable to demand them by Name, if your Marks be not sufficient to know them by. But let us hear your Reason, For what Rule is there that expresses the Particulars that agree with it? And it is an admirable Rule with which one can find no Particulars that agree; for I challenge you to instance in one: A Rule, you say, is intended for a common Measure by which Particulars are to be examined, and therefore must necessarily be general. So general, loose, and inconsistent, that no Particulars can be examined by it: for again I challenge you, or any Man living, to measure out any Punishment by this your common Measure, and establish it by a Law. You go on; And those to whom it is given, are supposed to be able to apply it, and to judge of Particulars by it. Nay it is often seen that they are better able to do this than those who give it: And so it is in the present Case, the Rule hereby laid down is that by which you suppose Governours and Law-givers ought to examine

examine the Penalties they use for the promoting the true Religion, and the Salvation of Souls. Such a Rule it ought to be I grant, and such an one is desired: but that yours is such a Rule as Magistrates can take any measure by, for the Punishments they are to settle by Law, is denied, and you are again desired to shew. You proceed; *But certainly no Man doubts but their Prudence and Experience enables them to use and apply it better than other Men, and to judge more exactly what Penalties do agree with it, and what do not; and therefore you think I must excuse you if you do not take upon you to teach them what it becomes you rather to learn from them.* If we are not to doubt but their Prudence and Experience enables Magistrates to judge best what Penalties are fit, you have indeed given us at last a way to know the measure of Punishments to be used: but it is such an one as puts an End to your Distinction of moderate Penalties: For no Magistrates that I know, when they once began to use Force to bring Men to their Religion, ever stopp'd till they came to some of those Severities you condemn; and if you pretend to teach them Moderation for the future, with Hopes to succeed, you ought to have shewed them the just Bounds, beyond which they ought not to go, in a Model so wholly new, and besides all Experience. But if it be to be determined by their Prudence and Experience, whatever Degrees of Force they shall use, will always be the right. Pag. 56.

Law-makers and Governors however beholden to you for your good Opinion of their Prudence and Experience; yet have no reason to thank you for your Complement, by giving such an Exercise to their Prudence and Experience, as to put it upon them to find out the just measures of Punishments, by Rules you give them, which are such, that neither your self, nor any body else can find out any Measures by. The other part of your Complement will be suspected not to be so much out of your abundant Respect to Law-makers and Governours, as out of the great Regard you have to your self; for you in vain pretend you forbear to name any particular Punishments, because you will not take upon you to teach Governours and Law-makers, when you your self own in the same Breath, that you are laying down Rules by which they are to proceed in the Use of Penalties for promoting Religion, which is little different from teaching: and your whole Book is nothing else but about the Magistrate's Power and Duty. I excuse you therefore for your own sake from naming any particular Punishments by your Rules: for you have a right to it, as all Men have a right to be excused from doing what is impossible to be done.

Since therefore you grant that those Severities you have named, are more apt to hinder than promote true Religion; and you cannot assign any measures of Punishment (short of those great ones you have condemned) which are fit to promote it, I think it Argument enough to prove against you, that no Punishments are fit, till you have shewed some others, either by Name, or such Marks as they may certainly be known by, which are fit to promote the true Religion: and therefore nothing you have said there, or any where else, will serve to shew that 'tis with little reason, as you tell me, Pag. 19. that I say, "that if your indirect and at a distance Serviceableness may authorize the Magistrate to use Force in Religion, all the Cruelties used by the Heathens against Christians, by Papists against Protestants, and all the persecuting of Christians one amongst another, are all justifiable. To which you add, *Not to take notice at present how oddly it sounds, that that which authorizes the Magistrates to use moderate Penalties to promote the true Religion, should justify all the Cruelties that ever were used to promote Heathenism or Popery.*

As oddly as it sounds to you, it will be evidently true, as long as that which authorizes one, authorizes all Magistrates of any Religion, which they believe to be true, to use Force to promote it; and as long as you cannot assign any Bounds to your moderate Punishments, short of those great ones; which you therefore are not able to do, because your Principles, whatever your words deny, will carry you to those Degrees of Severity, which in Profession you condemn: and this, whatever you do, I dare say every considering Reader besides you will plainly see. So that this Imputation is not so unreasonable, since it is evident, that you must either renounce all Punishments whatsoever in Religion, or make use of those you condemn: for in the next Page you tell us, Pag. 10. That all who have sufficient means of Instruction provided for them, may justly be punished for not being of the National Religion, where the true is the National Religion; because it is a Fault in all such not to be of the National Religion. In England then, for example, not to be of the National Religion is a Fault, and a Fault to be punished by the Magistrate. The Magistrate, to cure this Fault, lays, on those who dissent, a

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lower degree of Penalties, a Fine of 1 *d.* per Month. This proving insufficient, what is the Magistrate to do? If he be *obliged*, as you say, to amend this Fault by Penalties, and that low one of 1 *d.* per Month be not sufficient to procure its Amendment, is he not to increase the Penalty? He therefore doubles the Fine to 2 *d.* per Month. This too proves ineffectual, and therefore 'tis still for the same reason doubled, till it come to 1 *s.* 5 *s.* 10 *l.* 100 *l.* 1000 *l.* None of these Penalties working, but yet by being constantly levied, leaving the Delinquents no longer able to pay, Imprisonment and other corporal Punishments follow to enforce an Obedience, till at last this gradual Increase of Penalties and Force, each degree whereof wrought on some few, rises to the highest Severities against those who stand out. For the Magistrate, who is *obliged* to correct this *Vice*, as you call it, and to *do what in him lies* to cure this *Fault*, which opposes their Salvation; and who (if I mistake not, you tell us) is *answerable for all that may follow from his neglect*, had no reason to raise the Fine from 1 *d.* to 2 *d.* but because the first was ineffectual: And if that were a sufficient reason for raising from the first to the second degree, why is it not as sufficient to proceed from the second to the third, and so gradually on? I would fain have any one shew me, where, and upon what ground, such a gradual Increase of Force can stop, till it come to the utmost Extremities. If therefore dissenting from the Church of England, be a Fault to be punished by the Magistrate, I desire you to tell me, where he shall hold his Hand; to name the sort or degree of Punishment, beyond which he ought not to go in the use of Force, to cure them of that Fault, and bring them to Conformity. Till you have done that, you might have spared that Paragraph, where you say, *With what Ingenuity I draw you in to condemn Force in general, only because you acknowledge the ill Effects of prosecuting Men with Fire and Sword, &c. you may leave every Man to judge.* And I leave whom you will to judge, whether from your own Principles it does not unavoidably follow, that if you condemn any Penalties, you must condemn all, as I have shewn; if you will retain any, you must retain all; you must either take or leave all together. For, as I have said, and you deny not, "Where there is no Fault, there no Punishment is moderate; so I add, Where there is a Fault to be corrected by the Magistrate's Force, there no degree of Force, which is ineffectual, and not sufficient to amend it, can be immoderate; especially if it be a Fault of great moment in its Consequences, as certainly that must be, which draws after it the Loss of Mens Eternal Happiness.

You will, 'tis likely, be ready to say here again, (for a good Subterfuge is never to be forsaken) that you except the *desperately perverse and obstinate*. I desire to know for what Reason you except them? Is it because they cease to be faulty? Next I ask you, Who are in your sense the *desperately perverse and obstinate*? Those that 1 *s.* or 5 *s.* or 5 *l.* or 100 *l.* or no Fine will work upon? Those who can bear loss of Estate, but not loss of Liberty? or loss of Liberty and Estate, but not corporal Pains and Torments? or all this, but not loss of Life? For to these Degrees do Men differently stand out. And since there are Men wrought on by the Approaches of Fire and Baggot, which other Degrees of Severity could not prevail with, where will you bound your *desperately perverse and obstinate*? The King of France, though you will allow him not to have Truth of his side, yet when he came to dragooning, found few so *desperately perverse and obstinate*, as not to be wrought on. And why should Truth, in which your Opinion wants Force, and nothing but Force, to help it, not have the Assistance of those Degrees of Force, (when less will not do to make it prevail) which are able to bring Men over to false Religions, which have no *Light* and *Strength* of their own to help them? You will do well therefore to consider whether your Name of *Severities*, in Opposition to the *moderate Punishments* you speak of, has or can do you any service; whether the distinction between *compelling* and *coactive Power* be of any use or difference at all. For you deny the Magistrate to have Power to *compel*: And you contend for his use of his *coactive Power*; which will then be a good Distinction, when you can find a way to use *coactive*, or, which is the same, *compelling* Power without Compulsion. I desire you also to consider, if in matters of Religion, Punishments are to be employed, because they may be useful, whether you can stop at any degree that is ineffectual to the End which you propose, let that End be what it will. If it be barely to gain a *bearing*, as in some Places you seem to say, I think for that small Punishments will generally prevail, and you do well to put that and *moderate Penalties* together. If it be to make Men consider, as in other Places you speak, you cannot tell when you have obtained that End. But if your

your End be, which you seem most to insist on, to make Men consider as they ought, i. e. till they embrace, there are many on whom all your moderate Penalties, all under those Severities you condemn, are too weak to prevail: So that you must either confess, not considering so as to embrace the true Religion, i. e. not considering as one ought, is no Fault to be punished by the coercive Force of the Magistrate; or else you must resume those Severities which you have renounced: Chuse you whether of the two you please.

Therefore 'twas not so much at random that I said, That thither at last Persecu- L. 2. p.
tion must come. Indeed from what you had said of falling under the Stroke of the ²⁶⁴
Sword, which was nothing to the purpose, I added, "That if by that you meant A. p. 136
"any thing to the Business in Hand, you seem to have a reserve for greater Punish-
"ments, when less are not sufficient to bring Men to be convinced. Which hath
produced this warm Reply of yours; And will you ever pretend to Conscience or Mo- Pag. 21.
desty after this? For I beseech you, Sir, what Words could I have used more express or
effectual to signify, that in my Opinion no Dissenters from the true Religion ought to be
punished with the Sword, but such as choose rather to rebel against the Magistrate, than
to submit to lesser Penalties? (For how any should refuse to submit to those Penalties,
but by rebelling against the Magistrate, I suppose you will not undertake to tell me.)
'Twas for this very purpose that I used those Words to prevent Cavils, (as I was then
so simple as to think I might :) And I dare appeal to any Man of common Sense and com-
mon Honesty, whether they are capable of any other meaning. And yet the very thing
which I so plainly disclaim in them, you pretend (without so much as offering to shew
how) to collect from them. "Thither, you say, at last, (viz. to the taking away
"Mens Lives for the saving of their Souls) Persecution must come: As you fear,
"notwithstanding my talk of moderate Punishments, I my self intimate in those
"Words: And if I mean any thing in them to the Business in hand, I seem to have
"a reserve for greater Punishments, when lesser are not sufficient to bring Men to be
"convinced. Sir, I should expect fairer dealing from one of your Pagans or Mahom-
metans. But I shall only add, that I would never wish that any Man who has underta-
ken a bad Cause, should more plainly confess it than by serving it, as here (and not here
only) you serve yours. Good Sir, be not so angry, lest to observing Men you increase
the Suspicion. One may, without Forfeiture of Modesty or Conscience, fear what
Mens Principles threaten, though their Words disclaim it. Nonconformity to the
National, when it is the true Religion, as in England, is a Fault, a Vice, say you,
to be corrected by the coercive Power of the Magistrate. If so, and Force be the pro-
per Remedy, he must increase it, till it be strong enough to work the Cure; and
must not neglect his Duty (for so you make it) when he has Force enough in his
Hand to make this Remedy more powerful. For wherever Force is proper to work
on Men, and bring them to a Compliance, its not producing that Effect can only be
imputed to its being too little: And if so, whither at last must it come, but to
the late Methods of procuring Conformity (and as his most Christian Majesty called
it, of saving of Souls) in France, or Severities like them, when more moderate ones
cannot produce it? For to continue inefficacious Penalties, insufficient upon Trial to
master the Fault they are applied to, is unjustifiable Cruelty; and that which no bo-
dy can have a right to use, it serving only to disease and harm People, without a-
mending them: For you tell us, they should be such Penalties as should make them

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uneasy. He that should vex and pain a Sore you had, with frequent dressing it with some
moderate, painful, but inefficacious Plaister, that promoted not the Cure, would
justly be thought, not only an ignorant, but a dishonest Surgeon. If you are in the
Surgeon's Hands, and his Help is requisite, and the Cure that way to be wrought,
Corrosives and Fire are the most merciful, as well as only justifiable way of Cure,
when the Case needs them. And therefore I hope I may still pretend to Modesty
and Conscience, though I should have thought you so rational a Man, as to be led by
your own Principles; and so honest, charitable, and zealous for the Salvation of
Mens Souls, as not to vex and disease them with inefficacious Remedies to no pur-
pose, and let them miss of Salvation, for want of more vigorous Prosecutions. For
if Conformity to the Church of England be necessary to Salvation, (for else what
Necessity can you pretend of punishing Men at all to bring them to it?) it is Cruelty
to their Souls (if you have Authority for any such means) to use some, and not to
use sufficient Force to bring them to conform. And I dare say you are satisfied,
that

A Third Letter for Toleration.

that the *French* Discipline of dragooning would have made many in *England* Conformists, whom your *lower Penalties* will not prevail on to be so.

Pag. 34.

But to inform you that my Apprehensions were not so wholly out of the way, I beseech you to read here what you have writ in these Words; *For how confidently soever you tell me here, that it is more than I can say for my Political Punishments, that they were ever useful for the promoting true Religion; I appeal to all observing Persons, whether wherever true Religion or sound Christianity has been nationally received and established by moderate penal Laws, it has not always lost ground by the Relaxation of those Laws: whether Sects and Heresies, (even the wildest and most absurd) and even Epicurism and Atheism, have not continually thereupon spread themselves; and whether the very Spirit and Life of Christianity has not sensibly decayed, as well as the number of sound Professors of it been daily lessen'd upon it: Not to speak of what at this time our Eyes cannot but see, for fear of giving Offence; though I hope it will be none to any that have a just Concern for Truth and Piety, to take notice of the Books and Pamphlets which now fly so thick about this Kingdom, manifestly tending to the multiplying of Sects and Divisions, and even to the promoting of Scepticism in Religion among us.* Here you bemoan the decaying State of Religion amongst us at present, by reason of taking off the Penalties from Protestant Dissenters: And I beseech you what Penalties were they? Such whereby many have been ruined in their Fortunes; such whereby many have lost their Liberties, and some their Lives in Prisons; such as have sent some into Banishment, stripp'd of all they had. These were the *penal Laws* by which the national Religion was establish'd in *England*; and these you call *moderate*: For you say, *Wherever true Religion or sound Christianity has been nationally received and established by moderate penal Laws;* and I hope you do not here exclude *England* from having its Religion so established by Law, which we so often hear of; or if to serve the present Occasion, you should, would you also deny, that in the following Words you speak of the present Relaxation in *England*? where after your *Appeal* to all observing People for the dismal Consequences, which you suppose to have every where followed from such Relaxations, you add these pathetic Words, *Not to speak of what at this time our Eyes cannot but see, for fear of giving Offence:* So heavy does the present Relaxation sit on your Mind; which since it is of *penal Laws* you call *moderate*, I shall shew you what they are.

In the first Year of *Q. Elizabeth*, there was a Penalty of 1 s. a Sunday and Holiday laid upon every one, who came not to the Common Prayer then established. This Penalty of 1 s. a time not prevailing, as was desired, in the twenty third Year of her Reign was increased to 20 l. a Month, and Imprisonment for Non-payment within three Months after Judgment given. In the twenty ninth Year of *Eliz.* to draw this yet closer, and make it more forcible, 'twas enacted, That whoever upon one Conviction did not continue to pay on the 20 l. per Month, without any other Conviction or Proceedings against him till he submitted and conformed, should forfeit all his Goods, and two Thirds of his Land for his Life. But this being not yet thought sufficient, it was in the thirty fifth Year of that Queen compleated, and the *moderate penal Laws*, upon which our *national Religion* was established, and whose Relaxation you cannot bear, but from thence date the Decay of the very Spirit and Life of Christianity, were brought to Perfection. For then going to Conventicles, or a Month's Absence from Church, was to be punished with Imprisonment, till the Offender conformed; and if he conformed not within three Months, then he was to abjure the Realm, and forfeit all his Goods and Chattels for ever, and his Lands and Tenements during his Life: And if he would not abjure, or abjuring, did not depart the Realm within a time prefix'd, or returned again, he was to suffer Death as a Felon. And thus your *moderate penal Laws* stood for the established Religion, till their Penalties were, in respect of Protestant Dissenters, lately taken off. And now let the Reader judge whether your pretence to moderate Punishments, or my Suspicion of what a Man of your Principles might have in store for Dissenters, have more of Modesty or Conscience in it; since you openly declare your regret for the taking away such an Establishment, as by the gradual Increase of Penalties reached Mens Estates, Liberties and Lives; and which you must be presumed to allow and approve of; till you tell us plainly, where, according to your Measures, those Penalties should; or, according to your Principles, they could have stopp'd.

You tell us, That where this only true Religion, viz. of the Church of *England*, is received, other Religions ought to be discouraged in some measure. A pretty Expression

pression for Undoing, Imprisonment, Banishment, for those have been some of the *Discouragements* given to Dissenters here in *England*. You will again, no doubt, cry aloud, that you tell me you *condemn* these as much as I do. If you heartily condemn them, I wonder you should say so little to discourage them; I wonder you are so silent in representing to the Magistrate the Unlawfulness and Danger of using them, in a Discourse where you are treating of the Magistrate's Power and Duty in Matters of Religion; especially this being the side on which, as far as we may guess by Experience, their Prudence is aptest to err: But your Modesty, you know, leaves all to the Magistrate's *Prudence and Experience* on that side, though you over and over again encourage them not to neglect their Duty in the Use of Force, to which you set no Bounds.

You tell us, *Certainly no Man doubts but the Prudence and Experience of Governors and Law-givers enables them to use and apply it, viz. your Rule for the Measure of Punishments, which I have shewed to be no Rule at all; And to judge more exactly what Penalties do agree with it; and therefore you must be excused if you do not take upon you to teach them what it becomes you rather to learn from them.* If your Modesty be such, and you then did what became you, you could not but learn from your Governors and Law-givers, and so be satisfied till within this Year or two, that those Penalties which they measured out for the Establishment of true Religion, though they reach'd to Mens Estates, Liberties and Lives, were such as were fit. But what you have learned of your Law-makers and Governors since the Relaxation, or what Opinion you have of their Experience and Prudence now, is not so easy to say. Pag. 50.

Perhaps you will say again, that you have in express Words declared against *Fire and Sword, loss of Estate, maiming with corporal Punishments, starving and tormenting in noisome Prisons*; and one cannot either in *Modesty* or *Conscience* disbelieve you: Yet in the same Letter you with Sorrow and Regret speak of the Relaxation of such Penalties laid on Nonconformity, by which Men have lost their Estates, Liberties, and Lives too, in noisome Prisons, and in this too must we not believe you? I dare say, there are very few who read that Passage of yours, so feelingly it is penn'd, who want *Modesty* or *Conscience* to believe you therein to be in earnest; and the rather, Pag. 34. because what drops from Men by chance, when they are not upon their guard, is always thought the best Interpretation of their Thoughts.

You name *Loss of Estate, of Liberty, and of Tormenting*, which is *corporal Punishment*, as if you were against them: Certainly you know what you meant by these Words, when you said, you *condemn'd* them; was it any Degree of *Loss of Liberty* or *Estate*, any Degree of *corporal Punishment* that you condemn'd, or only the utmost, or some Degree between these? unless you had then some meaning, and unless you please to tell us, what that meaning was; where 'tis, that in your Opinion the Magistrate ought to stop, who can believe you are in earnest? This I think you may and ought to do for our Information in your System, without any Apprehension that Governors and Law-givers will deem themselves much taught by you, which your *Modesty* makes you so cautious of. Whilst you refuse to do this, and keep your self under the Mask of moderate, convenient, and sufficient Force and Penalties, and other such-like uncertain and undetermin'd Punishments, I think a conscientious and sober Dissenter might expect fairer dealing from one of my *Pagans* or *Mahometans*, as you please to call them, than from one, who so professes Moderation, that what Degrees of Force, what kind of Punishments will satisfy him, he either knows not, or will not declare. For your *moderate and convenient* may, when you come to interpret them, signify what Punishments you please: For the Cure being to be wrought by Force, that will be *convenient*, which the Stubbornness of the Evil requires; and that *moderate*, which is but enough to work the Cure. And therefore I shall return your own Complement, *That I would never wish that any Man who has undertaken a bad Cause, should more plainly confess it than by serving it, as here (and not here only) you serve yours.* I should beg your Pardon for this sort of Language, were it not your own. And what Right you have to it, the Skill you shew in the Management of general and doubtful Words and Expressions, of uncertain and undetermined Signification, will, I doubt not, abundantly convince the Reader. An Instance we have in the Argument before us: For I appeal to any sober Man, who shall carefully read what you write, where you pretend to *tell the World plainly and directly what Punishments* are to be used by your Scheme, whether after having Pag. 49.
weighed

weighed all you say concerning that Matter, he can tell, what a Nonconformist is to expect from you, or find any thing but such Acuteness and Strength as lies in the Uncertainty and Reserve of your way of talking; which whether it be any way futed to your *Modesty* and *Conscience*, where you have undertaken to tell us *what the Punishments are*, whereby you would have Men brought to embrace the true Religion, I leave you to consider.

Pag. 34.

If having said, *Wherever true Religion or sound Christianity has been Nationally received and established by moderate Penal Laws*; you shall for your Defence of the Establishment of the Religion in England by Law, say, which is all is left you to say, that though such severe Laws were made, yet it was only by the Execution of moderate Penal Laws, that it was established and supported: but that those severe Laws that touch'd Mens Estates, Liberties and Lives, were never put in Execution. Why then do you so seriously bemoan the loss of them? But I advise you not to make use of that Plea, for there are Examples in the Memory of hundreds now living, of every one of those Laws of Queen Elizabeth being put in Execution; and pray remember, if by denying it you require this Truth to be made good, 'tis you that force the publishing of a Catalogue of Men that have lost their Estates, Liberties and Lives in Prison, which it would be more for the Advantage of the Religion established by Law, should be forgotten.

But to conclude this great Accusation of yours: If you were not conscious to your self of some Tendency that way, why such an Outcry? Why was *Modesty* and *Conscience* call'd in Question? Why was it less fair *dealing than you could have expected from a Pagan or Mahometan*, for me to say, *if in those Words* "you meant any thing to the Business in Hand, you seemed to have a Reserve for greater Punishments?" Your Business there being to prove, that there was a Power vested in the Magistrate to use Force in Matters of Religion, what could be more besides the *Business in hand*, than to tell us, as you interpret your meaning here, that the Magistrate had a Power to use Force against those who rebell'd (for who ever denied that) whether Dissenters or not Dissenters? Where was it question'd by the Author or me, that *whoever rebell'd, were to fall under the Stroke of the Magistrate's Sword*? And therefore without Breach of *Modesty* or *Conscience*, I might say, what I again here repeat, "That if in those Words you meant any thing to the Business in hand, you seemed to have a Reserve for greater Punishments."

One thing more give me leave to add in Defence of my *Modesty* and *Conscience*; or rather to justify my self from having guessed so wholly beside the Matter, If I should have said, (which I did not) *that I feared you had a Reserve for greater Punishments*.

L. 2. p. 269.

Pag. 38.

For I having brought the Instances of *Ananias* and *Sapphira*, to shew that the Apostles wanted not Power to punish, if they found it necessary to use it; you infer, that therefore *Punishment may be sometimes necessary*. What Punishments I beseech you, for their cost them their Lives? He that, as you do, concludes from thence, that therefore *Punishments may be sometimes necessary*, will hardly avoid (whatever he says) to conclude capital *Punishments necessary*: And when they are necessary, it is you know the Magistrate's Duty to use them. You see how natural it is for Men to go whither their Principles lead them, though at first Sight perhaps they thought it too far.

If to avoid this, you now say you meant it of the Punishment of the incestuous Corinthian, whom I also mentioned in the same Place; I think, supposing your self to lie under the Imputation of a Reserve of greater Punishments; you ought in Prudence to have said so there. Next you know not what Punishment it was the incestuous Corinthian underwent, but it being *for the Destruction of the Flesh*, it seems to be no very light one: And if you will take your Friend St. *Austin's* Word for it, as he in the very Epistle you quote tells you, it was a very severe one, making as much Difference between it, and the Severities Men usually suffer in Prison, as there is between the Cruelty of the Devil and that of the most barbarous Jaylor: so that if your moderate Punishments will reach to that laid on the incestuous Corinthian for the Destruction of the Flesh, we may presume them to be, what other People call

Severities.

C. H. A. P.

CHAP. V.

How long your Punishments are to continue.

THE Measure of Punishments being to be estimated as well by the Length of their Duration, as the Intensity of their Degrees, 'tis fit we take a view also of your Scheme in this Part.

" I told you that *moderate Punishments* that are continued, that Men find no End L. 2. p. 179.
 " of, know no way out of, sit heavy, and become immoderately uneasy. Dissenters you
 " would have punished, to make them *consider*. Your Penalties have had the Effect
 " on them you intended; they have made them *consider*; and they have done their
 " utmost in considering. What now must be done with them? They must be pu-
 " nished on, for they are still Dissenters. If it were just, and you had Reason at first
 " to punish a Dissenter, to make him *consider*, when you did not know but that he
 " had considered already; it is as just, and you have as much Reason to punish him
 " on, even when he has performed what your Punishment was designed for, and has
 " considered, but yet remains a Dissenter. For I may justly suppose, and you must
 " grant, that a Man may remain a Dissenter after all the Consideration your mode-
 " rate Penalties can bring him to; when we see great Punishments, even those Seve-
 " rities you disown as too great, are not able to make Men *consider* so far as to be
 " convinced, and brought over to the National Church. If your Punishments may
 " not be inflicted on Men, to make them *consider*, who have or may have considered
 " already, for ought you know; then Dissenters are never to be once punished, no
 " more than any other sort of Men. If Dissenters are to be punished, to make them
 " *consider*, whether they have considered or no; then their Punishments, though they
 " do *consider*, must never cease as long as they are Dissenters, which whether it be
 " to punish them only to bring them to *consider*, let all Men judge. This I am sure;
 " Punishments in your Method, must either never begin upon Dissenters, or never
 " cease. And so pretend Moderation if you please, the Punishments which your
 " Method requires, must be either very immoderate, or none at all. But to this you
 " say nothing, only for the adjusting of the Length of your Punishments, and therein
 " vindicating the Consistency and Practicableness of your Scheme, you tell us, *That as* Pag. 51.
 " *long as Men reject the true Religion duly proposed to them, so long they offend and deserve*
 " *punishment, and therefore it is but just that so long they should be left liable to it.* You Pag. 46.
 " promised to answer to this Question, amongst others, *plainly and directly*. The Que-
 " tion is, How long they are to be punished? And your Answer is, *It is but just that*
 " *so long they should be liable to Punishment*. This extraordinary Caution in speaking out,
 " if it were not very natural to you, would be apt to make one suspect, it was accommo-
 " dated more to some Difficulties of your Scheme, than to your Promise of answering
 " *plainly and directly*; or possibly you thought, it would not agree to that Character of
 " Moderation you assume, to own, that all the Penal Laws which were lately here in
 " Force, and whose Relaxion you bemoan, should be constantly put in Execution. But
 " your Moderation in this Point comes too late. For as your Charity, as you tell us
 " in the next Paragraph, *requires that they be kept subject to Penalties*: So the watchful
 " Charity of others in this Age hath found out ways to encourage Informers, and put it
 " out of the Magistrate's Moderation to stop the Execution of the Law against Dissent-
 " ers, if he should be inclined to it.

We will therefore take it for granted, that if Penal Laws be made concerning Religion, (for more Zeal usually animates them than others) they will be put in Execution: and indeed I have heard it argued to be very absurd, to make or continue Laws, that are not constantly put in Execution. And now to shew you how well your Answer *consists* with other Parts of your Scheme, I shall need only to mind you, that if Men must be *punished as long as they reject the true Religion*, those who punish them, must be Judges what is the true Religion. But this Objection, with some other, to which this part of your Answer is obnoxious, having been made to you more at large elsewhere, I shall here omit, and proceed to other Parts of your Answer.

Pag. 50.

You begin with your Reason for the Answer you afterwards give us in the Words I last quoted: Your Reason runs thus; *For certainly nothing is more reasonable than that Men should be subject to Punishment as long as they continue to offend. As long as Men reject the true Religion tender'd them with sufficient Evidence of the Truth of it, so long 'tis certain they offend.* It is certainly very reasonable, that Men should be subject to Punishment from those they offend as long as they continue to offend: But it will not from hence follow, that those who offend God, are always subject to Punishment from Men. For if they be, why does not the Magistrate punish Envy, Hatred, and Malice, and all Uncharitableness? If you answer, because they are not capable of judicial Proofs: I think I may say 'tis as easy to prove a Man guilty of Envy, Hatred or Uncharitableness, as it is to prove him guilty of rejecting the true Religion tender'd him with sufficient Evidence of the Truth of it. But if it be his Duty to punish all Offences against God, why does the Magistrate never punish Lying, which is an Offence against God, and is an Offence capable of being judicially proved? It is plain therefore that it is not the Sense of all Mankind, that it is the Magistrate's Duty to punish all Offences against God; and where it is not his Duty to use Force, you will grant the Magistrate is not to use it in Matters of Religion, because where it is necessary, it is his Duty to use it; but where it is not necessary, you your self say, it is not lawful. It would be convenient therefore for you to reform your Proposition from that loose Generality it now is in, and then prove it, before it can be allowed you to be to your Purpose; though it be never so true, that you know not a greater Crime a Man can be guilty of, than rejecting the true Religion.

Pag. 51.

You go on with your Proof, that so long as Men reject the true Religion, &c. so long they offend, and consequently may justly be punished; *Because, say you, it is impossible for any Man, innocently to reject the true Religion, so tender'd to him. For whoever rejects that Religion so tender'd, does either apprehend and perceive the Truth of it, or he does not. If he does, I know not what greater Crime any Man can be guilty of. If he does not perceive the Truth of it, there is no Account to be given of that, but either that he shuts his Eyes against the Evidence which is offer'd him, and will not at all consider it; or that he does not consider it as he ought, viz. with such Care as is requisite, and with a sincere Desire to learn the Truth; either of which does manifestly involve him in Guilt.*

To say here that a Man who has the true Religion proposed to him with sufficient Evidence of its Truth, may consider it as he ought, or do his utmost in considering, and yet not perceive the Truth of it; is neither more nor less, than to say, that sufficient Evidence is not sufficient Evidence. For what does any Man mean by sufficient Evidence, but such as will certainly win Assent wherever it is duly considered?

I shall not trouble my self here to examine when requisite Care, duly considered, and such other Words, which bring one back to the same Place from whence one set out, are cast up, whether all this fine Reasoning will amount to any thing, but begging what is in the Question: But shall only tell you, that what you say here and in other Places about sufficient Evidence, is built upon this, that the Evidence wherewith a Man proposes the true Religion, he may know to be such, as will not fail to gain the Assent of whosoever does what lies in him in considering it. This is the Supposition, without which all your Talk of sufficient Evidence will do you no Service, try it where you will. But it is a Supposition that is far enough from carrying with it sufficient Evidence to make it be admitted without Proof.

Whatever gains any Man's Assent, one may be sure had sufficient Evidence in respect of that Man: But that is far enough from proving it Evidence sufficient to prevail on another, let him consider it as long and as much as he can. The Tempers of Mens Minds; the Principles settled there by Time and Education, beyond the Power of the Man himself to alter them; the different Capacities of Mens Understandings, and the strange Ideas they are often filled with, are so various and uncertain, that it is impossible to find that Evidence (especially in things of a mixed Disquisition, depending on so long a Train of Consequences, as some Points of the true Religion may) which one can confidently say will be sufficient for all Men. 'Tis Demonstration that 31876 is the Product of 9467172 divided by 297 , and yet I challenge you to find one Man of a thousand, to whom you can tender this Proposition with demonstrative or sufficient Evidence to convince him of the Truth of it in a dark Room; or ever to make this Evidence appear to a Man, that cannot write and read, so as to make him embrace it as a Truth, if another whom he hath more Confidence in, tells him it is not so. All the demonstrative

monstrative *Evidence* the thing has, all the *Tender* you can make of it, all the *Consideration* he can employ about it, will never be able to discover to him that *Evidence* which shall convince him it is true, unless you will at threescore and ten (for that may be the Case) have him neglect his Calling, go to School, and learn to write and read, and cast Account, which he may never be able to attain to.

You speak more than once of Mens being brought to lay aside their *Prejudices* to make them consider as they ought, and judge right of Matters in Religion; and I grant without doing so they cannot: But it is impossible for Force to make them do it, unless it could shew them, which are *Prejudices* in their Minds, and distinguish them from the Truths there. Who is there almost that has not *Prejudices*, that he does not know to be so; and what can Force do in that Case? It can no more remove them, to make way for Truth, than it can remove one Truth to make way for another; or rather remove an establish'd Truth, or that which is look'd on as an unquestionable Principle (for so are often Mens *Prejudices*) to make way for a Truth not yet known, nor appearing to be one. 'Tis not every one knows, or can bring himself to *Des Cartes's* way of doubting, and strip his Thoughts of all Opinions, till he brings them to self-evident Principles, and then upon them builds all his future Tenents.

Do not think all the World, who are not of your Church, abandon themselves to an utter Carelessness of their future State. You cannot but allow there are many Turks who sincerely seek Truth, to whom yet you could never bring *Evidence sufficient* to convince them of the Truth of the Christian Religion; whilst they looked on it as a Principle not to be question'd, that the Alcoran was of Divine Revelation. This possibly you will tell me is a *Prejudice*, and so it is; but yet if this Man shall tell you 'tis no more a *Prejudice* in him, than it is a *Prejudice* in any one amongst Christians, who having not examin'd it, lays it down as an unquestionable Principle of his Religion, that the Scripture is the Word of God; what will you answer to him? And yet it would shake a great many Christians in their Religion, if they should lay by that *Prejudice*, and suspend their Judgment of it, until they had made it out to themselves with *Evidence sufficient* to convince one who is not prejudiced in Favour of it; and it would require more Time, Books, Languages, Learning and Skill, than fall to most Mens Share to establish them therein, if you will not allow them, in this so distinguishing and fundamental a Point, to rely on the Learning, Knowledge and Judgment of some *Persons* whom they have in *Reverence* or *Admiration*. This though you Page 42. blame it as an ill way, yet you can allow in one of your own Religion, even to that Degree, that he may be ignorant of the *Grounds* of his Religion. And why then may you not allow it to a Turk, not as a good way, or as having led him to the Truth; but as a way, as fit for him, as for one of your Church to acquiesce in; and as fit to exempt him from your Force, as to exempt any one of your Church from it?

To prevent your commenting on this, in which you have shewn so much Dexterity, give me leave to tell you, that for all this I do not think all *Religions equally true or equally certain*. But this, I say, is impossible for you, or me, or any Man, to know, whether another has done his Duty in examining the Evidence on both sides, when he embraces that side of the Question, which we (perhaps upon other Views) judge false: and therefore we can have no Right to punish or persecute him for it. In this, whether and how far any one is faulty, must be left to the Searcher of Hearts, the great and righteous Judge of all Men, who knows all their Circumstances, all the Powers and Workings of their Minds; where 'tis they sincerely follow, and by what Default they at any time miss Truth: And he, we are sure, will judge uprightly.

But when one Man shall think himself a competent Judge, that the true Religion is proposed with *Evidence sufficient* for another; and thence shall take upon him to punish him as an Offender, because he embraces not (upon Evidence that he the Proposer judges sufficient) the Religion that he judges true, had need be able to look into the Thoughts of Men, and know their several Abilities: unless he will make his own Understanding and Faculties to be the Measure of those of all Mankind, which if they be no higher elevated, no larger in their Comprehension, no more discerning, than those of some Men, he will not only be unfit to be a judge in that, but in almost any Case whatsoever.

But since, 1. You make it a Condition to the making a Man an Offender in not being of the true Religion, that it has been *tendered him with sufficient Evidence*. 2. Since you think it so easy for Men to determine when the true Religion has been tender'd to any one *with sufficient Evidence*. And 3. Since you pronounce it *Impiety* to say

that God hath not furnished Mankind with competent Means for the promoting his own Honour in the World, and the Good of Souls. Give me leave to ask you a Question or two. 1. Can any one be saved without embracing the one only true Religion? 2. Were any of the Americans of that one only true Religion, when the Europeans first came amongst them? 3. Whether any of the Americans, before the Christians came amongst them, had offended in rejecting the true Religion tendred with sufficient Evidence? When you have thought upon, and fairly answered these Questions, you will be fitter to determine, how competent a Judge Man is, what is sufficient Evidence; who do offend in not being of the true Religion; and what Punishments they are liable to for it.

But methinks here, where you spend almost a whole Page upon the Crime of rejecting the true Religion duly tendred, and the Punishment that is justly due to it from the Magistrate, you forget your self, and the Foundation of your Plea for Force; which is, that it is necessary: which you are so far from proving it to be in this case of punishing the Offence of rejecting the true Religion, that in this very Page you distinguished it from what is necessary; where you tell us, Your Design does rather oblige you to consider how long Men may need Punishment, than how long it may be just to punish them. So that though they offend, yet if they do not need Punishment, the Magistrate cannot use it, if you ground, as you say you do, the Lawfulness of Force for promoting the true Religion upon the Necessity of it. Nor can you say, that by his Commission from the Law of Nature, of doing Good, the Magistrate, besides reducing his wandering Subjects out of the wrong into the right Way, is appointed also to be the Avenger of God's Wrath on Unbelievers, or those that err in Matters of Religion. This at least you thought not fit to own in the first Draught of your Scheme; for I do not remember in all your Argument considered, one word of Crime or Punishment: nay, in writing this second Treatise, you were so shy of owning any thing of Punishment, that to my remembrance, you scrupulously avoided the use of that word, till you came to this place; and always where the repeating my Words did not oblige you to it, carefully used the Term of Penalties for it, as any one may observe, who reads the preceding part of this Letter of yours, which I am now examining. And you were so nice in the point, that three or four Leaves backwards, where I say, By your Rule Dissenters must be punished, you mend it, and say, Or if I please, subjected to moderate Penalties. But here when the Inquiry How long Force was to be continued on Men, shewed the Absurdity of that Pretence, that they were to be punished on without End, to make them consider; rather than part with your beloved Force, you open the matter a little farther, and profess directly the punishing Men for their Religion. For tho' you do all you can to cover it under the Name of rejecting the true Religion duly proposed; yet it is in truth no more but being of a Religion different from yours, that you would have them punished for: for all that the Author pleads for, and you can oppose in writing against him, is Toleration of Religion. Your Scheme therefore being thus mended, your Hypothesis enlarged, being of a different Religion from the National found criminal, and Punishments found justly to belong to it, it is to be hoped, that in good time your Punishments may grow too, and be advanced to all those Degrees you in the beginning condemned; when having considered a little farther, you cannot miss finding, that the Obstinacy of the Criminals does not lessen their Crime, and therefore Justice will require severer Execution to be done upon them.

Page 51.

But you tell us here, Because your Design does rather oblige you to consider how long Men may need Punishment, than how long it may be just to punish them; therefore you shall add, That as long as Men refuse to embrace the true Religion, so long Penalties are necessary for them to dispose them to consider and embrace it: And that therefore as Justice allows, so Charity requires, that they be kept subject to Penalties, till they embrace the true Religion. Let us therefore see the Consistency of this with other parts of your Hypothesis, and examine it a little by them.

Your Doctrine is, That where Intreaties and Admonitions upon trial do not prevail, Punishments are to be used; but they must be moderate. Moderate Punishments have been tried, and they prevail not; What now is to be done? Are not greater to be used? No: For what Reason? Because those whom moderate Penalties will not prevail on, being desperately perverse and obstinate, Remedies are not to be provided for the Incurable, as you tell us in the Page immediately preceding.

Moderate Punishments have been tried upon a Man once, and again, and a third time, but prevail not at all, make no Impression; they are repeated as many times more,

more, but are still found ineffectual: Pray tell me a Reason why such a Man is concluded so *desperately perverse and obstinate*, that greater Degrees will not work upon him; but yet not so *desperately perverse and obstinate*, but that the same Degrees repeated may work upon him? I will not urge here, that this is to pretend to know the just Degree of Punishment that will or will not work on any one, which I should imagine a pretty intricate Business: But this I have to say, that if you can think it reasonable and useful to continue a Man several Years, nay his whole Life, under the same repeated Punishments, without going any higher, though they work not at all, because 'tis possible some time or other they may work on him; why is it not as reasonable and useful (I am sure it is much more justifiable and *charitable*) to leave him all his Life under the Means, which all agree God has appointed, without going any higher, because 'tis not impossible that some time or other Preaching, and a Word spoken in due season, may work upon him? For why you should despair of the Success of Preaching and Persuasion upon a fruitless Trial, and thereupon think your self authorized to use Force; and yet not so despair of the Success of moderate Force, as after Years of fruitless Trial, to continue it on, and not to proceed to higher Degrees of Punishment, you are concerned for the Vindication of your System to shew a Reason.

I mention the Trial of Preaching and Persuasion, to shew the Unreasonableness of your Hypothesis, supposing such a Trial made: not that in yours, or the common Method, there is or can be a fair Trial made what Preaching and Persuasion can do. For Care is taken by Punishments and ill Treatment, to indispose and turn away Mens Minds, and to add Aversion to their Scruples; an excellent way to soften Mens Inclinations, and temper them for the Impression of Arguments and Intreaties; though these two are only talked of: For I cannot but wonder to find you mention, as you do, giving Ear to *Admonitions, Intreaties and Persuasions*, when these are seldom, if ever made use of, but in Places, where those, who are to be wrought on by them, are known to be out of hearing; nor can be expected to come there, till by such Means they have been wrought on.

'Tis not without reason therefore you cannot part with your Penalties, and would have no end put to your Punishments, but continue them on; since you leave so much to their Operation, and make so little use of other means to work upon Dissenters.

CH A P. VI.

Of the End for which Force is to be used.

HE that should read the beginning of your *Argument considered*, would think it in earnest to be your Design to have Force employed to make Men seriously consider, and nothing else: but he that shall look a little farther into it, and to that add also your Defence of it, will find by the variety of Ends you design your Force for, that either you know not well what you would have it for, or else, whatever 'twas you aimed at, you called it still by that Name which best fitted the Occasion, and would serve best in that place to recommend the Use of it.

You ask me, *whether the Mildness and Gentleness of the Gospel destroys the coercive Power of the Magistrate?* I answer, as you supposed, No: upon which you infer, *Then it seems the Magistrate may use his coercive Power, without offending against the Mildness and Gentleness of the Gospel.* Yes, where he has Commission and Authority to use it. And so, say you, *it will consist well enough with the Mildness and Gentleness of the Gospel for the Magistrate to use his coercive Power to procure them* [I suppose you mean the Ministers and Preachers of the National Religion] *a Hearing where their Prayers and Intreaties will not do it.* No, it will not consist with the gentle and mild Method of the Gospel, unless the Gospel has directed it, or something else to supply its want, till it could be had. As for Miracles, which you pretend to have supplied the want of Force in the first Ages of Christianity, you will find that considered in another place. But, Sir, shew me a Country where the Ministers and Teachers of the National and True Religion go about with *Prayers and Intreaties to procure a Hearing*, and cannot obtain it, and there I think I need not stand with you for the Magistrate to use Force to procure it them; but that I fear will not serve your Turn.

To

- L. p. 273. To shew the Inconsistency and Unpracticableness of your Method, I had said; "Let
 A. p. 5. " us now see to what end they must be punished: Sometimes it is, *To bring them to*
 " *consider those Reasons and Arguments which are proper and sufficient to convince them:*
 " Of what? That it is not easy to set *Grantham Steeple* upon *Paul's Church*? What-
 " ever it be you would have them convinced of; you are not willing to tell us; and
 A. p. 10. " so it may be any thing. Sometimes it is, *To incline them to lend an Ear to those who*
 " *tell them they have mistaken their Way, and offer to shew them the right.* Which is,
 " to lend an Ear to all who differ from them in Religion, as well *crafty Seducers*, as
 A. p. 27. " others. Whether this be for the *procuring the Salvation of their Souls*, the End
 A. p. 23. " for which you say this Force is to be used, judge you. But this I am sure, Who-
 " ever will lend an Ear to all who will tell them they are out of the Way, will not have
 " much time for any other Business.
 A. p. 11. " Sometimes it is, *To recover Men to so much Sobriety and Reflection, as seriously to*
 " *put the Question to themselves, whether it be really worth their while to undergo such*
 " *Inconveniences, for adhering to a Religion which, for any thing they know, may be false;*
 " *or for rejecting another (if that be the case) which, for ought they know, may be true,*
 " *till they have brought it to the Bar of Reason, and given it a fair Trial there.* Which
 " in short amounts to thus much, viz. *To make them examine whether their Religion*
 " *be true, and so worth the holding, under those Penalties that are annexed to it.* Dis-
 " senters are indebted to you for your great Care of their Souls. But what, I beseech
 " you, shall become of those of the National Church, every where (which make far
 " the greater part of Mankind) who have no such Punishments to make them consider;
 " who have not this only Remedy provided for them, but are left in that deplorable
 A. p. 27. " Condition, you mention, of being suffered quietly, and without molestation, to take
 " no care at all of their Souls, or in doing of it to follow their own Prejudices, Humours,
 " or some crafty Seducers? Need not those of the National Church, as well as others,
 " bring their Religion to the Bar of Reason, and give it a fair Trial there? And if they
 " need to do so, (as they must, if all National Religions cannot be supposed true)
 " they will always need that which you say is the only Means to make them do so. So
 A. p. 12. " that if you are sure, as you tell us, that there is need of your Method; I am sure,
 " there is as much need of it in National Churches, as any other. And so, for ought
 " I can see, you must either punish them, or let others alone; unless you think it rea-
 " sonable that the far greater part of Mankind should constantly be without that So-
 " vereign and only Remedy, which they stand in need of equally with other People.
 A. p. 13. " Sometimes the End for which Men must be punished is, *to dispose them to submit*
 " *to Instruction, and to give a fair Hearing to the Reasons are offer'd for the enlightning*
 " *their Minds, and discovering the Truth to them.* If their own Words may be taken
 " for it, there are as few Dissenters as Conformists, in any Country, who will not pro-
 " fess they have done, and do this. And if their own Words may not be taken, who,
 " I pray, must be Judge? you and your Magistrates? If so, then it is plain you punish
 " them not to dispose them to submit to Instruction, but to your Instruction; not to dis-
 " pose them to give a fair Hearing to Reasons offer'd for the enlightning their Minds, but
 " to give an obedient Hearing to your Reasons. If you mean this, it had been fairer
 " and shorter to have spoken out plainly, than thus in fair Words, of indefinite
 " Signification, to say that which amounts to nothing. For what Sense is it, to pu-
 " nish a Man to dispose him to submit to Instruction, and give a fair Hearing to Reasons
 " offer'd for the enlightning his Mind, and discovering Truth to him, who goes two or
 " three times a Week several Miles on purpose to do it, and that with the Hazard of
 " his Liberty or Purse; unless you mean your Instructions, your Reasons, your Truth?
 " Which brings us but back to what you have disclaimed, plain Persecution for dif-
 " fering in Religion.
 A. p. 14. " Sometimes this is to be done, *To prevail with Men to weigh Matters of Religion*
 " *carefully and impartially.* Discountenance and Punishment put into one Scale, with
 " Impunity and Hopes of Preferment put into the other, is as sure a way to make a
 " Man weigh impartially, as it would be for a Prince to bribe and threaten a Judge to
 " make him judge uprightly.
 A. p. 20. " Sometimes it is, *To make Men bethink themselves, and put it out of the Power of*
 " *any foolish Humour, or unreasonable Prejudice, to alienate them from Truth and their*
 " *own Happiness.* Add but this, to put it out of the Power of any Humour or Prejudice of
 " their own, or other Mens, and I grant the End is good, if you can find the means
 " to procure it. But why it should not be put out of the Power of other Mens
 " *Humour*

" *Humour or Prejudice*, as well as their own, wants (and will always want) a Reason to prove. Would it not, I beseech you, to an indifferent By-stander, appear
 " *Humour or Prejudice*, or something as bad; to see Men who profess a Religion
 " reveal'd from Heaven, and which they own contains all in it necessary to Salvation, exclude Men from their Communion, and persecute them with the Penalties
 " of the Civil Law, for not joyning in the Use of Ceremonies, which are no where
 " to be found in that reveal'd Religion? Would it not appear *Humour or Prejudice*,
 " or some such thing, to a sober impartial Heathen; to see Christians exclude and
 " persecute one of the same Faith, for things which they themselves confess to be
 " indifferent, and not worth the contending for? *Prejudice, Humour, Passion, Lusts*, A. p. 6, 7.
 " *Impressions of Education, Reverence and Admiration of Persons, worldly Respects*, 8, 9, 10.
 " *Love of their own Choice, and the like*, (to which you justly impute many Mens taking
 " up and persisting in their Religion) are indeed good Words; and so, on the other
 " side, are these following, *Truth, the right way, enlightning, Reason, sound Judgment*;
 " but they signify nothing at all to your purpose, till you can evidently and
 " unquestionably shew the World, that the latter (*viz. Truth, and the right way, &c.*)
 " are always, and in all Countries, to be found only in the national Church; and
 " the former (*viz. Passion and Prejudice, &c.*) only amongst the Dissenters. But to
 " go on:

" Sometimes it is, *To bring Men to take such Care as they ought of their Salvation*. A. p. 22.
 " *on. What Care is such as Men ought to take*, whilst they are out of your Church,
 " will be hard for you to tell me. But you endeavour to explain your self in the
 " following Words, *That they may not blindly leave it to the Choice neither of any other*
 " *Person, nor yet of their own Lusts and Passions, to prescribe to them what Faith or*
 " *Worship they shall embrace*. You do well to make use of Punishment to shut *Passion*
 " out of the Choice; because you know fear of suffering is no *Passion*. But let
 " that pass. You would have Men punished, *to bring them to take such Care of their*
 " *Salvation, that they may not blindly leave it to the Choice of any other Person to*
 " *prescribe to them*. Are you sincere? Are you in earnest? Tell me then truly: Did
 " the Magistrate or the national Church, any where, or yours in particular, ever
 " punish any Man, to bring him to *have this Care*, which, you say, *he ought to take*
 " *of his Salvation*? Did you ever punish any Man, that he might not *blindly leave it*
 " *to the choice of his Parish-Priest, or Bishop, or the Convocation, what Faith or*
 " *Worship he should embrace*? 'Twill be suspected Care of a Party, or any thing else,
 " rather than *Care of the Salvation of Mens Souls*; if, having found out so *useful, so*
 " *necessary a Remedy, the only Method there is room left for*, you will apply it but A. p. 124
 " partially, and make Trial only on those who you have truly least Kindness for.
 " This will, unavoidably, give one reason to imagine; you do not think so well of
 " your Remedy as you pretend, who are so sparing of it to your Friends; but are
 " very free of it to Strangers, who in other things are used very much like Enemies.
 " But your Remedy is like the *Helleboraster*, that grew in the Woman's Garden, for
 " the Cure of Worms in her Neighbours Children: For truly it wrought too
 " roughly to give it to any of her own. Methinks your Charity, in your present
 " Persecution, is much what as prudent, as justifiable, as that good Woman's. I
 " hope I have done you no Injury, that I here suppose you of the Church of *Eng-*
 " *land*; if I have, I beg your Pardon. It is no Offence of Malice, I assure you:
 " For I suppose no worse of you, than I confess of my self.

" Sometimes this Punishment that you contend for, is, *to bring Men to act accord-* A. p. 22.
 " *ing to Reason and sound Judgment.*

Tertius à Cælo cecidit Cato.

" This is Reformation indeed. If you can help us to it, you will deserve Statues to be erected to you, as to the Restorer of decay'd Religion. But if all Men
 " have not *Reason and sound Judgment*, will Punishment put it into them? Besides,
 " concerning this matter Mankind is so divided, that he *acts according to Reason and*
 " *sound Judgment at Auspurg*, who would be judged to do the quite contrary at *E-*
 " *dinburgh*. Will Punishment make Men know what is *Reason and sound Judgment*?
 " If it will not, 'tis impossible it should make them *act according to it*. *Reason*
 " *and sound Judgment* are the *Elixir* itself, the universal Remedy: And you may as
 " reasonably

" reasonably punish Men to bring them to have the Philosopher's Stone, as to bring
 " them to act according to Reason and sound Judgment.
 A. p. 26. " Sometimes it is, To put Men upon a serious and impartial Examination of the Contro-
 " versy between the Magistrate and them, which is the way for them to come to the Knowledge
 " of the Truth. But what if the Truth be on neither side, (as I am apt to imagine
 " you will think it is not, where neither the Magistrate nor the Dissenter is either
 " of them of your Church,) how will the examining the Controversy between the
 " Magistrate and him be the way to come to the Knowledge of the Truth? Suppose
 " the Controversy between a Lutheran and a Papist; or, if you please, between a
 " Presbyterian Magistrate and a Quaker Subject. Will the examining the Controversy
 " between the Magistrate and the dissenting Subject, in this Case, bring him to the
 " Knowledge of the Truth? If you say, Yes, then you grant one of these to have
 " the Truth on his side. For the examining the Controversy between a Presbyterian
 " and a Quaker, leaves the Controversy either of them has with the Church of
 " England, or any other Church, untouched. And so one, at least, of those being
 " already come to the Knowledge of the Truth, ought not to be put under your Dis-
 " cipline of Punishment; which is only to bring him to the Truth. If you say,
 " No, and that the examining the Controversy between the Magistrate and the Dis-
 " senter, in this Case, will not bring him to the Knowledge of the Truth; you confess
 " your Rule to be false, and your Method to no purpose.
 " To conclude, your System is, in short, this. You would have all Men (laying
 " aside Prejudice, Humour, Passion, &c.) examine the Grounds of their Religion, and
 " search for the Truth. This, I confess, is heartily to be wish'd. The means that
 " you propose to make Men do this, is, that Dissenters should be punished to make
 " them do so. It is as if you had said, Men generally are guilty of a Fault; there-
 " fore let one Sect, who have the ill luck to be of an Opinion different from the
 " Magistrate, be punished. This, at first sight, shocks any one who has the least
 " spark of Sense, Reason, or Justice. But having spoken of this already, and con-
 " cluding that, upon second Thoughts, you your self will be ashamed of it; let us
 " consider it put so as to be consistent with common Sense, and with all the Ad-
 " vantage it can bear, and then let us see what you can make of it. Men are negligent in
 " examining the Religions they embrace, refuse, or persist in; therefore it is fit they should
 " be punished to make them do it. This is a Consequence indeed which may, without
 " Defiance to common Sense, be drawn from it. This is the Use, the only Use,
 " which you think Punishment can indirectly and at a distance have in matters of
 " Religion. You would have Men by Punishments driven to examine. What?
 " Religion. To what End? To bring them to the Knowledge of the Truth. But
 " I answer.
 " First, Every one has not the Ability to do this.
 " Secondly, Every one has not the Opportunity to do it.
 " Would you have every poor Protestant, for Example, in the Palatinate, examine
 " thoroughly whether the Pope be infallible, or Head of the Church; whether there
 " be a Purgatory; whether Saints are to be pray'd to, or the Dead pray'd for;
 " whether the Scripture be the only Rule of Faith; whether there be no Salvation
 " out of the Church; and whether there be no Church without Bishops; and an
 " hundred other Questions in Controversy between the Papists and those Protestants:
 " And when he had master'd these, go on to fortify himself against the Opinions
 " and Objections of other Churches he differs from? This, which is no small Task,
 " must be done, before a Man can have brought his Religion to the Bar of Reason, and
 " given it fair Trial there. And if you will punish Men till this be done, the Coun-
 " tryman must leave off plowing and sowing, and betake himself to the study of Greek
 " and Latin; and the Artisan must sell his Tools, to buy Fathers and Schoolmen,
 " and leave his Family to starve. If something less than this will satisfy you, pray tell
 " me what is enough. Have they considered and examined enough, if they are sa-
 " tisfied themselves where the Truth lies? If this be the Limits of their Examina-
 " tion, you will find few to punish; unless you will punish them to make them do
 " what they have done already. For, however he came by his Religion, there is
 " scarce any one to be found who does not own himself satisfied that he is in the
 " right. Or else, must they be punished to make them consider and examine, till
 " they embrace that which you chuse for Truth? If this be so, what do you but in
 " effect

“ effect chuse for them, when yet you would have Men punished, *to bring them to* A. p. 22.
 “ *such a Care of their Souls that no other Person might chuse for them?* If it be Truth
 “ in general you would have them by Punishments driven to seek; that is to offer
 “ Matter of Dispute, and not a Rule of Discipline. For to punish any one to
 “ make him seek till he find Truth, without a Judge of Truth, is to punish for you
 “ know not what; and is all one as if you should whip a Scholar to make him find
 “ out the square Root of a Number you do not know. I wonder not therefore that
 “ you could not resolve with your self what degree of Severity you would have u-
 “ sed, nor how long continued; when you dare not speak out directly whom you
 “ would have punished, and are far from being clear to what End they should be
 “ under Penalties.

“ Consonant to this Uncertainty, of whom, or what, to be punished; you tell
 “ us, *That there is no Question of the Success of this Method. Force will certainly do,* A. p. 125
 “ *if duly proportioned to the Design of it.*

“ What, I pray, is *the Design of it?* I challenge you, or any Man living,
 “ out of what you have said in your Book, to tell me directly what it is. In all o-
 “ ther Punishments that ever I heard of yet, till now that you have taught the
 “ World a new Method, the Design of them has been to cure the Crime they are
 “ denounced against; and so I think it ought to be here. What, I beseech you, is
 “ the Crime here? Dissenting? That you say not, any where, is a Fault. Besides
 “ you tell us, *That the Magistrate hath not an Authority to compel any one to his Re-* A. p. 21.
 “ *ligion.* And that you do not require that Men should have no Rule but the Religion A. p. 25.
 “ *of the Country.* And the Power you ascribe to the Magistrate is given him to bring A. p. 26.
 “ *Men, not to his own, but to the true Religion.* If dissenting be not the Fault; is
 “ it that a Man does not examine his own Religion, and the grounds of it? Is that
 “ the Crime your Punishments are designed to cure? Neither that dare you say, lest
 “ you displease more than you satisfy with your new Discipline. And then again,
 “ (as I said before) you must tell us how far you would have them examine, before
 “ you punish them for not doing it. And I imagine, if that were all we required
 “ of you, it would be long enough before you would trouble us with a Law, that
 “ should prescribe to every one how far he was to examine Matters of Religion;
 “ wherein if he fail'd, and came short, he was to be punish'd; if he performed, and
 “ went in his Examination to the Bounds set by the Law, he was acquitted and
 “ free. Sir, when you consider it again, you will perhaps think this a Case reserv'd
 “ to the Great Day, when the Secrets of all Hearts shall be laid open. For I ima-
 “ gine it is beyond the Power or Judgment of Man, in that Variety of Circum-
 “ stances, in respect of Parts, Tempers, Opportunities, Helps, &c. Men are in, in
 “ this World, to determine what is every one's Duty in this great Business of Search,
 “ Inquiry, Examination, or to know when any one has done it. That which makes
 “ me believe you will be of this Mind, is, that where you undertake for the Success A. p. 12.
 “ *of this Method, if rightly used, it is with a Limitation, upon such as are not alto-*
 “ *gether incurable.* So that when your Remedy is prepared according to Art, (which
 “ Art is yet unknown) and rightly apply'd, and given in a due Dose, (all which
 “ are Secrets) it will then infallibly cure. Whom? All that are not incurable by
 “ it. And so will a Pippin-Posset, eating Fish in Lent, or a Presbyterian Lecture
 “ certainly cure all that are not incurable by them. For I am sure you do not
 “ mean it will cure all, but those who are absolutely incurable; because you your self
 “ allow one means left of Cure, when yours will not do, viz. *The Grace of God.*
 “ Your Words are, *what means is there left (except the Grace of God) to reduce* A. p. 10.
 “ *them, but to lay Thorns and Briars in their way.* And here also, in the Place we
 “ were considering, you tell us, *The Incurable are to be left to God.* Whereby, if A. p. 12.
 “ you mean they are to be left to those means he has ordained for Mens Conversion
 “ and Salvation, yours must never be made use of: For he indeed has prescribed
 “ Preaching, and Hearing of his Word; but as for those who will not hear, I do
 “ not find any where that he has commanded that they should be compell'd or bea-
 “ ten to it.

I must beg my Reader's Pardon for so long a Repetition, which I was forced to,
 that he might be Judge whether what I there said, either deserves no Answer, or be
 fully answered in that Paragraph, where you undertake to vindicate your Method from
 all Impracticableness and Inconsistency chargeable upon it, in reference to the End for
 which you would have Men punished. Your Words are. For what? *By which,* you
 Vol. II. A a a say,

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say, you perceive I mean two things: For sometimes I speak of the Fault, and sometimes of the End for which Men are to be punished, (and sometimes I plainly confound them.) Now if it be enquired, For what Fault Men are to be punished? you answer, For rejecting the true Religion, after sufficient Evidence tender'd them of the Truth of it: which certainly is a Fault, and deserves Punishment. But if I enquire for what End such as do reject the true Religion, are to be punished; you say, To bring them to embrace the true Religion; and in order to that to bring them to consider, and that carefully and impartially, the Evidence which is offered to convince them of the Truth of it: which are undeniably just and excellent Ends; and which, through God's Blessing, have often been procured, and may yet be procured by convenient Penalties inflicted for that purpose. Nor do you know of any thing I say against any part of this, which is not already answered. Whether I in this confound two things distinct, or you distinguish where there is no Difference, the Reader may judge by what I have said elsewhere. I shall here only consider the Ends of Punishing, you here again in your Reply to me assign; and those, as I find them scattered, are these.

Pag. 27. Sometimes you speak of this End, as if it were barely to gain a hearing to those who by Prayers and Intreaty cannot: And those may be the Preachers of any Religion. But I suppose you mean the Preachers of the true Religion. And who I beseech you must be Judge of that?

Pag. 28. Where the Law provides sufficient Means of Instruction for all, as well as Punishment for Dissenters, it is plain to all concerned, that the Punishment is intended to make them consider. What? The Means the Law provides for their Instruction. Who then is Judge of what they are to be instructed in, and the Means of Instruction, but the Law-maker?

Pag. 37. It is to bring Men to hearken to Instruction. From whom? From any body? And to consider and examine Matters of Religion as they ought to do, and to bring those who are out of the right way, to hear, consider, and embrace the Truth. When is this End attained, and the Penalties which are the means to this End taken off? When a Man conforms to the national Church. And who then is Judge of what is the Truth to be embraced, but the Magistrate?

Pag. 26. It is to bring Men to consider those Reasons and Arguments which are proper and sufficient to convince them; but which, without being forced, they would not consider. And when have they done this? When they have once conformed: For after that there is no Force used to make them consider farther.

Pag. 40. It is to make Men consider as they ought; and that you tell us, is so to consider, as to be moved heartily to embrace, and not to reject Truth necessary to Salvation. And when is the Magistrate, that has the Care of Mens Souls, and does all this for their Salvation, satisfied that they have so considered? As soon as they outwardly join in Communion with the national Church.

Pag. 3. It is to bring Men to consider and examine those Controversies which they are bound to consider and examine, i. e. those wherein they cannot err without dishonouring God, and endangering their own and other Mens Salvations. And to study the true Religion with such Care and Diligence as they might and ought to use, and with an honest Mind. And when, in your Opinion, is it presumable that any Man has done all this? Even when he is in the Communion of your Church.

Pag. 53. It is to cure Mens unreasonable Prejudices and Refractoriness against, and Aversion to the true Religion. Whereof none retain the least Tincture or Suspicion, who are once got within the Pale of your Church.

Pag. 36, 38. It is to bring Men into the right way, into the way of Salvation, which Force does, when it has conducted them within the Church-Porch, and there leaves them.

Pag. 26. It is to bring Men to embrace the Truth that must save them. And here, in the Paragraph wherein you pretend to tell us for what Force is to be used, you say, It is

Pag. 49. to bring Men to embrace the true Religion, and in order to that to bring them to consider, and that carefully and impartially, the Evidence which is offered to convince

Pag. 47. them of the Truth of it, which, as you say, are undeniable, just and excellent Ends; but yet such as Force in your Method can never practically be made a Means to, without supposing what you say you have no need to suppose, viz. That your Religion is the true; unless you had rather every where to leave it to the Magistrate to judge which is the right way, what is the true Religion; which Supposition, I imagine, will less accommodate you than the other. But take which of them you will, you must add this

this other Supposition to it, harder to be granted you than either of the former, viz. That those who conform to your Church here, if you make your self the Judge) or to the national Church any where, (if you make the Magistrate judge of *the Truth that must save Men*) and those only have attained these Ends.

The Magistrate, you say, is obliged to do what in him lies to bring *all* his Subjects to *examine carefully and impartially Matters of Religion*, and to *consider them as they ought*, i. e. so as to *embrace the Truth that must save them*. The proper and necessary means, you say, to attain these Ends is Force. And your Method of using this Force is to punish all the Dissenters from the national Religion; and none of those who outwardly conform to it. Make this practicable now in any Country in the World, without allowing the Magistrate to be Judge *what is the Truth that must save them*, and without supposing also, that whoever do embrace the outward Profession of the national Religion, do in their Hearts *embrace*, i. e. believe and obey *the Truth that must save them*; and then I think nothing in Government can be too hard for your Undertaking.

You conclude this Paragraph in telling me, *You do not know of any thing I say against any part of this, which is not already answered*. Pray tell me where 'tis you have answered those Objections I made to those several Ends which you assigned in your *Argument considered*, and for which you would have Force used, and which I have here reprinted again, because I do not find you so much as take notice of them: And therefore the Reader must judge whether they needed any Answer or no. Page 49.

But to shew that you have not here, where you promise and pretend to do it, *clearly and directly* told us for what Force and Penalties are to be used, I shall in the next Chapter examine what you mean by *bringing Men to embrace the true Religion*.

C H A P. VII.

Of your bringing Men to the true Religion.

TRUE Religion is on all Hands acknowledged to be so much the Concern and Interest of all Mankind, that nothing can be named, which so much effectually bespeaks the Approbation and Favour of the Publick. The very intitling one's self to that, sets a Man on the right side. Who dares question such a Cause, or oppose what is offered for the promoting the true Religion? This Advantage you have secured to your self from unattentive Readers, as much as by the often repeated mention of the true Religion, is possible, there being scarce a Page wherein the *true Religion* does not appear, as if you had nothing else in your Thoughts, but the bringing Men to it for the Salvation of their Souls. Whether it be so in earnest, we will now see.

You tell us, *whatever Hardships some false Religions may impose, it will however always be easier to carnal and worldly-minded Men, to give even the first-born for their Transgressions, than to mortify the Lusts from which they spring, which no Religion but the true requires of them*. Upon this you ground the Necessity of Force to bring Men to the true Religion, and charge it on the Magistrate as his Duty to use it to that End. What now in Appearance can express greater Care to bring Men to the true Religion? But let us see what you say in p. 64. and we shall find that in your Scheme nothing less is meant: there you tell us, *The Magistrate inflicts the Penalties only upon them that break the Laws*: And that Law requiring nothing but Conformity to the national Religion, none but Nonconformists are punished. So that unless an outward Profession of the national Religion be by the Mortification of Mens Lusts harder than their giving their *First-born for their Transgression*, all the Penalties you contend for concern not, nor can be intended to bring Men effectually to the true Religion; since they leave them before they come to the Difficulty, which is to *mortify their Lusts*, as the *true Religion requires*. So that your bringing Men to the true Religion, being to bring them to Conformity to the national, for then you have done with Force, how far that outward Conformity is from being heartily of the true Religion, may be known by the Distance there is between the easiest and

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the hardest thing in the World. For there is nothing easier, than to profess in Words; nothing harder, than to subdue the Heart, and bring Thoughts and Deeds into Obedience of the Truth: The latter is what is required to be of the true Religion; the other all that is required by Penalties your way applied. If you say, Conformists to the National Religion are required by the Law Civil and Ecclesiastical, to lead good Lives, which is the difficult part of the True Religion: I answer, These are not the Laws we are here speaking of, nor those which the Defenders of Toleration complain of, but the Laws that put a Distinction between outward Conformists and Nonconformists: and those they say, whatever may be talked of *the true Religion*, can never be meant to bring Men really to the True Religion, as long as the true Religion is, and is confessed to be a thing of so much greater Difficulty than outward Conformity.

Miracles, say you, supplied the want of Force in the beginning of Christianity; and therefore so far as they supplied that Want, they must be subservient to the same End. The End then was to bring Men into the Christian Church, into which they were admitted and received as Brethren, when they acknowledged that Jesus was the Christ, the Son of God. Will that serve the turn? No: Force must be used to make Men embrace *Creeeds and Ceremonies*, i. e. outwardly conform to the Doctrine and Worship of your Church. Nothing more than that is required by your Penalties; nothing less than that will excuse from Punishment; that, and nothing but that, will serve the turn; that therefore, and only that, is what you mean by *the True Religion* you would have Force used to bring Men to.

L. 1. p. 160. When I tell you, "You have a very ill Opinion of the Religion of the Church of
Pag. 10. "England, and must own it can only be propagated and supported by Force, if you do not
"think it would be a Gainer by a general Toleration all the World over: You ask, *Why*
you may not have as good an Opinion of the Church of England's, as you have of Noah's
Religion, notwithstanding you think it cannot now be propagated or supported without using
some kinds or degrees of Force. When you have proved that Noah's Religion, that from
eight Persons spread and continued in the World till the Apostles Times, as I have
proved in another place, *was propagated and supported all that while by your kinds or*
degrees of Force, you may have some reason to think as well of the Religion of the Church
of England, as you have of Noah's Religion, though you think it cannot be propagated
and supported without some kinds or degrees of Force. But till you can prove that, you
cannot upon that ground say you have reason to have *so good an Opinion* of it.

Pag. 11. You tell me, *If I will take your Word for it, you assure me you think there are many other*
Countries in the World besides England, where my Toleration would be as little useful to
Truth as in England. If you will name those Countries, which will be no great Pains,
I will take your Word for it, that you believe Toleration there would be prejudicial
to Truth: but if you will not do that, neither I nor any body else can believe you.
I will give you a Reason why I say so, and that is, Because no body can believe that,
upon your Principles, you can allow any National Religion, differing from that of
the Church of England, to be true; and where the National Religion is not true,
we have already your Consent, as in Spain and Italy, &c. for Toleration. Now that
you cannot, without renouncing your own Principles, allow any National Religion,
differing from that establish'd here by Law, to be true, is evident: For why do you
punish Nonconformists here? To bring them, say you, to the True Religion. But what if
they hold nothing, but what that other differing National Church does, shall they be
nevertheless punished if they conform not? You will certainly say, Yes: and if so,
then you must either say, they are not of the True Religion, or else you must own you
punish those, to bring them to the true Religion, whom you allow to be of the True Re-
ligion already.

Pag. 11. You tell me, *If I own with our Author, that there is but one True Religion, and I*
owning my self to be of the Church of England, you cannot see how I can avoid supposing,
that the National Religion now in England, back'd by the publick Authority of the Law,
is the only True Religion. If I own, as I do, all that you here expect from me, yet it
will not serve to draw that Conclusion from it, which you do, viz. That the National
Religion now in England is the only True Religion; taking the True Religion in the
Sense that I do, and you ought to take it. I grant that there is but one True Religion
in the World, which is that whose Doctrine and Worship are necessary to Salvation. I
grant too that the true Religion, necessary to Salvation, is taught and professed in the
Church of England: and yet it will not follow from hence, that the Religion of the
Church

Church of England, as established by Law, is the only True Religion; if there be any thing established in the Church of England by Law, and made part of its Religion, which is not necessary to Salvation, and which any other Church, teaching and professing all that is necessary to Salvation, does not receive.

If the National Religion now in England, backed by the Authority of the Law, be, as you would have it, the only true Religion; so the only true Religion, that a Man cannot be saved without being of it. Pray reconcile this, with what you say in the immediately preceding Paragraph, viz. That there are many other Countries in the World where my Toleration would be as little useful as in England. For if there be other National Religions differing from that of England, which you allow to be true, and wherein Men may be saved, the National Religion of England, as now established by Law, is not the only true Religion, and Men may be saved without being of it. And then the Magistrate can upon your Principles have no Authority to use Force to bring Men to be of it. For you tell us, Force is not lawful, unless it be necessary; and therefore the Magistrate can never lawfully use it, but to bring Men to believe and practise what is necessary to Salvation. You must therefore either hold, that there is nothing in the Doctrine, Discipline and Ceremonies of the Church of England, as it is established by Law, but what is necessary to Salvation: Or else you must reform your Terms of Communion, before the Magistrate upon your Principles can use Penalties to make Men consider till they conform; or you can say that the National Religion of England is the only true Religion, though it contain the only true Religion in it; as possibly most, if not all, the differing Christian Churches now in the World do.

You tell us farther in the next Paragraph, That wherever this only true Religion, i. e. the National Religion now in England, is received, all other Religions ought to be discouraged. Why I beseech you discourag'd, if they be true any of them? For if they be true, what Pretence is there for Force to bring Men who are of them to the true Religion? If you say all other Religions, varying at all from that of the Church of England, are false; we know then your Measure of the one only true Religion. But that your Care is only of Conformity to the Church of England, and that by the true Religion you mean nothing else, appears too from your way of expressing your self in this Passage, where you own that you suppose that as this only true Religion (to wit, the National Religion now in England, backed with the publick Authority of Law) ought to be received wherever it is preached; so wherever it is received, all other Religions ought to be discouraged in some measure by the Civil Powers. If the Religion establish'd by Law in England, be the only true Religion, ought it not to be preached and received every where, and all other Religions discouraged throughout the World? and ought not the Magistrates of all Countries take Care that it should be so? But you only say, wherever it is preach'd it ought to be received; and wherever it is received, other Religions ought to be discouraged, which is well suited to your Scheme for enforcing Conformity in England, but could scarce drop from a Man whose Thoughts were on the true Religion, and the promoting of it in other Parts of the World.

Force then must be used in England, and Penalties laid on Dissenters there. For what? to bring them to the true Religion, whereby it is plain you mean not only the Doctrine but Discipline and Ceremonies of the Church of England, and make them a part of the only true Religion: Why else do you punish all Dissenters for rejecting the true Religion, and use Force to bring them to it? What yet a great, if not the greatest part of Dissenters in England own and profess the Doctrine of the Church of England, as firmly as those in the Communion of the Church of England. They therefore, though they believe the same Religion with you, are excluded from the true Church of God, that you would have Men brought to, and are amongst those who reject the true Religion.

I ask whether they are not in your Opinion out of the way of Salvation, who are not joined in Communion with the true Church? and whether there can be any true Church without Bishops? If so, all but Conformists in England that are of any Church in Europe, besides the Lutherans and Papists, are out of the way of Salvation, and so according to your System have need of Force to be brought into it: and these too, one for their Doctrine of Transubstantiation, the other for that of Consubstantiation, (to omit other things vastly differing from the Church of England) you will not, I suppose, allow to be of the true Religion: And who then are left of the true Religion but the Church of England? For the *Abyssinians* have too wide a Difference in many Points for me to imagine, that is one of those Places you mean where Toleration would do

Harm

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Harm as well as in England. And I think the Religion of the Greek Church can scarce be supposed by you to be the true. For if it should, it would be a strong Instance against your Assertion, that the true Religion cannot subsist, but would quickly be effectually extirpated without the Assistance of Authority, since this has subsisted without any such Assistance now above 200 Years. I take it then for granted, (and others with me cannot but do the same, till you tell us, what other Religion there is of any Church, but that of *England*, which you allow to be the true Religion) that all you say of bringing Men to the true Religion, is only bringing them to the Religion of the Church of *England*. If I do you an Injury in this, it will be capable of a very easy Vindication: for it is but naming that other Church differing from that of *England*, which you allow to have the true Religion, and I shall yield my self convinc'd, and shall allow these Words, viz. *The National Religion now in England, back'd by the publick Authority of Law, being the only true Religion*, only as a little hasty Sally of your Zeal. In the mean time I shall argue with you about the Use of Force to bring Men to the Religion of the Church of *England*, as established by Law: since it is more easy to know what that is, than what you mean by the *true Religion*, if you mean any thing else.

To proceed therefore; in the next place I tell you, by using Force your way to bring Men to the Religion of the Church of *England*, you mean only to bring them to an outward Profession of that Religion; and that, as I have told you elsewhere, because Force used your way, being applied only to Dissenters, and ceasing as soon as they conform, (whether it be intended by the Law-maker for any thing more or no, which we have examined in another Place) cannot be to bring Men to any thing more than outward Conformity. For if Force be used to Dissenters, and them only, to bring Men to the true Religion, and always as soon as it has brought Men to Conformity, it be taken off, and laid aside, as having done all is expected from it; 'tis plain, that by *bringing Men to the true Religion*, and bringing them to outward Conformity, you mean the same thing. You use and continue Force upon Dissenters, because you expect some Effect from it: when you take it off, it has wrought that Effect, or else being in your Power, why do you not continue it on? The Effect then that you talk of, being the *embracing the true Religion*, and the thing you are satisfied with without any farther Punishment, Expectation, or Enquiry, being outward Conformity, 'tis plain *embracing the true Religion* and outward Conformity with you, are the same things.

Neither can you say it is *presumable* that those who outwardly conform do really understand, and inwardly in their Hearts embrace with a lively Faith and a sincere Obedience, the Truth that must save them. 1. Because it being, as you tell us, the *Magistrate's Duty* to do all that in him lies for the Salvation of all his Subjects, and it being in his Power to examine, whether they know and live suitable to the Truth that must save them, as well as conform, he can or ought no more to presume, that they do so, without taking an Account of their Knowledge and Lives, than he can or ought to presume that they conform, without taking any Account of their coming to Church. Would you think that Physician discharged his Duty, and had (as was pretended) a Care of Mens Lives, who having got them into his Hands, and knowing no more of them, but that they come once or twice a Week to the Apothecary's Shop, to hear what is prescribed them, and sit there a while, should say it was *presumable* they were recovered, without ever examining whether his Prescriptions had any Effect, or what Estate their Health was in?

2. It cannot be *presumable*, where there are so many visible Instances to the contrary. He must pass for an admirable Presumer, who will seriously affirm that it is *presumable* that all those who conform to the National Religion where it is true, do so understand, believe and practise it, as to be in the way of Salvation.

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3. It cannot be *presumable*, that Men have parted with their Corruption and Lusts to avoid Force, when they fly to Conformity, which can shelter them from Force without quitting their Lusts. That which is dearer to Men than their First-born, is, you tell us, *their Lusts*; that which is harder than the *Hardships* of false Religions, is the *mortifying* those Lusts: here lies the Difficulty of the true Religion, that it requires the mortifying of those Lusts; and till that be done, Men are not of the *true Religion*, nor in the way of Salvation: And 'tis upon this Account only that you pretend Force to be needful. Force is used to make them *hear*; it prevails, Men *hear*: but that is not enough, because the Difficulty lies not in that; they may hear Arguments for the Truth, and yet retain their Corruption. They must do more, they must

must consider those Arguments. Who requires it of them? The Law that inflicts the Punishment, does not; but this we may be sure their Love of their Lusts, and their Hatred of Punishment requires of them, and will bring them to, *viz.* to consider how to retain their beloved Lusts, and yet avoid the Uneasiness of the Punishment they lie under; this is *presumable* they do; therefore they go one easy Step farther, they conform, and then they are safe from Force, and may still retain their Corruption. Is it therefore *presumable* they have parted with their Corruption, because Force has driven them to take Sanctuary against Punishment in Conformity, where Force is no longer to molest them, or pull them from their darling Inclinations? The Difficulty in Religion is, you say, for Men to part with their Lusts; this makes Force, necessary: Men find out a way by conforming to avoid Force without parting with their Lusts, therefore it is *presumable* when they conform, that Force which they can avoid without quitting their Lusts, has made them part with them; which is indeed not to part with their Lusts, because of Force, but to part with them *gratis*; which if you can say is *presumable*, the Foundation of your need of Force (which you place in the Prevalency of Corruption, and Mens adhering to their Lusts) will be gone, and so there will be no need of Force at all. If the great Difficulty in Religion be for Men to part with or mortify their Lusts, and the only Counter-balance in the other Scale, to assist the true Religion, to prevail against their Lusts, be Force; which I beseech you is *presumable*, if they can avoid Force, and retain their Lusts, that they should quit their Lusts, and heartily embrace the true Religion, which is incompatible with them; or else that they should avoid the Force, and retain their Lusts? To say the former of these, is to say that it is *presumable*, that they will quit their Lusts, and heartily embrace the true Religion for its own sake: for he that heartily embraces the true Religion, because of a Force which he knows he can avoid at Pleasure, without quitting his Lusts, cannot be said so to embrace it, because of that Force: Since a Force he can avoid without quitting his Lusts, cannot be said to assist Truth in making him quit them: For in this Truth has no Assistance from it at all. So that this is to say there is no need of Force at all in the Case.

Take a covetous Wretch, whose Heart is so set upon Money, that he would give his *First-born* to save his Bags; who is pursued by the Force of the Magistrate to an Arrest, and compelled to hear what is alledg'd against him; and the Prosecution of the Law threatening Imprisonment or other Punishment, if he do not pay the just Debt which is demanded of him: If he enters himself in the *King's-Bench*, where he can enjoy his Freedom without paying the Debt, and parting with his Money; will you say that it is *presumable* he did it to pay the Debt, and not to avoid the Force of the Law? The Lust of the Flesh and Pride of Life are as strong and prevalent as the Lust of the Eye: And if you will deliberately say again, that it is *presumable*, that Men are driven by Force to consider, so as to part with their Lusts, when no more is known of them, but that they do what discharges them from the Force, without any Necessity of parting with their Lusts; I think I shall have occasion to send you to my Pagans and Mahometans, but shall have no need to say any thing more to you of this Matter my self.

I agree with you, that there is but one only true Religion; I agree too that that one only true Religion is professed and held in the Church of *England*; and yet I deny, if Force may be used to bring Men to that true Religion, that upon your Principles it can lawfully be used to bring Men to the National Religion in *England* as established by Law; because Force, according to your own Rule, being only lawful because it is necessary, and therefore unfit to be used where not necessary, *i. e.* necessary to bring Men to Salvation, it can never be lawful to be used to bring a Man to any thing, that is not necessary to Salvation, as I have more fully shewn in another Place. If therefore in the National Religion of *England*, there be any thing put in as necessary to Communion, that is, though true, yet not necessary to Salvation, Force cannot be lawfully used to bring Men to that Communion, though the thing so required in it self may perhaps be true.

There be a great many Truths contained in Scripture, which a Man may be ignorant of, and consequently not believe, without any Danger to his Salvation, or else very few would be capable of Salvation: for I think I may truly say, there was never any one, but he that was the Wisdom of the Father, who was not ignorant of some, and mistaken in others of them. To bring Men therefore to embrace such Truths, the Use of Force by your own Rule cannot be lawful: because the Belief or Knowledge of those

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those Truths themselves not being necessary to Salvation, there can be no Necessity Men should be brought to embrace them, and so no Necessity to use Force to bring Men to embrace them.

The only true Religion which is necessary to Salvation, may in one National Church have that joined with it, which in itself is manifestly false and repugnant to Salvation; in such a Communion no Man can join without quitting the way of Salvation. In another National Church, with this only true Religion may be joined, what is neither repugnant nor necessary to Salvation; and of such there may be several Churches differing one from another in Confessions, Ceremonies and Discipline, which are usually call'd different Religions, with either or each of which a good Man (if satisfied in his own Mind) may communicate without Danger, whilst another not satisfied in Conscience concerning something in the Doctrine, Discipline, or Worship, cannot safely, nor without Sin, communicate with this or that of them. Nor can Force be lawfully used, on your Principles, to bring any Man to either of them, because such things are required to their Communion, which not being requisite to Salvation, Men may seriously and conscientiously differ, and be in doubt about, without endangering their Souls.

That which here raises a Noise, and gives a Credit to it, whereby many are misled into an unwarrantable Zeal, is, that these are called different Religions; and every one thinking his own the true, the only true, condemns all the rest as false Religions. Whereas those who hold all things necessary to Salvation, and add not thereto any thing in Doctrine, Discipline or Worship, inconsistent with Salvation, are of one and the same Religion, though divided into different Societies or Churches, under different Forms: which whether the Passion and Polity of designing; or the sober and pious Intention of well-meaning Men, set up, they are no other, than the Contrivances of Men, and such they ought to be esteemed in whatsoever is required in them, which God has not made necessary to Salvation, however in its own Nature it may be indifferent, lawful or true. For none of these Articles, or Confessions of any Church, that I know, containing in them all the Truths of Religion, though they contain some that are not necessary to Salvation, to garble thus the Truths of Religion, and by their own Authority take some not necessary to Salvation, and make them the Terms of Communion; and leave out others as necessary to be known and believed, is purely the Contrivance of Men: God never having appointed any such distinguishing System; nor, as I have shew'd, can Force, upon your Principles, lawfully be used to bring Men to embrace it.

Concerning Ceremonies, I shall here only ask you whether you think Kneeling at the Lord's Supper, or the Cross in Baptism, are necessary to Salvation? I mention these as having been matter of great Scruple: If you will not say they are, how can you say that Force can be lawfully used to bring Men into a Communion, to which these are made necessary? If you say, Kneeling is necessary to a decent Uniformity, (for of the Cross in Baptism I have spoken elsewhere) though that should be true, yet 'tis an Argument you cannot use for it, if you are of the Church of *England*: For if a decent Uniformity may be well enough preserved without kneeling at Prayer, where Decency requires it at least as much as at receiving the Sacrament, why may it not well enough be preserved without kneeling at the Sacrament? Now that Uniformity is thought sufficiently preserved without kneeling at Prayer, is evident by the various Postures Men are at liberty to use, and may be generally observed, in all our Congregations, during the Minister's Prayer in the Pulpit before and after his Sermon, which it seems can consist well enough with Decency and Uniformity; though it be at Prayer, addressed to the great God of Heaven and Earth, to whose Majesty it is that the Reverence to be expressed in our Gestures is due, when we put up Petitions to him, who is invariably the same, in what or whose Words soever we address our selves to him.

The Preface to the Book of Common-Prayer tells us, That *the Rites and Ceremonies appointed to be used in Divine Worship, are things in their own Nature indifferent and alterable*. Here I ask you, whether any humane Power can make any thing, in its own nature indifferent, necessary to Salvation? If it cannot, then neither can any human Power be justified in the Use of Force, to bring Men to Conformity in the Use of such things. If you think Men have Authority to make any thing, in itself indifferent, a necessary part of God's Worship, I shall desire you to consider what our Author says of this matter, which has not yet deserved your notice.

The

The misapplying his Power, you say, is a Sin in the Magistrate, and lays him open to Divine Vengeance. And is it not a misapplying of his Power, and a Sin in him to use Force to bring Men to such a Compliance in an indifferent thing, which in religious Worship may be a Sin to them? Force, you say, may be used to punish those who dissent from the Communion of the Church of England. Let us suppose now all its Doctrines not only true, but necessary to Salvation; but that there is put into the Terms of its Communion some indifferent Action which God has not enjoined, nor made a part of his Worship, which any Man is persuaded in his Conscience not to be lawful; suppose kneeling at the Sacrament, which having been superstitiously used in Adoration of the Bread, as the real Body of Christ, may give occasion of scruple to some now, as well as eating of Flesh offered to Idols did to others in the Apostles time; which though lawful in it self, yet the Apostle said, he would eat no Flesh while *1 Cor. 13.* the World standeth, rather than to make his weak Brother offend. And if to lead, by *13.*

Example, the scrupulous into any Action, in it self indifferent, which they thought unlawful, be a Sin, as appears, at large, *Rom. xiv.* how much more is it to add Force to our Example, and to compel Men by Punishments to that, which, though indifferent in it self, they cannot join in without sinning? I desire you to shew me how Force can be necessary in such a Case, without which you acknowledge it not to be lawful. Not to kneel at the Lords Supper, God not having ordained it, is not a Sin; and the Apostles receiving it in the Posture of sitting or lying, which was then used at Meat, is an Evidence it may be receiv'd not kneeling. But to him that thinks Kneeling is unlawful, it is certainly a Sin. And for this you may take the Authority of a very Judicious and Reverend Prelate of our Church, in these words; *Where a Man is mistaken Dis. of* in his Judgment, even in that Case, it is always a Sin to act against it; by so doing, he *Conscience,* willfully acts against the best Light which at present he has for the Direction of his Actions. *P. 18.* I need not here repeat his Reasons, having already quoted him above more at large; though the whole Passage, writ (as he uses) with great Strength and Clearness, deserves to be read and considered. If therefore the Magistrate enjoins such an unnecessary Ceremony, and uses Force to bring any Man to a sinful Communion with our Church in it, let me ask you, Doth he sin, or misapply his Power or no?

True and false Religions are Names that easily engage Mens Affections on the hearing of them; the one being the Aversion, the other the Desire (at least as they persuade themselves) of all Mankind. This makes Men forwardly give into these Names, wherever they meet with them; and when mention is made of bringing Men from false to the true Religion (very often without knowing what is meant by those Names) they think nothing can be done too much in such a Business, to which they entitle God's Honour, and the Salvation of Mens Souls.

I shall therefore desire of you, if you are that fair and sincere Lover of Truth you profess, when you write again, to tell us what you mean by true, and what by a false Religion, that we may know which in your sense are so: for as you now have used these Words in your Treatise, one of them seems to stand only for the Religion of the Church of England, and the other for that of all other Churches. I expect here you should make the same Outcries against me, as you have in your former Letter, for imposing a Sense upon your words contrary to your Meaning; and for this you will appeal to your own Words in some other Places: but of this I shall leave the Reader Judge, and tell him, this is a Way very easy and very usual for Men, who having not clear and consistent Notions, keep themselves as much as they can, under the Shelter of general, and variously applicable Terms, that they may save themselves from the Absurdities or Consequences of one Place, by a help from some general or contrary Expression in another: Whether it be a desire of Victory, or a little too warm Zeal for a Cause you have been hitherto persuaded of, which hath led you into this way of writing; I shall only mind you, that the Cause of God requires nothing, but what may be spoken out plainly in a clear determined Sense, without any Reserve or Cover. In the mean time this I shall leave with you as evident, That Force upon your Ground cannot be lawfully used to bring Men to the Communion of the Church of England, (that being all that I can find you clearly mean by the true Religion) till you have proved that all that is required of one in that Communion, is necessary to Salvation.

However therefore you tell us, That convenient Force used to bring Men to the true Religion, is all that you contend for, and all that you allow. That it is for promoting the true Religion. That it is to bring Men to consider, so as not to reject the Truth necessary to Salvation. To bring Men to embrace the Truth that must save them. And abundance

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more to this purpose. Yet all this Talk of the *true Religion* amounting to no more but the National Religion established by Law in *England*; and your bringing Men to it, to no more than bringing them to an outward Profession of it; it would better have suited that Condition, (*viz.* without *Prejudice*; and with an honest Mind) which you require in others, to have spoke plainly what you aimed at, rather than prepossess Mens Minds in favour of your Cause, by the Impressions of a Name that in Truth did not properly belong to it.

L. 2. P. 2. It was not therefore without Ground that I said, "I suspected you built all on this lurking Supposition, that the National Religion now in *England*, back'd by the publick Authority of the Law, is the only true Religion, and therefore no other is to be tolerated: which being a Supposition equally unavoidable, and equally just in other Countries; unless we can imagine, that every where but in *England*, Men believe what at the same time they think to be a Lie, &c. Here you erect your Plumes, and to this your triumphant Logick gives you not Patience to answer, without an Air of Victory in the Entrance: *How, Sir, is this Supposition equally unavoidable, and equally just in other Countries, where false Religions are the National? (for that you must mean, or nothing to the purpose.)* Hold, Sir, you go too fast; take your own System with you, and you will perceive it will be enough to my Purpose, if I mean those Religions which you take to be false: for if there be any other National Churches, which agreeing with the Church of *England* in what is necessary to Salvation, yet have established Ceremonies different from those of the Church of *England*; should not any one who dissented here from the Church of *England* upon that account, as preferring that to our Way of Worship, be justly punished? If so, then Punishment in Matters of Religion being only to bring Men to the *true Religion*, you must suppose him not to be yet of it, and so the National Church he approves of, not to be of the *true Religion*. And yet is it not equally unavoidable, and equally just, that that Church should suppose its Religion the only true Religion, as it is that yours should do so, it agreeing with yours in things necessary to Salvation, and having made some things, in their own nature indifferent, requisite to Conformity for Decency and Order, as you have done? So that my saying, It is equally unavoidable, and equally just in other Countries, will hold good, without meaning what you charge on me, that that Supposition is equally unavoidable, and equally just, where the *National Religion* is absolutely false.

But in that large Sense too, what I said will hold good; and you would have spared your useles Subtilties against it, if you had been as willing to take my Meaning, and answered my Argument, as you were to turn what I said to a Sense which the Words themselves shew I never intended. My Argument in short was this, That granting Force to be useful to propagate and support Religion, yet it would be no Advantage to the true Religion, that you a Member of the Church of *England*, supposing yours to be the true Religion, should thereby claim a Right to use Force, since such a Supposition to those who were Members of other Churches, and believed other Religions, was equally unavoidable, and equally just. And the Reason I annexed, shews both this to be my Meaning, and my Assertion to be true: My Words are, "Unless we can imagine that every where but in *England*, Men believe what at the same time they think to be a Lie. Having therefore never said, nor thought that it is equally unavoidable, or equally just, that Men in every Country should believe the National Religion of the Country; but that it is equally unavoidable, and equally just, that Men believing the National Religion of their Country, be it true or false, should suppose it to be true; and let me here add also, should endeavour to propagate it: you however go on thus to reply; *If so, then I fear it will be equally true too, and equally rational: for otherwise I see not how it can be equally unavoidable, or equally just: for if it be not equally true, it cannot be equally just; and if it be not equally rational, it cannot be equally unavoidable. But if it be equally true, and equally rational, then either all Religions are true, or none is true: for if they be all equally true, and one of them be not true, then none of them can be true.* I challenge any one to put these four good Words, *unavoidable, just, rational, and true*, more equally together, or to make a better-wrought Deduction: but after all, my Argument will nevertheless be good, that it is no Advantage to your Cause, for you or any one of it, to suppose yours to be the only true Religion; since it is equally unavoidable, and equally just for any one, who believes any other Religion, to suppose the same thing. And this will always be so, till you can shew, that Men cannot receive false Religions upon Arguments that appear to them to be good; or that having received Falshood under the appearance of Truth, they can, whilst it so appears, do otherwise than value it; and be acted by it, as if it were true. For the Equality that is here in question, depends not upon the Truth

Truth of the Opinion embraced, but on this, that the Light and Perswasion a Man has at present, is the Guide which he ought to follow, and which in his judgment of Truth he cannot avoid to be governed by. And therefore the terrible Consequences you dilate on in the following part of that Page, I leave you for your private Use on some fitter Occasion.

You therefore who are so apt, without cause, to complain of want of Ingenuity in others; will do well hereafter to consult your own, and another time change your Stile; and not under the undefined Name of *the True Religion*, because that is of more Advantage to your Argument, mean only the Religion established by Law in *England*, shutting out all other Religions now professed in the World. Though when you have defined what is the True Religion, which you would have supported and propagated by Force; and have told us 'tis to be found in the Liturgy and thirty nine Articles of the Church of *England*; and it be agreed to you, that that is *the only True Religion*, your Argument (for Force as necessary to Mens Salvation) from the want of Light and Strength enough in the True Religion to prevail against Mens Lusts, and the Corruption of their Nature, will not hold; because your bringing Men by Force, your way applyed, to the True Religion, be it what you will, is but bringing them to an outward Conformity to the National Church. But the bringing them so far, and no farther, having no Opposition to their Lusts, no Inconsistency with their corrupt Nature, is not on that account at all necessary, nor does at all help, where only, on your grounds, you say, there is need of the Assistance of Force towards their Salvation.

C H A P. VIII.

Of Salvation to be procured by Force your way.

T H E R E cannot be imagined a more laudable Design than the promoting the Salvation of Mens Souls, by any one who shall undertake it. But if it be a Pretence made use of to cover some other By-Interest, nothing can be more odious to Men, nothing more provoking to the great God of Heaven and Earth, nothing more misbecoming the Name and Character of a Christian. With what Intention you took your Pen in Hand to defend and encourage the Use of Force in the Business of Mens Salvation, 'tis fit in Charity we take your Word; but what your Scheme, as you have delivered it, is guilty of, 'tis my Business to take notice of, and represent to you.

To my saying, that if Persecution, as is pretended, were for the Salvation of Mens Souls, bare Conformity would not serve the turn, but Men would be examined whether they do it upon Reason and Conviction: You answer, *Who they be that pretend that Persecution is for the Salvation of Mens Souls, you know not.* Whatever you know not, I know one, who in the Letter under Consideration pleads for Force, as useful for the promoting the Salvation of Mens Souls: and that the Use of Force is no other means for the Salvation of Mens Souls, than what the Author and Finisher of our Faith has directed. That so far is the Magistrate, when he gives his Helping-hand to the furtherance of the Gospel, by laying convenient Penalties upon such as reject it, or any part of it, from using any other means for the Salvation of Mens Souls than what the Author and Finisher of our Faith has directed, that he does no more than his Duty for promoting the Salvation of Souls. And as the means by which Men may be brought into the way of Salvation. Ay, but where do you say that Persecution is for the Salvation of Souls? I thought you had been arguing against my Meaning, and against the things I say, and not against my Words in your Meaning, which is not against me. That I used the Word *Persecution* for what you call Force and Penalties, you knew: for in pag. 21. that immediately precedes this, you take notice of it, with some little kind of Wonder, in these Words, *Persecution, so it seems you call all Punishments for Religion.* That I do so then (whether properly or imptoperly) you could not be ignorant; and then, I beseech you, apply your Answer here to what I say: My Words are, "If Persecution (as is pretended) were for the Salvation of Mens Souls, Men that conform would be examined whether they did so upon Reason and Conviction. Change my Word *Persecution* into *Punishment for Religion*,"

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and then consider the Truth or Ingenuity of your Answer: for in that sense of the Word *Persecution*, do you know no body that pretends *Persecution* is for the Salvation of Mens Souls? So much for your Ingenuity, and the Arts you allow your self to serve a good Cause. What do you think of one of my Pagans or Mahometans? Could he have done better? For I shall often have occasion to mind you of them. Now to your Argument. I said, "That I thought those who make Laws, and use Force, to bring Men to Church-Conformity in Religion, seek only the Compliance, but concern themselves not for the Conviction of those they punish, and so never use Force to convince. For pray tell me, When any Dissenter conforms, and enters into the Church-Communion, is he ever examined to see whether he does it upon Reason and Conviction, and such Grounds as would become a Christian concerned for Religion? If Persecution (as is pretended) were for the Salvation of Mens Souls, this would be done, and Men not driven to take the Sacrament to keep their Places, or obtain Licences to sell Ale, (for so low have these holy things been prostituted.)"

Page 22. To this you here reply, *As to those Magistrates, who having provided sufficiently for the Instruction of all under their Care, in the true Religion, do make Laws, and use moderate Penalties, to bring Men to the Communion of the Church of God, and Conformity to the Rules and Orders of it, I think their Behaviour does plainly enough speak them to seek and concern themselves for the Conviction of those whom they punish, and for their Compliance only as the Fruit of their Conviction.* If means of Instruction were all, that is necessary to convince People, the providing sufficiently for Instruction would be an Evidence, that those that did so, did seek and concern themselves for Mens Conviction: But if there be something as necessary for Conviction as the means of Instruction, and without which those means will signify nothing, and that be severe and impartial Examination; and if Force be, as you say, so necessary to make Men thus examine, that they can by no other way but Force be brought to do it: If Magistrates do not lay their Penalties on Non-Examination, as well as provide means of Instruction, whatever you may say you think, few People will find reason to believe you think those Magistrates seek and concern themselves much for the Conviction of those they punish, when that Punishment is not levell'd at that; which is a hindrance to their Conviction, i. e. against their Aversion to severe and impartial Examination. To that Aversion no Punishment can be pretended to be a Remedy, which does not reach and combat the Aversion, which 'tis plain no Punishment does, which may be avoided without parting with, or abating the Prevalency of that Aversion. This is the Case, where Men undergo Punishments for not conforming, which they may be rid of, without severely and impartially examining Matters of Religion.

Ibid. To shew that what I mentioned was no Sign of Unconcernedness in the Magistrate, for Mens Conviction; You add, *Nor does the contrary appear from the not examining Dissenters when they conform, to see whether they do it upon Reason and Conviction.* For where sufficient Instruction is provided, it is ordinarily presumable that when Dissenters conform, they do it upon Reason and Conviction. Here if ordinarily signifies any thing, (for it is a Word you make much use of, whether to express or cover your Sense, let the Reader judge,) then you suppose there are Cases wherein it is not presumable; and I ask you, whether in those, or any Cases, it be examin'd whether Dissenters when they conform, do it upon Reason and Conviction? At best that it is ordinarily presumable, is but gratis dictum, especially since you suppose, that it is the Corruption of their Nature that hinders them from considering as they ought, so as upon Reason and Conviction to embrace the Truth: Which Corruption of Nature, that they may retain with Conformity I think is very presumable. But be that as it will, this I am sure is ordinarily and always presumable, that if those who use Force were as intent upon Mens Conviction, as they are on their Conformity, they would not wholly content themselves with the one, without ever examining and looking into the other.

Ibid. Another Excuse you make for this Neglect, is, *That as to irreligious Persons who only seek their secular Advantage, how easy it is for them to pretend Conviction, and to offer such Grounds (if that were required) as would become a Christian concerned for Religion; that is, what no Care of Man can certainly prevent.* This is an admirable Justification of your Hypothesis. Men are to be punished: To what End? To make them severely and impartially consider matters of Religion, that they may be convinced, and thereupon sincerely embrace the Truth. But what need of Force or Punishment for this? Because their Lusts and Corruptions will otherwise keep them both from

from considering as they ought, and embracing the true Religion; and therefore they must lie under Penalties till they have considered as they ought, which is when they have upon Conviction embraced. But how shall the Magistrate know when they upon Conviction embrace, that he may then take off their Penalties? That indeed cannot be known, and ought not to be enquired after, because *irreligious Persons who only seek their secular Advantage*; or, in other Words, all those who desire at their Ease to retain their beloved Lusts and Corruptions, may easily pretend Conviction, and offer such Grounds (if it were required) as would become a Christian concerned for Religion: This is what no Care of Man can certainly prevent. Which is Reason enough, why no busy Forwardness in Man to disease his Brother, should use Force upon Pretence of prevailing against Man's Corruptions, that hinder their considering and embracing the Truth upon Conviction, when 'tis confessed, it cannot be known, whether they have considered, are convinced, or have really embraced the True Religion or no. And thus you have shewn us your admirable Remedy, which is not it seems for the *irreligious*, (for 'tis easy, you say, for them to pretend to Conviction, and so avoid Punishment) but for those who would be religious without it.

But here, in this Case, as to the Intention of the Magistrate, how can it be said, that the Force he uses is designed by subduing Mens Corruptions, to make way for considering and embracing the Truth, when it is so applied, that it is confessed here, that a Man may get rid of the Penalties without parting with the Corruptions, they are pretended to be used against? But you have a ready Answer, *This is what no Care of Man can certainly prevent*; which is but in other Words to proclaim the Ridiculousness of your Use of Force, and to avow that your Method can do nothing. If by not certainly, you mean it may any way, or to any degree prevent, why is it not so done? If not, why is a Word that signifies nothing put in, unless it be for a Shelter on Occasion? A Benefit you know how to draw from this way of writing: But this here taken how you please, will only serve to lay Blame on the Magistrate, or your Hypothesis, chuse you whether. I for my part have a better Opinion of the Ability and Management of the Magistrate: What he aimed at in his Laws, that I believe he mentions in them, and as wise Men do in Business, spoke out plainly what he had a Mind should be done. But certainly there cannot a more ridiculous Character be put on Law-makers, than to tell the World they intended to make Men consider, examine, &c. but yet neither required nor named any thing in their Laws but Conformity. Though yet when Men are certainly to be punished for not really embracing the true Religion, there ought to be certain Matters of Fact, whereby those that do, and those that do not so embrace the Truth, should be distinguished; and for that you have, 'tis true, a clear and established Criterion, i. e. Conformity and Nonconformity: which do very certainly distinguish the Innocent from the Guilty; those that really and sincerely do embrace the Truth that must save them, from those that do not.

But, Sir, to resolve the Question, whether the Conviction of Mens Understandings, and the Salvation of their Souls, be the Business and Aim of those who use Force to bring Men into the Profession of the National Religion; I ask, whether if that were so, there could be so many as there are, not only in most Country Parishes, but, I think I may say, may be found in all Parts of England, grossly ignorant in the Doctrines and Principles of the Christian Religion, if a strict Enquiry were made into it? If Force be necessary to be used to bring Men to Salvation, certainly some part of it would find out some of the Ignorant and Unconsidering that are in the National Church, as well as it does so diligently all the Nonconformists out of it, whether they have considered, or are knowing or no. But to this you give a very ready Answer; Pag. 64. *Would you have the Magistrate punish all indifferently, those who obey the Law as well as them that do not? What is the Obedience the Law requires? That you tell us in these Words, If the Magistrate provides sufficiently for the Instruction of all his Subjects in the true Religion, and then requires them all under convenient Penalties to hearken to the Teachers and Ministers of it, and to profess and exercise it with one Accord under their Direction in publick Assemblies: Which in other Words is but Conformity, which here you express a little plainer in these Words; But as those Magistrates who having provided sufficiently for the Instruction of all under their Care in the true Religion do make Laws, and use moderate Penalties to bring Men to the Communion of the Church of God, and to confirm to the Rules and Orders of it. You add, Is there any Pretence to say that in so doing, he [the Magistrate] applies Force only to a part of his Subjects, when the Law is general, and extends none? There is no Pretence, I confess, to say that*

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- that in so doing he applies Force only to a part of his Subjects, to make them Conformists, from that it is plain the Law excepts none. But if Conformists may be ignorant, grossly ignorant of the Principles and Doctrines of Christianity; if there be no Penalties used to make them *consider as they ought*, so as to understand, be convinced of, believe and obey the Truths of the Gospel, are not they exempt from that Force which you say is to make Men consider and examine Matters of Religion as they ought to do? Force is applied to all indeed to make them Conformists: But if being Conformists once, and frequenting the Places of publick Worship, and there shewing an outward Compliance with the Ceremonies prescribed, (for that is all the Law requires of all, call it how you please) they are exempt from all Force and Penalties, though they are never so ignorant, never so far from understanding, believing, receiving the Truths of the Gospel; I think it is evident that then Force is not applied to all to procure the Conviction of the Understanding. To bring Men to consider those Reasons and Arguments which are proper to convince the Mind, and which without being forced, they would not consider. To bring Men to that Consideration, which nothing else but Force (besides the extraordinary Grace of God) would bring them to. To make Men good Christians. To make Men receive Instruction. To cure their Aversion to the true Religion. To bring Men to consider and examine the Controversies which they are bound to consider and examine, i. e. those wherein they cannot err without dishonouring God, and endangering their own and other Mens eternal Salvation. To weigh Matters of Religion carefully and impartially. To bring Men to the true Religion and to Salvation. That then Force is not applied to all the Subjects for these Ends, I think you will not deny. These are the Ends for which you tell us in the Places quoted, that Force is to be used in Matters of Religion: 'Tis by its Usefulness and Necessity to those Ends, that you tell us, the Magistrate is authorized and obliged to use Force in Matters of Religion. Now if all these Ends be not attained by a bare Conformity, and yet if by a bare Conformity Men are wholly exempt from all Force and Penalties in Matters of Religion, will you say that for these ends Force is applied to all the Magistrate's Subjects? If you will, I must send you to my Pagans and Mahometans for a little Conscience and Modesty. If you confess Force is not applied to all for these Ends, notwithstanding any Laws obliging all to Conformity, you must also confess, that what you say concerning the Laws being general, is nothing to the Purpose; since all that are under Penalties for not conforming are not under any Penalties for Ignorance, Irreligion, or the want of those Ends for which you say Penalties are useful and necessary.
- Pag. 22. You go on, And therefore if such Persons prophane the Sacrament to keep their Places, or to obtain Licences to sell Ale, this is an horrible wickedness. I excuse them not. But it is their own, and they alone must answer for it. Yes, and those who threatned poor ignorant and irreligious Ale-sellers, whose Livelihood it was, to take away their Licences, if they did not conform and receive the Sacrament, may be thought perhaps to have something to answer for. You add, But it is very unjust to impute it to those who make such Laws, and use such Force, or to say that they prostitute holy things, and drive Men to profane them. Nor is it just to insinuate in your Answer, as if that had been said which was not. But if it be true that a poor ignorant loose irreligious Wretch should be threatned to be turn'd out of his Calling and Livelihood, if he would not take the Sacrament: May it not be said these holy things have been so low prostituted? And if this be not profaning them, pray tell me what is?
- Pag. 23. This I think may be said without Injustice to any body, that it does not appear, that those who make strict Laws for Conformity, and take no Care to have it examined upon what Grounds Men conform, are not very much concern'd, that Mens Understandings should be convinced. And though you go on to say, that they design by their Laws to do what lies in them to make Men good Christians: That will scarce be believed, if what you say be true, that Force is necessary to bring those who cannot be otherwise brought to it, to study the true Religion, with such Care and Diligence as they might and ought to use, and with an honest Mind. And yet we see a great part, or any of those who are ignorant in the true Religion, have no such Force applied to them, especially since you tell us, in the same Place, that no Man ever studied the true Religion with such Care and Diligence as he might and ought to use, and with an honest Mind, but he was convinced of the Truth of it. If then Force and Penalties can produce that Study, Care, Diligence and honest Mind, which will produce Knowledge and Conviction and (that as you say in the following Words) make good Men; I ask you, if there be found in the Communion of the Church, exempt from Force upon the Account of Religion,

Religion, ignorant, irreligious, ill Men; and that to speak moderately, not in great Disproportion fewer than amongst the Nonconformists, will you believe your self, when you say the *Magistrates do by their Laws all that in them lies to make them good Christians*; when they use not that Force to them which you, not I, say is necessary; and that they are, where it is necessary, obliged to use? And therefore I give you leave to repeat again the Words you subjoin here, *But if after all they [i. e. the Magistrates] can do, wicked and godless Men will still resolve to be so, they will be so, and I know not who but God Almighty can help it.* But this being spoken of Conformists, on whom the Magistrates lay no Penalties, use no Force for Religion, give me leave to mind you of the Ingenuity of one of my *Pagans* or *Mahometans*. Pag. 23.

You tell us, That the Usefulness of Force to make Scholars learn, authorizes Schoolmasters to use it. And would you not think a Schoolmaster discharged his Duty well, and had a great Care of their Learning, who used his Rod only to bring Boys to School; but if they come there once a Week, whether they slept, or only minded their Play, never examined what Proficiency they made, or used the Rod to make them study and learn, tho' they would not apply themselves without it?

But to shew you how much you your self are in earnest for the Salvation of Souls in this your Method, I shall set down what I said, p. 288. of my Letter on that Subject, and what you answer. p. 68. of yours.

L. 2. p. 288. " You speak of it here as the most deplorable Condition imaginable, that Men should be left to themselves, and not be forced to consider and examine the Grounds of their Religion, and search impartially and diligently after the Truth. " This you make the great Miscarriage of Mankind; and for this you seem solicitous, all through your Treatise, to find out a Remedy; and there is scarce a Leaf wherein you do not offer yours. " But what if after all, now you should be found to prevaricate? Men have contrived to themselves, say you, a great Variety of Religions: 'Tis granted. They seek not the Truth in this Matter with that Application of Mind, and that Freedom of Judgment which is requisite: 'Tis confessed. All the false Religions now on foot in the World, have taken their Rise from the slight and partial Consideration, which Men have contented themselves with in searching after the true; and Men take them up, and persist in them for want of due Examination: Be it so. There is need of a Remedy for this; and I have found one whose Success cannot be questioned: Very well. What is it? Let us hear it. Why, Dissenters must be punished. Can any body that hears you say so, believe you in earnest; and that want of Examination is the thing you would have amended, when want of Examination is not the thing you would have punished? If want of Examination be the Fault, want of Examination must be punished; if you are, as you pretend, fully satisfied that Punishment is the proper and only Means to remedy it. But if in all your Treatise you can shew me one Place, where you say that the Ignorant, the Careless, the Inconsiderate, the Negligent in examining thoroughly the Truth of their own and others Religion, &c. are to be punished, I will allow your Remedy for a good one. But you have not said any thing like this; and which is more, I tell you before-hand, you dare not say it. And whilst you do not, the World has reason to judge, that however want

L. 3. p. 68. Your next Paragraph runs high, and charges me with nothing less than Prevarication. For whereas, as you tell me, I speak of it here as the most deplorable Condition imaginable, that Men should be left to themselves, and not be forced to consider and examine the Grounds of their Religion, and search impartially and diligently after the Truth, &c. It seems all the Remedy I offer, is no more than this, Dissenters must be punished. Upon which thus you insult; Can any body that hears you say so, believe you in earnest, &c. Now here I acknowledge, that though want or neglect of Examination be a general Fault, yet the Method I propose for curing it, does not reach to all that are guilty of it, but is limited to those who reject the true Religion, proposed to them with sufficient Evidence. But then to let you see how little Ground you have to say that I prevaricate in this Matter, I shall only desire you to consider, what it is that the Author and my self were enquiring after: For it is not, what Course is to be taken to confirm and establish those in the Truth, who have already embraced it: nor, How they may be enabled to propagate it to others, (for both which Purposes I have already acknowledged it very useful, and a thing much to be desired, that all such Persons

" of

“ of Examination be a general Fault, which you
 “ with great Vehemency have exaggerated ; yet you
 “ use it only for a Pretence to punish Dissenters ; and
 “ either distrust your Remedy, that it will not cure
 “ this Evil, or else care not to have it generally cur’d.
 “ This evidently appears from your whole Manage-
 “ ment of the Argument. And he that reads your
 “ Treatise with Attention, will be more confirm’d
 “ in this Opinion, when he shall find that you
 “ (who are so earnest to have Men punished, to
 “ bring them to consider and examine, that so they
 “ may discover the Way to Salvation) have not said
 “ one Word of considering, searching, and heark-
 “ ning to the Scripture ; which had been as good
 “ a Rule for a Christian to have sent them to, as to
 “ Reasons and Arguments proper to convince them, of
 “ you know not what ; As to the Instruction and Go-
 “ vernment of the proper Ministers of Religion, which
 “ who they are, Men are yet far from being agreed ;
 “ Or as to the Information of those, who tell them
 “ they have mistaken their Way, and offer to shew them
 “ the right ; and to the like uncertain and dange-
 “ rous Guides ; which were not those that our Sa-
 “ viour and the Apostles sent Men to, but to the
 “ Scriptures. *Search the Scriptures, for in them you*
 “ *think you have Eternal Life,* says our Saviour to
 “ the unbelieving persecuting Jews. And ’tis the
 “ Scriptures which St. Paul says, *are able to make*
 “ *wise unto Salvation.*

Joh. 5. 39

2 Tim. 3.

15.

“ Talk no more therefore, if you have any Care
 “ of your Reputation, how much it is every Man’s
 “ Interest not to be left to himself, without Molestation,
 “ without Punishment in Matters of Religion. Talk
 “ not of bringing Men to embrace the Truth that
 “ must save them, by putting them upon Examina-
 “ tion. Talk no more of Force and Punishment, as
 “ the only way left to bring Men to examine. ’Tis
 “ evident you mean nothing less ; For tho’ want
 “ of Examination be the only Fault you complain
 “ of, and Punishment be in your Opinion the only
 “ way to bring Men to it ; and this the whole De-
 “ sign of your Book ; yet you have not once propo-
 “ sed in it, that those who do not impartially ex-
 “ amine, should be forced to it. And that you may
 “ not think I talk at random, when I say you dare
 “ not ; I will, if you please, give you some Rea-
 “ sons for my saying so.

“ First, Because if you propose that all should be
 “ punished, who are ignorant, who have not used
 “ such Consideration as is apt and proper to manifest
 “ the Truth ; but have been determined in the Choice
 “ of their Religion by Impressions of Education, Admira-
 “ tion of Persons, worldly Respects, Prejudices, and the
 “ like incompetent Motives ; and have taken up their
 “ Religion, without examining it as they ought ; you will
 “ propose to have several of your own Church (be
 “ it what it will) punished ; which would be a Pro-
 “ position too apt to offend too many of it, for you
 “ to venture on. For whatever need there be of
 “ Reformation, every one will not thank you for
 “ proposing such an one as must begin at (or at least
 “ reach to) the House of God.

Persons should, as far as they
 are able, search into the Grounds
 upon which their Religion stands,
 and challenges their Belief ;) but
 the Subject of our Enquiry is on-
 ly, what Method is to be used,
 to bring Men to the true Religion.
 Now if this be the only thing we
 were enquiring after, (as you
 cannot deny it to be) then every
 one sees that in speaking to this
 Point, I had nothing to do with
 any who have already embraced
 the true Religion ; because they
 are not to be brought to that
 Religion, but only to be confir-
 med and edified in it ; but was
 only to consider how those who
 reject it, may be brought to em-
 brace it. So that how much
 soever any of those who own the
 true Religion, may be guilty of
 neglect of Examination ; ’tis
 evident, I was only concerned to
 shew how it may be cured in those,
 who by reason of it, reject the
 true Religion, duly proposed or
 tender’d to them. And certain-
 ly to confine my self to this, is
 not to prevaricate, unless to keep
 within the Bounds which the
 Question under Debate prescribes
 me, be to prevaricate.

In telling me therefore that I
 dare not say that the Ignorant,
 the Careless, the Inconsiderate,
 the Negligent in examining,
 &c. (i. e. all that are such) are
 to be punished, you only tell me
 that I dare not be impertinent.
 And therefore I hope you will
 excuse me, If I take no notice of
 the three Reasons you offer in
 your next Page for your saying
 so. And yet if I had a mind to
 talk impertinently, I know not
 why I might not have dared to
 do so, as well as other Men.

There is one thing more in this
 Paragraph, which though nothing
 more pertinent than the rest, I
 shall not wholly pass over. It
 lies in these Words ; He that
 reads your Treatise with Atten-
 tion, will be more confirm’d in
 this Opinion, (viz. That I use
 want of Examination only for a
 Pretence to punish Dissenters,
 &c.) when he shall find that
 you (who are so earnest to have
 Men punish’d, to bring them
 to

“ *Secondly*, Because if you should propose that all those who are ignorant, careless and negligent in examining, should be punished, you would have little to say in this Question of Toleration : For if the Laws of the State were made as they ought to be, equal to all the Subjects, without Distinction of Men of different Professions in Religion ; and the Faults to be amended by Punishments, were impartially punished in all who are guilty of them ; this would immediately produce a perfect Toleration, or shew the Usefulness of Force in Matters of Religion. If therefore you think it so necessary, as you say, for the promoting of true Religion, and the Salvation of Souls, that Men should be punished to make them examine ; do but find a way to apply Force to all that have not thoroughly and impartially examined, and you have my Consent. For tho’ Force be not the proper Means of promoting Religion ; yet there is no better way to shew the Usefulness of it, than the applying it equally to Miscarriages, in whomsoever found, and not to distinct Parties or Persuasions of Men, for the Reformation of them alone, when others are equally faulty.

“ *Thirdly*, Because without being for as large a Toleration as the Author proposes, you cannot be truly and sincerely for a free and impartial Examination. For whoever examines, must have the Liberty to judge, and follow his Judgment ; or else you put him upon Examination to no purpose. And whether that will not as well lead Men from, as to your Church, is so much a Venture, that by your way of Writing, ’tis evident enough you are loath to hazard it ; and if you are of the National Church, ’tis plain your Brethren will not bear with you in the Allowance of such a Liberty. You must therefore either change your Method ; and if the want of Examination be that great and dangerous Fault you would have corrected, you must equally punish all that are equally guilty of any Neglect in this Matter, and then take your only means, your beloved Force, and make the best of it ; or else you must put off your Mask, and confess that you design not your Punishments to bring Men to Examination, but to Conformity. For the Fallacy you have used, is too gross to pass upon this Age.

to consider and examine, that so they may discover the Way of Salvation) have not said one Word of considering, searching and hearkning to the Scripture ; which had been as good a Rule for a Christian to have sent them to, as to Reasons and Arguments proper to convince them, of you know not what, &c. How this confirms that Opinion, I do not see ; nor have you thought fit to instruct me. But as to the thing it self, viz. my not saying one Word of considering, searching, and hearkning to the Scripture ; whatever Advantage a captious Adversary may imagine he has in it, I hope it will not seem strange to any indifferent and judicious Person, who shall but consider that throughout my Treatise I speak of the true Religion only in general, i. e. not as limited to any particular Dispensation, or to the Times of the Scriptures ; but as reaching from the Fall of Adam to the End of the World, and so comprehending the Times which preceded the Scriptures ; wherein yet God left not himself without Witness, but furnished Mankind with sufficient Means of knowing him and his Will, in order to their eternal Salvation. For I appeal to all Men of Art, whether, speaking of the True Religion under this Generality, I could be allowed to descend to any such Rules of it, as belong only to some particular Times, or Dispensations ; such as you cannot but acknowledge the Old and New Testaments to be.

In this your Answer, you say, *the Subject of our Enquiry is only what Method is to be used to bring Men to the True Religion.* He that reads what you say, again and again, That the Magistrate is impower’d and obliged to procure as much as in him lies, i. e. as far as by Penalties it can be procured that no NO MAN neglect his Soul, and shall remember how many Pages you employ, A. p. 6. &c. And here p. 6. &c. to shew that it is the Corruption of human Nature which hinders Men from doing what they may and ought for the Salvation of their Souls, and that therefore Penalties, no other means being left, and Force were necessary to be used by the Magistrate to remove these great Obstacles of Lusts and Corruptions, that none of his Subjects might remain ignorant of the way of Salvation, or refuse to embrace it. One would think your Inquiry had been after the means of CURING MENS Aversion to the True Religion, (which you tell us, p. 53. if not cured, is certainly destructive of Mens Eternal Salvation) that so they might heartily embrace it for their Salvation. But here you tell us, *your Inquiry is only what Method is to be used to bring Men to the True Religion :*

A Third Letter for Toleration.

gion: Whereby you evidently mean nothing but outward Conformity to that which you think the true Church, as appears by the next following Words; *Now if this be the only thing we were enquiring after, then every one sees that in speaking to this Point, I had nothing to do with any who have already embraced the True Religion.* And also every one sees that since amongst those with whom (having already embraced the true Religion) you and your Penalties have nothing to do; there are those who have not considered and examined matters of Religion as they ought, whose Lusts and corrupt Natures keep them as far alienated from believing, and as averse to a real obeying the Truth that must save them, as any other Men; it is manifest that embracing the true Religion in your Sense is only embracing the outward Profession of it, which is nothing but outward Conformity. And that being the farthest you would have your Penalties pursue Men, and there leave them with as much of their Ignorance of the Truth, and Carelessness of their Souls, as they please, who can deny but that it would be impertinent in you to consider how want of impartial Examination, or Aversion to the true Religion, should in them be cured? Because they are none of those Subjects of the Commonwealth, whose spiritual and eternal Interests are by political Government to be procured or advanced, none of those Subjects whose Salvation the Magistrate is to take Care of.

And therefore I excuse you, as you desire, for not taking notice of my three Reasons; but whether the Reader will do so or no, is more than I can undertake. I hope you too will excuse me for having used so harsh a Word as *prevaricate*, and impute it to my want of Skill in the English Tongue. But when I find a Man pretend to a great Concern for the Salvation of Mens Souls, and make it one of the great Ends of Civil Government, that the Magistrate should make use of Force to bring all his Subjects to consider, study and examine, believe and embrace the Truth that must save them: when I shall have to do with a Man, who to this Purpose hath writ two Books to find out and defend the proper Remedies for that general Backwardness and Aversion (which depraved humane Nature keeps Men in) to an impartial Search after, and hearty embracing the true Religion; and who talks of nothing less than Obligations on Sovereigns, both from their particular Duty, as well as from common Charity, to take Care that none of their Subjects should want the Assistance of this only means left for their Salvation; nay, who has made it so necessary to Mens Salvation, that he talks as if the Wisdom and Goodness of God would be brought in Question, if those who needed it should be destitute of it; and yet notwithstanding all this Shew of Concern for Mens Salvation, contrives the Application of this sole Remedy so, that a great many who lie under the Disease, should be out of the Reach and Benefit of his Cure, and never have this only Remedy applied to them: When this I say is so manifestly in his Thoughts all the while, that he is forced to confess that though Want or Neglect of Examination be a general Fault, yet the Method he proposes for curing it does not reach to all that are guilty of it; but frankly owns, that he was not concerned to shew how the Neglect of Examination might be cured in those who conform, but only in those who by reason of it reject the true Religion duly proposed to them: which rejecting the true Religion will require a Man of Art to shew to be here any thing but Nonconformity to the National Religion. When, I say, I meet with a Man another time that does this, who is so much a Man of Art, as to talk of all, and mean but some; talk of hearty embracing the true Religion, and mean nothing but Conformity to the National; pretend one thing, and mean another; if you please to tell me what Name I shall give it, I shall not fail: for who knows how soon again I may have an Occasion for it.

If I would punish Men for Nonconformity without owning of it, I could not use a better Pretence than to say it was to make them hearken to Reasons and Arguments proper to convince them, or to make them submit to the Instruction and Government of the proper Ministers of Religion, without any thing else, supposing still at the bottom the Arguments for, and the Ministers of my Religion to be these, that till they outwardly complied with, they were to be punished. But if (instead of outward Conformity to my Religion covered under these indefinite Terms) I should tell them, they were to examine the Scripture, which was the fixed Rule for them and me, not examining could not give me a Pretence to punish them, unless I would also punish Conformists, as ignorant and unversed in the Scripture as they, which would not do my Business.

But

But what need I use Arguments to shew, that your punishing to make Men examine is designed only against Dissenters, when in your Answer to this very Paragraph of mine, you in plain Words acknowledge, that though want of Examination be a general Fault, yet the Method you propose for curing does not reach to all that are guilty of it? To which if you please to add what you tell us, That when Dissenters conform, the Magistrate cannot know, and therefore never examines whether they do it upon Reason and Conviction or no, though it be certain that upon conforming Penalties, the necessary Means cease, it will be obvious, that whatever be talked, Conformity is all that is aimed at, and that want of Examination is but the Pretence to punish Dissenters.

And this I told you, any one must be convinced of, who observes that you (who are so earnest to have Men punished to bring them to consider and examine, that so they may discover the way of Salvation) have not said one Word of considering, searching, and hearkning to the Scripture, which, you were told, was as good a Rule for a Christian to have sent Men to, as to the Instruction and Government of the proper Ministers of Religion, or to the Information of those who tell them they have mistaken their way, and offer to shew them the right. For this passing by the Scripture you give us this Reason, that throughout your Treatise you speak of the True Religion only in general, i. e. not as limited to any particular Dispensation, or to the times of the Scriptures, but as reaching from the Fall of Adam to the End of the World, &c. And then you appeal to all Men of Art, whether speaking of the True Religion, under this Generality, you could be allowed to descend to any such Rules of it as belong only to some particular Times or Dispensations, such as I cannot but acknowledge the Old and New Testaments to be.

The Author that you write against, making it his Business (as no body can doubt who reads but the first Page of his Letter) to shew that it is the Duty of Christians to tolerate both Christians and others who differ from them in Religion, 'tis pretty strange (in asserting against him that the Magistrate might and ought to use Force to bring Men to the True Religion) you should mean any other Magistrate than the Christian Magistrate, or any other Religion than the Christian Religion. But it seems you took so little Notice of the Design of your Adversary, which was to prove, that Christians were not to use Force to bring any one to the true Christian Religion; that you would prove, that Christians now were to use Force, not only to bring Men to the Christian, but also to the Jewish Religion; or that of the true Church before the Law, or to some True Religion so general that it is none of these. For, say you, throughout your Treatise you speak of the True Religion only in general, i. e. not as limited to any particular Dispensation: Though one that were not a Man of Art would suspect you to be of another Mind your self, when you told us, the shutting out of the Jews from the Rights of the Commonwealth, is a just and necessary Caution in a Christian Commonwealth: which you say to justify your Exception in the Beginning of your A. against the Largeness of the Author's Toleration, who would not have Jews excluded. But speak of the True Religion only in general as much as you please, if your True Religion be that by which Men must be saved, can you send a Man to any better Guide to that True Religion now than the Scripture?

If when you were in your Altitudes, writing the first Book, your Men of Art could not allow you to descend to any such Rule as the Scripture, (though even there you acknowledge the Severities spoken against, are such as are used to make Men Christians) because there (by an Art proper to your self) you were to speak of True Religion under a Generality, which had nothing to do with the Duty of Christians, in reference to Toleration. Yet when here in your second Book, where you condescend all along to speak of the CHRISTIAN RELIGION, and tell us, that the Magistrates have Authority to make Laws for promoting the Christian Religion; and do by their Laws design to contribute what in them lies to make Men good CHRISTIANS; and complain of Toleration as the very Bane of the Life and Spirit of CHRISTIANITY, &c: and have vouchsafed particularly to mention the Gospel; why here, having been call'd upon for it, you could not send Men to the Scriptures, and tell them directly, that those they were to study diligently, those they were impartially and carefully to examine, to bring them to the True Religion, and into the way of Salvation; rather than talk to them as you do, of receiving Instruction, and considering Reasons and Arguments proper and sufficient to convince them; rather than propose, as you do all along, such Objects of Examination and Enquiry in general Terms, as are as hard to

be found, as the thing itself for which they are to be examined: Why, I say, you have here again avoided sending Men to examine the Scriptures, is just matter of Inquiry. And for this you must apply your self again to your *Men of Art*, to furnish you with some other Reason.

If you will but cast your Eyes back to your next Page, you will there find that you build upon this, that *the Subject of your and the Author's Inquiry is only what Method is to be used to bring Men to the True Religion*. If this be so, your *Men of Art*, who cannot allow you to descend to any such Rule as the Scriptures, because you speak of the True Religion in general, i. e. not as limited to any particular Dispensation, or to the times of the Scriptures, must allow, that you deserve to be Head of their College; since you are so strict an Observer of their Rules, that though your Inquiry be, *what Method is to be used to bring Men to the True Religion* (now under the particular Dispensation of the Gospel, and under Scripture-times) you think it an unpardonable Fault to recede so far from your Generality, as to admit the Study and Examination of the Scripture into your Method; for fear, 'tis like, your Method would be too particular, if it would not now serve to bring Men to the True Religion, who lived before the Flood. But had you had as good a Memory, as is generally thought needful to a *Man of Art*, it is believed you would have spared this Reason, for your being so backward in putting Men upon Examination of the Scripture. And any one, but a *Man of Art*, who shall read what you tell us the Magistrate's Duty is; and will but consider how convenient it would be, that Men should receive no Instruction but from the Ministry, that you there tell us the Magistrate assists; examine no Arguments, hear nothing of the Gospel, receive no other Sense of the Scripture, but what that Ministry proposes; who if they had but the coercive Power (you think them as capable of as other Men) might assist themselves; he, I say, who reflects but on these things, may perhaps find a Reason that may better satisfy the Ignorant and Unlearned, who have not had the good luck to arrive at being of the Number of these *Men of Art*, why you cannot descend to propose to Men the studying of the Scripture.

Pag. 31.

Let me for once suppose you in Holy Orders, (for we that are not of the *Adepti*, may be allow'd to be ignorant of the Punctilio's in Writing observed by the *Men of Art*.) And let me then ask what *Art* is this, whose Rules are of that Authority; that One, who has received Commission from Heaven to preach the Gospel in Season and out of Season, for the Salvation of Souls, may not allow himself to propose the reading, studying, examining of the Scripture, which has for at least these sixteen hundred Years contained the only true Religion in the World; for fear such a Proposal should offend against the Rules of this *Art*, by being too particular, and confined to the Gospel-Dispensation; and therefore could not pass muster, nor find Admittance, in a Treatise wherein the Author professes it his only Business to enquire *what Method is to be used to bring Men to the True Religion*? Do you expect any other Dispensation; that you are so afraid of being too particular, if you should recommend the Use and Study of the Scripture, to bring Men to the true Religion now in the times of the Gospel? Why might you not as well send them to the Scriptures, as to the *Ministers and Teachers of the True Religion*? Have those Ministers any other Religion to teach, than what is contained in the Scriptures? But perhaps you do this out of Kindness and Care, because possibly the Scriptures could not be found; but who were the *Ministers of the True Religion*, Men could not possibly miss. Indeed you have allowed your self to descend to what belongs only to some particular Times and Dispensations, for their sakes, when you speak of the *Ministers of the Gospel*. But whether it be as fully agreed on amongst Christians, who are the *Ministers of the Gospel* that Men must hearken to, and be guided by; as which are the Writings of the Apostles and Evangelists, that (if studied) will instruct them in the way to Heaven; is more than you or your *Men of Art* can be positive in. Where are the Canons of this over-ruling *Art* to be found, to which you pay such Reverence? May a Man of no distinguishing Character be admitted to the Privilege of them? For I see it may be of notable Use at a dead-list, and bring a Man off with flying Colours, when Truth and Reason can do him but little Service. The strong Guard you have in the Powers you write for; and when you have engaged a little too far, the safe Retreat you have always at hand in an Appeal to these *Men of Art*, made me almost at a stand, whether I were not best make a Truce with one who had such Auxiliaries. A Friend of mine finding me talk thus, replied briskly; 'tis a Matter of Religion, which requires not *Men of Art*, and the Assistance of such *Art* as favours so little of the Simplicity of the Gospel, both
shews

shews and makes the Cause the weaker. And so I went on to your two next Paragraphs.

In them, to vindicate a pretty strange Argument for the Magistrate's Use of Force, you think it convenient to repeat it out of your *A. p. 26*. And so, in Compliance with you, shall I do here again. There you tell us, *The Power you ascribe to the Magistrate is given him to bring Men, not to his own, but to the true Religion: And though (as our Author puts us in mind) the Religion of every Prince is Orthodox to himself; yet if this Power keep within its Bounds, it can serve the Interest of no other Religion but the true, among such as have any Concern for their Eternal Salvation; (and those that have none, deserve not to be considered) because the Penalties it enables him that has it to inflict, are not such as may tempt such Persons either to renounce a Religion which they believe to be true, or to profess one which they do not believe to be so; but only such as are apt to put them upon a serious and impartial Examination of the Controversy between the Magistrate and them, which is the way for them to come to the Knowledge of the Truth. And if, upon such Examination of the Matter, they chance to find that the Truth does not lie on the Magistrate's side, they have gained thus much however, even by the Magistrate's misapplying his Power, that they know better than they did before, where the Truth doth lie: And all the hurt that comes to them by it, is only the suffering some tolerable Inconveniences for their following the Light of their own Reason, and the Dictates of their own Consciences; which, certainly, is no such Mischief to Mankind as to make it more eligible that there should be no such Power vested in the Magistrate, but the Care of every Man's Soul should be left to himself alone, (as this Author demands it should be.)*

To this I tell you, "That here, out of abundant Kindness, when Dissenters have *L. 2 p. 290* their Heads (without any Cause) broken, you provide them a Plaister. For, say you, if upon such Examination of the Matter (*i. e.* brought to it by the Magistrate's *Pag. 70* Punishment) they chance to find that the Truth doth not lie on the Magistrate's side; they have gain'd thus much however, even by the Magistrate's misapplying his Power, that they know better than they did before, where the Truth does lie. "Which is as true as if you should say; Upon Examination I find such an one is out of the way to York, therefore I know better than I did before that I am in the right. For neither of you may be in the right. This were true indeed, if there were but two ways in all, a right and a wrong. To this you reply here; That whoever shall consider the Penalties, will, you persuade your self, find no Heads broken, and so but little need of a Plaister. The Penalties, as you say, are to be such as will not tempt such as have any Concern for their Eternal Salvation, either to renounce a Religion which they believe to be true, or profess one which they believe not to be so, but only such as (being weigh'd in Gold Scales) are just enough, or as you express it, are apt to put them upon a serious and impartial Examination of the Controversy between the Magistrate and them. If you had been pleased to have told us what Penalties those were, we might have been able to guess whether there would have been broken Heads or no. But since you have not vouchsafed to do it, and if I mistake not, will again appeal to your *Mens of Art* for another Dispensation rather than ever do it; I fear no body can be sure these Penalties will not reach to something worse than a broken Head: Especially if the *Pag. 7* Magistrate shall observe that you impute the Rise and Growth of false Religions (which it is the Magistrate's Duty to hinder) to the Pravity of humane Nature, unbridled by Authority; which, by what follows, he may have reason to think is to use Force *Pag. 8* sufficient to counter-balance the Folly, Perverseness, and wickedness of Men: And whether then he may not lay on Penalties sufficient, if not to break Mens Heads, yet to ruin them in their Estates and Liberties, will be more than you can undertake. And since you acknowledge here, that the Magistrate may err so far in the Use of this his Power, as to mistake the Persons that he lays his Penalties on; will you be Security that he shall not also mistake in the Proportion of them, and not lay on such as Men would willingly exchange for a broken Head? All the Assurance you give us of this, is; *If this Power keep within its Bounds, i. e.* as you here explain it, *If the Penalties the Magistrate makes use of to promote a false Religion, do not exceed the measure of those which he may warrantably use for the promoting the true.* The Magistrate may, notwithstanding any thing you have said, or can say, use any sort of Penalties, any degree of Punishment; you having neither shew'd the measure of them, nor will be ever able to shew the utmost measure which may not be exceeded, if any may be used.

But

A Third Letter for Toleration.

But what is this I find here? *If the Penalties the Magistrate makes use of to promote a FALSE RELIGION.* Is it possible that the Magistrate can make use of Penalties to promote a false Religion; of whom you told us but three Pages back, That it may always be said of him, (what St. Paul said of himself) That he can do nothing against the Truth, but for the Truth? By that one would have thought you had undertaken to us, that the Magistrate could no more use Force to promote a false Religion, than St. Paul could preach to promote a false Religion. If you say, the Magistrate has no Commission to promote a false Religion, and therefore it may always be said of him, what St. Paul said of himself, &c. I say, no Minister was ever commissioned to preach Falshood; and therefore it may always be said of every Minister, (what St. Paul said of himself) that he can do nothing against the Truth, but for the Truth: Whereby we shall very commodiously have an infallible Guide in every Parish, as well as one in every Commonwealth. But if you thus use Scripture, I imagine you will have reason to appeal again to your *Men of Art*; whether, though you may not be allowed to recommend to others the Examination and Use of Scripture, to find the true Religion, yet you your self may not use the Scripture to what Purpose, and in what Sense you please, for the Defence of your Cause.

To the remainder of what I said in that Paragraph, your Answer is nothing but an Exception to an Inference I made: The Argument you were upon, was to justify the Magistrate's inflicting Penalties to bring Men to a false Religion, by the Gain those that suffered them would receive.

L. 2. p. 29. Their Gain was this; That *they would know better than they did before, where the Truth does lie.* To which I replied, "Which is as true, as if you should say, upon Examination I find such an one is out of the Way to York; therefore I know better than I did before, that I am in the right. This Consequence you find fault with,

Pag. 70. and say it should be thus; *Therefore I know better than I did before, where the right Way lies.* This, you tell me, *would have been true; which was not for my Purpose.* These Consequences, one or t'other, are much-what alike true. For he that of an hundred Ways, amongst which there is but one right, shuts out one that he discovers certainly to be wrong, knows as much better than he did before, that he is in the right, as he knows better than before, *where the right Way lies.* For before 'twas 99 to one he was not in the right; and now he knows 'tis but 98 to one that he is not in the right; and therefore knows so much better than before, that he is in the right, just as much as he knows better than he did before, *where the right Way lies.* For let him, upon your Supposition, proceed on; and every Day, upon Examination of a Controversy with some one in one of the remaining Ways, discover him to be in the wrong; he will every Day know better than he did before, equally, *where the right Way lies,* and that he is in it; till at last he will come to discover the right Way it self, and himself in it. And therefore your Inference, whatever you think, is as much as the other for my Purpose; which was to shew what a notable Gain a Man made in the variety of false Opinions and Religions in the World, by discovering that the Magistrate had not the Truth on his side; and what Thanks he owed the Magistrate, for inflicting Penalties upon him so much for his Improvement, and for affording him so much Knowledge at so cheap a rate. And should not a Man have reason to boast of his Purchase, if he should by Penalties be driven to hear and examine all the Arguments can be proposed by those in Power for all their foolish and false Religions? And yet this Gain is what you propose, as a Justification of Magistrates inflicting Penalties for the promoting their false Religions. And an impartial Examination of the Controversy between them and the Magistrate, you tell us here, *is the way for such as have any Concern for their eternal Salvation, to come to the Knowledge of the Truth.*

Pag. 70. To my saying, "He that is punished may have examined before, and then I am sure he gains nothing: You reply, *But neither does he lose much, if it be true, which you there add, that all the Hurt that befalls him, is only the suffering some tolerable Inconvenience for his following the Light of his own Reason, and the Dictates of his Conscience.* So it is therefore you would have a Man rewarded for being an honest Man; (for so is he who follows the Light of his own Reason, and the Dictates of his Conscience;) only with the suffering some tolerable Inconveniences. And yet those tolerable Inconveniences are such as are to counterbalance Mens Lusts, and the Corruption of depraved Nature; which you know any slight Penalty is sufficient to master. But that the Magistrate's Discipline shall stop at those your tolerable Inconveniences, is what you are loth to be Guarantee for: For all the Security you dare give of it, is, *If it be*

be true which you there add. But if it should be otherwise, the Hurt may be more I see than you are willing to answer for.

L. 2. p. 290. " However, you think
" you do well to encourage the Magi-
" strate in punishing, and comfort the
" Man who has suffer'd unjustly, by
" shewing what he shall gain by it.
" Whereas, on the contrary, in a Dis-
" course of this Nature, where the
" Bounds of Right and Wrong are en-
" quired into, and should be establish'd,
" the Magistrate was to be shew'd the
" Bounds of his Authority, and warn'd
" of the Injury he did when he misapply'd
" his Power, and punish'd any Man who
" deserv'd it not; and not be sooth'd in-
" to Injustice, by Consideration of Gain
" that might thence accrue to the Suf-
" ferer. *Shall we do Evil, that Good may*
" *come of it?* There are a sort of People
" who are very wary of touching upon the
" Magistrate's Duty, and tender of shew-
" ing the Bounds of his Power, and the
" Injustice and ill Consequences of his
" misapplying it; at least, so long as it is
" misapply'd in favour of them, and their
" Party. I know not whether you are
" of their number; But this I am sure,
" you have the Misfortune here to
" fall into their Mistake. The Magi-
" strate, you confess, may in this Case
" misapply his Power: And instead of re-
" presenting to him the Injustice of it,
" and the Account he must give to his
" Sovereign one Day of this great Trust
" put into his Hands, for the equal Pro-
" tection of all his Subjects, you pretend
" Advantages which the Sufferer may
" receive from it: And so instead of dis-
" heartning from, you give Encourage-
" ment to the Mischief. Which, upon
" your Principle, join'd to the natural
" thirst in Man after Arbitrary Power,
" may be carried to all manner of Ex-
" orbitancy, with some pretence of
" Right.

L. 3. p. 71. *As to what you say here of the*
nature of my Discourse, I shall only put you in
mind that the Question there debated is; Whe-
ther the Magistrate has any Right or Authori-
ty to use Force for the promoting the true Reli-
gion. Which plainly supposes the Unlawfulness
and Injustice of using Force to promote a false
Religion, as granted on both sides. So that I
could no way be obliged to take notice of it in my
Discourse, but only as occasion should be offer'd.

And whether I have not shew'd the Bounds
of the Magistrate's Authority, as far as I was
any way obliged to do it, let any indifferent
Person judge. But to talk here of a sort of
People who are very wary of touching upon
the Magistrate's Duty, and tender of shew-
ing the Bounds of his Power, where I tell
the Magistrate that the Power I ascribe to
him in reference to Religion, is given him to
bring Men, not to his own, but to the true
Religion; and that he misapplies it, when
he endeavours to promote a false Religion by
it, is, methinks, at least a little unseasonable.

Nor am I any more concern'd in what you
say of the Magistrate's misapplying his Pow-
er in favour of a Party. For as you have not
yet proved that his applying his Power to the
promoting the true Religion, (which is all
that I contend for) is misapplying it; so
much less can you prove it to be misapplying
it in favour of a Party.

But that I encourage the Magistrate in
punishing Men to bring them to a false Reli-
gion, (for that is the punishing we here speak
of) and sooth him into Injustice, by shew-
ing what those who suffer unjustly shall gain
by it, when in the very same Breath I tell him
that by so punishing, he misapplies his Power,
is a Discovery which I believe none but your self
could have made. When I say that the Magi-
strate misapplies his Power by so punishing;
I suppose all other Men understand me to say,
that he sins in doing it, and lays himself open
to Divine Vengeance by it. And can he be
encouraged to this, by hearing what others
may gain by what (without Repentance) must
cost him so dear?

Here your *Men of Art* will do well to be at hand again. For it may be seasonable for you to appeal to them, whether the Nature of your Discourse will allow you to descend to shew " the Magistrate the Bounds of his Authority, and warn him of the Injury he does, if he misapplies his Power.

You say, *the Question there debated, is, whether the Magistrate has any Right or Authority to use Force for promoting the true Religion; which plainly supposes the Unlawfulness and Injustice of using Force to promote a false Religion, as granted on both sides.* Neither is that the Question in debate; nor if it were, does it suppose what you pretend. But the Question in debate is, as you put it, *Whether any body has a Right to use Force in Matters of Religion?* You say indeed, *The Magistrate has, to bring*
Men

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Men to the true Religion. If thereupon, you think the Magistrate has none to bring Men to a false Religion, whatever your *Men of Art* may think, 'tis probable other Men would not have thought it to have been besides the nature of your Discourse, to have warn'd the Magistrate, that he should consider well, and impartially examine the Grounds of his Religion before he use any Force to bring Men to it. This is of such Moment to Mens temporal and eternal *Interests*, that it might well deserve some particular Caution address'd to the Magistrate; who might as much need to be put in mind of *impartial Examination* as other People. And it might, whatever your *Men of Art* may allow, be justly expected from you; who think it no Deviation from the Rules of *Art*, to tell the Subjects that they must submit to the Penalties laid on them, or else fall under the Sword of the Magistrate; which how true soever, will hardly by any body be found to be much more to your Purpose in this Discourse, than it would have been to have told the Magistrate of what ill Consequence it would be to him and his People, if he misused his Power, and warn'd him to be cautious in the Use of it. But not a word that way. Nay even where you mention the Account he shall give for so doing, it is still to satisfy the Subjects that they are well provided for, and not left unfurnish'd of the Means of Salvation, by the right God has put into the Magistrate's Hands to use his Power to bring them to the True Religion; and therefore, they ought to be well content, because if the Magistrate misapply it, the *Great Judge* will punish him for it. Look, Sir, and see whether what you say, any where, of the Magistrate's misuse of his Power, have any other Tendency: And then I appeal to the sober Reader, whether if you had been as much concern'd for the Bounding, as for the Exercise of Force in the Magistrate's Hands, you would not have spoke of it after another manner.

The next thing you say, is, that the *Question* (being, whether the Magistrate has any Right to use Force to bring Men to the True Religion,) supposes the Unlawfulness of using Force to promote a False Religion as granted on both sides; which is so far from true, that I suppose quite the contrary, viz. That if the Magistrate has a Right to use Force to promote the True, he must have a Right to use Force to promote his own Religion; and that for Reasons I have given you elsewhere. But the Supposition of a Supposition serves to excuse you from speaking any thing directly of setting Bounds to the Magistrate's Power, or telling him his Duty in that Point; though you are very frequent in mentioning the Obligation he is under, that Men should not want the Assistance of his Force; and how answerable he is if any body miscarry for want of it; though there be not the least Whisper of any Care to be taken, that no body be misled by it. And now I recollect myself, I think your Method would not allow it: For if you should have put the Magistrate upon Examining, it would have suppos'd him as liable to Error as other Men; whereas, to secure the Magistrate's acting right, upon your Foundation of never using Force but for the True Religion, I see no help for it, but either he or you (who are to license him) must be got past the State of Examination, into that of certain Knowledge and Infallibility.

Indeed, as you say, you tell the Magistrate that the Power you ascribe to him in reference to Religion, is given him to bring Men not to his own, but to the True Religion. But you do put him upon a severe and impartial Examination which, amongst the many False, is the only True Religion he must use Force to bring his Subjects to; that he may not mistake and misapply his Power in a Business of that Consequence? Not a Syllable of this. Do you then tell him which it is he must take, without Examination, and promote with Force; whether that of *England, France, or Denmark*? This, methinks, is as much as the Pope, with all his Infallibility, could require of Princes. And yet what is it less than this you do; when you suppose the Religion of the Church of *England* to be the only True; and upon this your Supposition, tell the Magistrate it is his Duty, by Force, to bring Men to it; without ever putting him upon Examining, or suffering him or any body else to question, whether it be the only true Religion or no? For if you will stick to what you in another Place say; That it is enough to suppose that there is one true Religion, and but one, and that that Religion may be known by those who profess it; What Authority will this Knowableness of the true Religion, give to the King of *England* more than to the King of *France*, to use Force, if he does not actually know the Religion he professes to be the true; or to the Magistrate more than the Subject, if he has not examin'd the Grounds of his Religion? But if he believe you when you tell him, your Religion is the true, all is well; he has Authority enough to use Force, and he need not examine any farther. If this were not the Case; why

why you should not be careful to prepare a little Advice to make the Magistrate examine, as well as you are solicitous to provide Force to make the Subject examine, will require the Skill of a *Man of Art* to discover.

Whether you are not of the Number of those Men I there mention'd, (for that there have been such Men in the World, Instances might be given) one may doubt from your Principles. For if upon a Supposition that yours is the true Religion, you can give Authority to the Magistrate to inflict Penalties on all his Subjects that dissent from the Communion of the National Church, without examining whether theirs too may not be that only true Religion which is necessary to Salvation; Is not this to demand, that the Magistrate's Power should be applied only *in favour of a Party*? And can any one avoid being confirm'd in this Suspicion, when he reads that broad Insinuation of yours, p. 34. as if our Magistrates were not concern'd *for Truth or Piety*, because they granted a *Relaxation* of those Penalties, which you would have employed in favour of your Party: For so it must be call'd, and not the Church of God, exclusive of others; unless you will say Men cannot be saved out of the Communion of your particular Church, let it be National where you please.

You do not, you say, encourage the Magistrate to misapply his Power; because *in the very same Breath you tell him he misapplies his Power*. I answer, Let all Men understand you, as much as you please, to say that *he sins in doing it*: That will not excuse you from encouraging him there; unless it be impossible that a Man may be encourag'd to sin. If your telling the Magistrate that his Subjects *gain* by his *misapplying of Force*, be not an Encouragement to him to misapply it, the doing good to others must cease to be an Encouragement to any Action. And whether it be not a great Encouragement in this Case to the Magistrate, to go on in the Use of Force, without impartially examining whether his or his Subjects be the True Religion; when he is told that (be his Religion true or false) his Subjects, who suffer, will be sure to be Gainers by it; let any one judge. For the Encouragement is not (as you put it) to the Magistrate to use Force to bring Men to what he thinks a false Religion; but it is an Encouragement to the Magistrate, who presumes his to be the True Religion, to punish his dissenting Subjects; without due and impartial Examination on which side the Truth lies. For having never told the Magistrate, that neglect of Examination is a *Sin* in him; if you should tell him a thousand times, that he who uses his Power to bring Men to a false Religion misapplies it; he would not understand by it that he sinn'd, whilst he thought his the true; and so it would be no restraint to the *misapplying* his Power.

And thus we have some Prospect of this admirable Machin you have set up for the Salvation of Souls.

The Magistrate is to use Force to bring Men to the true Religion. But what if he misapplies it to bring Men to a false Religion? 'Tis well still for his Subjects: They are Gainers by it. But this may encourage him to a Misapplication of it. No; You tell him that he that uses it to bring Men to a false Religion, *misapplies it*; and therefore he cannot but understand that you say *he sins, and lays himself open to divine Vengeance*. No; He believes himself in the right; and thinks as St. Paul, whilst a Persecuter, that he does God good Service. And you assure him here, he makes his suffering Subjects Gainers; and so he goes on as comfortably as St. Paul did. Is there no Remedy for this? Yes, a very ready one, and that is, that the *one only true Religion may be known by those who profess it to be the only true Religion*.

To which, if we add how you moderate as well as direct the Magistrate's Hand in punishing; by making the last Regulation of your *convenient Penalties* to lie in the *Prudence and Experience* of Magistrates themselves; we shall find the Advantages of your Method. For are not your necessary means of Salvation, which lie in moderate Penalties used to bring Men to the true Religion, brought to an happy State; when that which is to guide the Magistrate in the Knowledge of the true Religion, is, that *the true Religion may be known by those who profess it to be the only true Religion*; and the convenient Penalties to be used for the promoting of it, are such as the Magistrate shall in his *Prudence* think fit; and that whether the Magistrate applies it right or wrong, the Subject will be a Gainer by it? If in either of your Discourses, you have given the Magistrate any better Direction than this to know the true Religion by, which he is by Force to promote; or any other intelligible Measure to moderate his Penalties by; or any other Caution to restrain the Misuse of his Power; I desire you to shew it me: And then I shall think I have reason to believe, that in this Debate

you have had more Care of the true Religion, and the Salvation of Souls, than to encourage the Magistrate to use the Power he has, by your Direction, and without Examination, and to what Degree he shall think fit, in favour of a Party. For the Matter thus stated, if I mistake not, will serve any Magistrate, to use any Degree of Force, against any that dissent from his National Religion.

Having recommended to the Subjects the Magistrate's Persecution by a Shew of *Gain*, which will accrue to them by it, you do well to bring in the Example of *Julian*; who whatever he did to the Christians, would (no more than you) own that it was Persecution, but for their Advantage in the other World. But whether his pretending *Gain* to them, upon Grounds which he did not believe; or your pretending *Gain* to them, which no body can believe to be one, be a greater Mockery, you were best look. This seems reasonable; That his *Talk of Philanthropy*, and yours of Moderation, should be bound up together. For till you speak and tell them plainly what they may trust to, the Advantage the Persecuted are to receive from your Clemency, may, I imagine, make a second Part to what the Christians of that Age received from his. But you are solicitous for the Salvation of Souls; and Dissenters shall find the Benefit of it.

CHAP. IX.

Of the Usefulness of Force in Matters of Religion.

Pag. 10. **Y**OU having granted that in all Pleas for any thing, because of its Usefulness, it is not enough to say that it may be serviceable; but it must be considered, not only what it may, but what it is likely to produce; and the greater Good or Harm likely to come from it, ought to determine the use of it; I think there need nothing more to be said to shew the Usefulness of Force in the Magistrate's Hands for promoting the true Religion, after it has been proved that, if any, then all Magistrates, who believe their Religion to be true, are under an Obligation to use it. But since the Usefulness and Necessity of Force is the main Foundation on which you build your Hypothesis, we will in the two remaining Chapters examine particularly what you say for them.

To the Author's saying, "That Truth seldom hath received, and he fears never
Pag. 10. "will receive much Assistance from the Power of great Men, to whom she is but rarely known, and more rarely welcome; You answer, *And yet God himself foretold and promised that Kings should be Nursing Fathers, and Queens Nursing Mothers to his Church.* If we may judge of this Prophecy by what is past or present, we shall have reason to think it concerns not our Days; or if it does, that God intended not that the Church should have many such Nursing Fathers and Nursing Mothers, that were to nurse them up with moderate Penalties, if those were to be the Swadling-Clouts of this Nursery. Perhaps, if you read that Chapter, you will think you have little reason to build much on this Promise, till the restoring of *Israel*: And when you see the Gentiles bring *Thy*, (i. e. as the Style of the Chapter seems to import the Sons of the *Israelites*) *Sons in their Arms, and thy Daughters be carried upon their Shoulders*, as is promised in the immediately preceding Words; you may conclude that then *Kings shall be thy* (i. e. *Israel's*) *Nursing Fathers, and Queens thy Nursing Mothers.* This seems to me to be the time designed by that Prophecy, and I guess to a great many others, upon an attentive reading that Chapter in *Isaiah*. And to all such this Text will do you little Service, till you make out the Meaning of it better than by barely quoting of it; which will scarce ever prove, that God hath promised that so many Princes shall be Friends to the true Religion, that it will be better for the true Religion, that Princes should use Force for the imposing or propagating of their Religions, than not. For unless it prove that, it answers not the Author's Argument, as an indifferent Reader must needs see. For he says not *Truth* never, but *she* seldom hath received, and he fears never will receive (not any, but) much Assistance from the Power of Great Men, to whom she is BUT RARELY KNOWN, and more RARELY WELCOME. And therefore to this of *Isaiah* pray join that of St. Paul to the Corinthians, Not many wise, not many mighty, not many noble.

1 Cor. 1.
26.

But

But supposing many *Kings* were to be *Nursing Fathers to the Church*, and that this Prophecy were to be fulfilled in this Age, and the *Church* were now to be their Nursery; 'tis I think more proper to understand this figurative Promise, that their Pains and Discipline was to be employ'd on these in the Church, and that they should feed and cherish them, rather than that these Words meant that they should whip those that were out of it. And therefore this Text will, I suppose, upon a just consideration of it, signify very little against the known matter of Fact which the Author urges; unless you can find a Country where the Cudgel and the Scourge are more the Badges and Instruments of a good Nurse, than the Breast and the Bib; and that she is counted a good Nurse of her own Child, who busies her self in whipping Children not hers, nor belonging to her Nursery.

The Fruits which give you no Encouragement to hope for any Advantage from the Author's Toleration, which almost all but the Church of England enjoy'd in the Times of the Blessed Reformation, as it was called, you tell us, were Sects and Heresies. Here your Zeal hangs a little in your Light. It is not *the Author's Toleration* which here you accuse. That, you know, is universal: And the Universality of it is that which a little before you wondred at, and complained of. Had it been the *Author's Toleration*, it could not have been *almost all but the Church of England*; but it had been the Church of England and all others. But let us take it, that *Sects and Heresies* were, or will be the Fruits of a free Toleration. *i. e.* Men are divided in their Opinions and Ways of Worship. Differences in Ways of Worship, wherein there is nothing mixed inconsistent with the true Religion, will not hinder Men from Salvation, who sincerely follow the best Light they have; which they are as likely to do under Toleration as Force. And as for difference of Opinions, speculative Opinions in Religion, I think I may safely say, that there are scarce any where three considering Men (for 'tis want of Consideration you would punish) who are in their Opinions throughout of the same Mind. Thus far then, if Charity be preserved, (which it is likelier to be where there is Toleration, than where there is Persecution) though without Uniformity, I see no great reason to complain of those ill Fruits of Toleration. Pag. 13.

But Men will run, as they did in the late Times, into *dangerous and destructive Errors, and extravagant ways of Worship*. As to Errors in Opinion; If Men upon Toleration be so apt to vary in Opinions, and run so wide one from another, 'tis evident they are not so averse to thinking as you complain. For 'tis hard for Men, not under Force, to quit one Opinion and embrace another, without thinking of them. But if there be danger of that; It is most likely the National Religion should sweep and draw to it self the loose and unthinking Part of Men; who without Thought, as well as without any Contest with their corrupt Nature, may embrace the Profession of the countenanced Religion, and join in outward Communion with the great and ruling Men of the Nation. For he that troubles not his Head at all about Religion, what other can so well suit him as the National; with which the Cry and Preferments go; And where (it being, as you say, *presumable* that he makes that his Profession upon *Conviction*, and that he is in earnest,) he is sure to be Orthodox without the Pains of examining, and has the Law and Government on his side to make it good that he is in the right?

But *Seducers*, if they be tolerated, will be ready at hand, and diligent; and Men will hearken to them. *Seducers* surely have no Force on their Side, to make People hearken. And if this be so, there is a Remedy at hand, better than Force, if you and your Friends will use it, which cannot but prevail; and that is, let the Ministers of Truth be as diligent; and they bringing Truth with them, *Truth obvious and easy to be understood* (as you say what is *necessary to Salvation* is) cannot but prevail. Pag. 29.

But *Seducers* are hearken'd to, because they teach Opinions favourable to Mens Lusts. Let the Magistrate, as is his Duty, hinder the Practices which their Lusts would carry them to, and the Advantage will be still on the Side of Truth.

After all, Sir, if, as the Apostle tells the *Corinthians*, (1 Cor. 12. 19.) *There must be Heresies amongst you, that they which are approved may be made manifest*; which, I beseech you, is best for the Salvation of Mens Souls; that they should enquire, *hear, examine, consider*, and then have the Liberty to profess what they are perswaded of; or, that having consider'd, they should be forced not to own nor follow their Perswasions; or else, that being of the National Religion, they should go ignorantly on without any Consideration at all? In one case, if your Penalties prevail, Men are forced

to act contrary to their Consciences, which is not the way to Salvation; and if the Penalties prevail not, you have the same Fruits, Sects and Heresies, as under Toleration: In the other, 'tis true, those ignorant, loose, unthinking Conformists, do not break Company with those who embrace the Truth that will save them; but I fear can no more be said to have any share in it, than those who openly dissent from it. For 'tis not being in the Company, but having on the Wedding-Garment, that keeps Men from being bound Hand and Foot, and cast into the dreadful and eternal Prison.

Pag. 16. You tell us, *Force has a proper Efficacy to procure the enlightning of the Understanding, and the Production of Belief, viz. by making Men consider.* But your ascribing Mens Aversion to examine matters of Religion, to the Corruption of their Nature; Force, your way apply'd, (*i. e.* so that Men avoid the Penalties by an outward Conformity,) cannot have any *proper Efficacy* to procure Consideration; since Men may outwardly conform, and retain their Corruption, and Aversion to Consideration; and upon this Account, Force, your way apply'd, is absolutely impertinent.

But farther; If Force has such a *proper Efficacy* to procure the *Production of Belief*, it will do more harm than good, employ'd by any but Orthodox Magistrates. But how to put it only into Orthodox Hands, is the Difficulty. For I think I have proved, that if Orthodox Magistrates may, and ought to use Force, for the promoting their Religion, all that think themselves Orthodox are obliged to use it too. And this may serve for an Answer to all you have said, p. 16.

L. 2 p. 273. I having said, Whatever indirect Efficacy there be in Force apply'd by the Magistrate your way, it makes against you; *Force used by the Magistrate, to bring Men to consider those Reasons and Arguments which are proper and sufficient to convince them, but which, without being forced, they would not consider; may, say you, be serviceable indirectly and at a distance, to make Men embrace the Truth which must save them.* And thus, say I, it may be serviceable to bring Men to receive and embrace Falshood, which will destroy them. To this you with great Triumph reply, *How, Sir, may*

Pag. 25. *Force be used by the Magistrate, to bring Men to consider those Reasons and Arguments which are proper and sufficient to convince them, be serviceable to bring Men to embrace Falshood, such Falshood as will destroy them? It seems then, there are Reasons and Arguments which are proper and sufficient to convince Men of the Truth of Falshood, which will destroy them. Which is certainly a very extraordinary Discovery, though such as no Man can have any Reason to thank you for.*

In the first Place, let me ask you, Where did you find, or from what Words of mine do you infer that notable Proposition, That *there are Reasons and Arguments proper and sufficient to convince Men of the Truth of Falshood*? If a Magistrate of the True Religion may use Force to make Men consider Reasons and Arguments proper to convince Men of the Truth of his Religion, may not a Prince of a false Religion use Force to make Men consider Reasons and Arguments proper and sufficient to convince them of what he believes to be true? And may not Force thus be serviceable to bring Men to receive and embrace Falshood?

In the next Place, Did you, who argue with so much School-Subtilty, as if you drank it in at the very Fountain, never hear of such an ill way of arguing as *a conjunctis ad divisa*? There are no Arguments proper and sufficient to bring a Man into the Belief of what is in itself false, whilst he knows or believes it to be false; therefore there are no Arguments proper and sufficient to bring a Man into the Belief of what is in itself false, which he neither knows nor believes to be so. A Senior Sophister would be laugh'd at for such Logick. And yet this is all you say in that Sentence you erect for a Trophy, to *convince Men of the Truth of Falshood*; which though not my Words, but such as you in your way supply from what I said, you are exceedingly pleased with, and think their very repeating a Triumph. But though there are no Arguments proper and sufficient to convince Men of the Truth of Falshood, as Falshood; yet I hope you will allow that there are *Arguments proper and sufficient* to make Men receive Falshoods for Truths; why else do you complain of *Seducers*? And those who embrace Falshoods for Truths, do it under the Appearance of Truth, misled by those Arguments which make it appear so, and so convince them. And that Magistrates, who take their Religion to be true, though it be not so, may with Force urge such Arguments, you will, I think, grant.

But you talk as if no body could have *Arguments proper and sufficient to convince another*, but he that was of your way, or your Church. This indeed is a new and very

ry extraordinary Discovery, and such as your Brethren, if you can convince them of it, will have reason to thank you for. For if any one was ever by Arguments and Reasons brought off, or seduced from your Church, to be a Dissenter, there were then, I think, *Reasons and Arguments proper and sufficient to convince him*. I will not name to you again Mr. Reynolds, because you have Charity enough to question his Sincerity. Though his leaving his Country, Friends, and Acquaintance, may be *presum'd* as great a Mark of his being convinced and in earnest, as it is for one to write for a National Religion in a Country where it is uppermost. I will not yet deny, but that, in you, it may be pure Zeal for the True Religion, which you would have assisted with the Magistrate's Force. And since you seem so much concern'd for your Sincerity in the Argument, it must be granted you deserve the Character of a well-meaning Man, who own your Sincerity in a way so little advantageous to your Judgment.

But if Mr. Reynolds, in your Opinion, was misled by corrupt Ends, or secular Interest; what do you think of a Prince now living? Will you doubt his Sincerity, or that he was convinced of the Truth of the Religion he professed, who ventured Three Crowns for it? What do you think of Mr. Chillingworth, when he left the Church of England for the Romish Profession? Did he do it without being *convinc'd* that that was the right? Or was he convinc'd with *Reasons and Arguments*, not *proper or sufficient to convince him*?

But certainly this could not be true, because, as you say, p. 25. *the Scripture does not teach any thing of it*. Or perhaps those that leave your Communion do it always without being convinc'd, and only think they are *convinc'd* when they are not; or are *convinc'd* with *Arguments not proper and sufficient to convince them*. If no body can convince another, but he that has Truth on his side, you do more Honour to the *first and second Letter concerning Toleration*, than is for the Advantage of your Cause, when you impute to them the Increase of *Sects and Heresies* amongst us. And there are some, even of the Church of England, have professed themselves so fully satisfy'd by the Reasons and Arguments in the first of them, that though I dare not be positive to you, whose Privilege it is to *convince Men* that they are convinced; yet I may say, 'tis as *presumable* they are *convinced*, having owned it, as it is *presumable* that all that are Conformists are made so upon Reason and Conviction.

This, I suppose, may serve for an Answer to your next Words, *That God in his just Judgment will send such as receive not the Love of Truth, that they may be saved, but reject it for the Pleasure they have in Unrighteousness*, ἐκλογισαὶ ἡδονῆς, *strong Delusion*, i. e. such Reasons and Arguments as will prevail with Men, so disposed, to believe a Lie, that they may be damn'd; this you confess the Scripture plainly teaches us. But that there are any such Reasons or Arguments as are proper and sufficient to convince or satisfy any, but such resolute and obdurate Sinners, of the Truth of such Falshood as will destroy them, is a Position which you are sure the Scripture doth not teach us; and which, you tell me, when I have better consider'd it, you hope I will not undertake to maintain. And yet if it be not maintainable, what I say here is to no purpose: For if there be no such Reasons and Arguments as here we speak of, 'tis in vain to talk of the Magistrate's using Force to make Men consider them.

But if you are still of the mind, that no Magistrate but those who are of the True Religion, can have Arguments back'd with Force, proper and sufficient to convince; and that in England none but resolute obdurate Sinners ever forsook or forbore the Communion of the Church of England, upon Reasons and Arguments that satisfy or convince them; I shall leave you to enjoy so charitable an Opinion.

But as to the Usefulness of Force, your way applied, I shall lay you down again the same Argument I used before; though in Words less fitted for your way of Reasoning on them, now I know your Talent. If there be any Efficacy in Force to bring Men to any Persuasion, it will, your way apply'd, bring more Men to Error than to Truth. Your way of using it is only to punish Men for not being of the National Religion; which is the only way you do or can apply Force, without a Toleration. Nonconformity is the Fault that is punish'd; which Fault, when it ceases, the Punishment ceases. But yet to make them consider, is the End for which they are punish'd; but whether it be or be not intended to make Men consider, it alters nothing in the Case. Now I say, that since all Magistrates who believe their Religion to be true, are as much obliged to use Force to bring their Subjects to it, as if it were true; and since most of the National Religions of the World are erroneous;

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roneous ; if Force made use of to bring Men to the National Religion, by punishing Dissenters, have any Efficacy, (let it be what it will, *indirect and at a distance*, if you please) it is like to do twenty times more harm than good ; because of the National Religions of the World, to speak much within compass, there are above twenty wrong for one that is right.

Indeed, could Force be directed to drive all Men indifferently, who are negligent and backward in it, to *study, examine, and consider* seriously Matters of Religion, and search out the Truth ; And if Men were, upon their Study and Examination, permitted to follow what appears to them to be right ; you might have some pretence for Force, as serviceable to Truth in making Men consider. But this is impossible, but under a Toleration. And I doubt whether, even there, Force can be so apply'd, as to make Men consider and impartially examine what is true in the professed Religions of the World, and to embrace it. This at least is certain, that where Punishments pursue Men like outlying Deer, only to the Pale of the National Church ; and when once they are within that, leaves them free there, and at ease ; it can do no Service to the true Religion, even in a Country where the National is the true. For the Penalties ceasing as soon as *Men* are got within the Pale and Communion of the Church ; they help not Men at all against that which you assign as the great Hindrance to the true Religion, and which therefore, in your Opinion, makes Force necessary to assist it.

For there being no necessity that Men should leave either their Vices or Corruption, or so much as their Ignorance, to get within the Pale of the Church ; Force, your way apply'd, serves only to bring them (even in the few Christian and Orthodox Countries) to the Profession, not to the Knowledge, Belief or Practice, of the true Religion.

You say corrupt Nature inclines Men from the true Religion to false ones ; and moderate Force is requisite to make such Men consider. But such Men as, out of corrupt Nature, and for their Ease and carnal Pleasures, chuse an erroneous Religion without considering, will again, as soon as they can find their Choice incommoded by those Penalties, consult the same corrupt Nature and carnal Appetites, and without considering any thing further, conform to that Religion where they can best enjoy themselves. 'Tis only the conscientious part of Dissenters, such as dissent not out of Indulgence to corrupt Nature, but out of Persuasion, who will not conform without considering as they ought. And therefore your Argument from corrupt Nature, is out of doors. If moderate Penalties serve only to work on those who are led by corrupt Nature, they are of no use but to fill the Church with Hypocrites ; that is, to make those Men worse Hypocrites than they were before, by a new Act of Hypocrisy, and to corrupt the Manners of the rest of the Church, by their Converse with these. And whether this be for the Salvation of Souls, as is pretended, or for some other End, that the Priests of all Religions have generally so earnestly contended for it, I leave to be consider'd. For as for those who dissent out of Persuasion, I suspect your moderate Penalties will have little effect upon them. For such Men being awed by the Fear of Hell-fire, if that Fear will not make them consider better than they have done, moderate Penalties will be too weak to work upon them. 'Tis well if Dragooning and Martyring can do it.

Pag. 26. But you add, *May it not be true nevertheless, that Force your way applied may be serviceable indirectly, and at a distance, to bring Men to embrace the Truth which may save them ? which is all you are concerned here to make good.* So that if it may possibly happen that it should ever bring two Men to embrace the Truth, you have gain'd your Point, and overthrown Toleration, by the *usefulness* and *necessity* there is of Force. For without being forced these two Men would never have considered : Which is more yet than you know, unless you are of his private Council, who only can tell when the Season of Grace is past, and the Time come that Preaching, Intreaty, Instruction and Persuasion shall never after prevail upon a Man. But whatever you are *here concerned to make good*, are you not also *concerned* to remember what you say ; where declaring against the Magistrate's having a Power to use what may any way, at any time, upon any Person, by any Accident, be useful towards the promoting the true Religion, you say, *Who sees not that however such Means might chance to hit right in some few Cases, yet, upon the whole Matter, they would certainly do a great deal more harm than good ; And in all Pleas (making use of my Words) for any thing because of its usefulness, it is not enough to say that it may be serviceable, but it must be considered, not only what it*
may,

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may, but what it is likely to produce ; and the greater good or harm like to come from it, ought to determine the use of it ?

You proceed and tell me, That I, not content to say that Force your way applied (i. e. " to bring Men to embrace the Truth which must save them) may be serviceable to " bring Men to embrace Falshood which will destroy them ; and so is proper to do as much harm as good, (which seems strange enough ;) I add (to encrease the wonder) " that in your indireſt way it is much more proper, and likely to make Men receive and " embrace Error, than the Truth : And that, 1. Because Men out of the right Way " are as apt, and I think I may say apter, to use Force than others ; which is, doubt- " less, an irrefragable Demonſtration, that Force used by the Magistrate to bring Men " to receive and embrace the Truth which must save them, is much more proper and " likely to make Men receive Error than the Truth. And then you ask me, How we come to talk here of what Men out of the right way are apt to do, to bring others into their, (i. e. a wrong) way ; where we are only enquiring, what may be done to bring Men to the right way. For you must put me in Mind, you say, that this our Question, viz. Whether the Magistrate has any Right to use Force, to bring Men to the true Religion. Whether the Magistrate has a Right to use Force in matters of Religion, as you more truly state it, (p. 78.) is the main Question between us, I confess. But the Question here between us is about the usefulness of Force your way apply'd ; which being to punish Dissenters as Dissenters to make them consider, I shew'd would do more harm than good. And to this, you were here answering. Whereby, I suppose, it is plain that the Question here is about the Usefulness of Force, so apply'd. And I doubt not but my Readers, who are not concerned, when the Question in Debate will not serve your turn, to have another substituted, will take this for a regular and natural way of Arguing, viz. " That Force, your way apply'd is more proper and likely to make " Men embrace Error than the Truth ; because Men out of the right Way are as " apt, I think I may say apter, to use Force than others. You need not then ask as you do, How we come to talk here of Men ought of the right way. You see how. If you do not, I know not what help there is for your Eyes. And I must content myself that any other Reader that has Eyes, will not miss it. And I wonder that you should : since you know I have on several Occasions argued against the Use of Force in Matters of Religion upon a Supposition, that if any one, then all Magistrates have a just Pretence and Right to use it ; which has served you in some Places for Matter of great Reproof, and in others of Sport and Diversion. But because so plain a thing as that was so strange to you, that you thought it a ridiculous Paradox to say, " That for all Magistrates to suppose the Religion they believed to be true, was equally just and reasonable ; And because you took no notice of the Words adjoin'd that proved it, viz. " Unless we can imagine every where but in England, [or where the " National Religion is the true] Men believe what at the same time they think to be " a Lie, I have taken the Pains to prove it to you more at large in another Place, and therefore shall make bold to use it here as an Argument against Force, viz. That if it have any Efficacy, it will do more harm than good ; " Because Men out of the " right way are as apt, or apter to use it : And I shall think it a good one till you have answered it.

It is a good and a sure way, and shews a Zeal to the Cause, still to hold fast the Conclusion, and whatever be in Debate, return still to one's old Position. I arguing against what you say for the Use of Force, viz. That Force used not to convince by its own proper Efficacy, but only to make Men consider, might indirectly and at a distance do some Service towards the bringing Men to embrace the Truth ; After other Arguments against it, I say, that whatever Efficacy there is in Force, your way apply'd, (i. e. " To " punish all, and none but, Dissenters from the National Church) makes against you : And the first Reason I give for it, is in these Words ; " Because Men out of the right " Way are as apt or apter to use Force than others. Which is what you are here answering. And what can be done better to answer it, than to the Words I have above cited, to subjoin these following ? Now whereas our Author says, that Penalties or Force is absolutely impertinent in this Case, because it is not proper to convince the Mind ; To which, you answer, that though Force be not proper to convince the Mind, yet it is not absolutely impertinent in this Case, because it may however, do some Service towards the bringing Men to embrace the Truth which must save them, by bringing them to consider those Reasons and Arguments which are proper to convince the Mind ; and which, without being forced, they would not consider. Here I tell you, " No, but it is much more proper

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“per and likely to make Men receive and embrace Error than Truth; because Men out of the right Way are as apt, and perhaps apter, to use Force than others. Which you tell me, is as good a Proof you believe as the thing would admit: For otherwise, you suppose I would have given you a better. And thus you have certainly gain’d the Cause. For I having prov’d that Force, your way apply’d, whatever Efficacy it had, would do more harm than good, have not sufficiently proved that it cannot do some Service towards the bringing Men to embrace the Truth; And therefore it is not absolutely impertinent. But since you think this not enough to prove the Use of Force in Matters of Religion impertinent, I shall farther shew you that Force, apply’d your way to make People consider, and so to make them embrace the Truth, is impertinent.

Your Way is to lay Penalties on Men for Nonconformity, as you say, to make Men consider: Now here let me ask any one but you, Whether it be not utterly impertinent so to lay Penalties on Men, to make them consider, when they can avoid those Penalties without considering? But because it is not enough to prove Force, your way apply’d, utterly impertinent, I shall shew you in the next place, that were a Law made to punish not barely Nonconformity, but Nonconsideration, those Penalties laid on not considering, would be utterly impertinent; because it could never be proved that a Man had not consider’d the Arguments offer’d him. And therefore all Law-makers till you, in all their Penal Laws about Religion, laid all their Penalties upon not embracing; and ’twas against that, that our Author was arguing when he said Penalties, in this Case are absolutely impertinent; because they are not proper to convince the Mind. For in that Case, when Penalties are laid on Men for not embracing, ’tis plain they are used as a means to make Men embrace: which, since those who are careless in Matters of Religion can do without considering, and those who are conscientious cannot do without Conviction; and since Penalties can in no wise convince; this Use of them is absolutely impertinent, and will always be so till you can shew a way how they can be used in Religion, not as Motives to embrace, but as Motives barely to make Men consider. For if you punish them on when they tell you they have considered your Arguments, but are not convinced by them, and you judge of their having not considered by nothing but their not embracing, ’tis plain you use Penalties instead of Arguments to convince them; since without Conviction, those who our Author pleads for, cannot embrace; and those who do embrace without Conviction, ’tis all one as if they did not embrace at all, they being not one jot the more in the Way of Salvation; and so Penalties are absolutely impertinent. But embracing in the Sense of the Law, and yours too, when you say Men have not considered as they ought as long as they reject, is nothing but outward Conformity, or an outward Profession of embracing, wherewith the Law is satisfied, and upon which the Penalties cease. Now Penalties used to make Men in this Sense embrace, are absolutely impertinent to bring Men to embrace in earnest, or, as the Author calls it, believe: because an outward Profession, which in this Case is the immediate end to which Penalties are directed, and beyond which they do not reach, is no proper means to produce in Men Consideration, Conviction, or Believing.

What can be more impertinent than to vex and disease People with the Use of Force, to no purpose? and that Force must needs be to no purpose, which is so apply’d as to leave the end for which it is pretended to be used, without the Means which is acknowledged necessary for its Attainment. That this is so in your way of using Force, will easily appear from your Hypothesis. You tell us at large in your *Argument considered*, that Mens Lusts hinder them from even impartial Consideration and Examination of Matters in Religion: and therefore Force is necessary to remove this Hindrance. You tell us likewise at large in your *Letter*, that Mens corrupt Nature and beloved Lusts hinder them also from embracing the true Religion, and that Force is necessary likewise to remove this Obstacle. Now in your way of using Force, wherein Penalties are laid on Men till, and no longer than till, they are made outwardly to conform, Force is so apply’d, that notwithstanding the Intention of the Law-maker (let it be what it will) neither the Obstacle to impartial Examination, rising from Mens Lusts, nor the Aversion to the embracing the true Religion, arising from Mens corrupt Nature, can be removed: unless they can be removed without that, which you suppose necessary to their Removal. For since a man may conform, without being under the Necessity of impartial Examining or Embracing on the one Hand, or suffering the Penalties on the other; it is unavoidable, that he should neither impartially examine nor embrace, if Penalties are necessary to make him do either; because Penalties, which are the

the necessary Remedies to remove those Hindrances, were never apply'd to them; and so those Obstacles not being removed for want of their necessary Remedy, must continue on to hinder both *Examining and Embracing*. For Penalties cannot be used as a Means to any End, or be apply'd to the procuring any Action to be done, which a Man from his Lusts or any other Cause, has an Aversion to, but by putting them as it were in one Scale as a Counter-balance to that Aversion, and the Action in the other Scale, and putting a Man under the necessity of chusing the one or the other: where that is not done, the Penalty may be avoided, the Aversion or Obstacle hath nothing to remove it, and so the Action must remain undone. So that if Penalties be necessary to make Men impartially *examine* and really *embrace*; if Penalties are not so laid on Men as to make the Alternative to be either suffering the Penalties or conforming, it is impossible that Men, who without Penalties would not impartially *examine* or really *embrace* the true Religion, should ever do either; and then I beseech you consider whether Penalties, your Way apply'd, be *impertinent* or no.

The necessity of Penalties is only where there is some Inclination or Byass in a Man, whencesoever arising, that keeps him from doing something in his Power, which he cannot be brought to without the Inconveniences of some Penal Infliction. The Efficacy of Penalties lies in this, that the Inconvenience to be suffer'd by the Penalties over-balance the Byass or Inclination which leans the Man the other way, and so removes the Obstacle; And the Application of this Remedy lies only in putting a Man under the necessary Choice either of doing the Action, or suffering the Penalty: So that in whatever Case a Man has not been put under that Necessity, there Penalties have never been apply'd to the procuring that Action: for the Obstacle or Aversion to it, has never had its necessary Remedy.

Perhaps you will say it is not *absolutely impertinent*, because it may possibly *do some Service indirectly and at a distance*, and be the Occasion that some may consider and embrace. If whatever may by Accident contribute to any End, may be used not impertinently as a Means to that End, nothing that I know can be *impertinent*; and a Penalty of 12 d. a time laid on them for being drunk, may be said, to be a pertinent means, to make Men Cartesians, or Conformists: because it may *indirectly and at a distance do some Service*, by being an Occasion to make some Men consider their mispending their Time; whereby it may happen that one may b-take himself to the Study of Philosophy, where he may meet with *Arguments proper and fit to convince him* of the Truth of that Philosophy; as another betaking himself to the Study of Divinity, may consider *Arguments proper and fit to make him* (whether it be in *England, Holland or Denmark*) of the National Profession, which he was not of before.

Just thus, and no otherwise, does 12 d. a Sunday, or any other Penalty laid on Nonconformity, make Men study and embrace the true Religion; and whatever you will call the Service it does, direct or *indirect*, near or *at a distance*, 'tis plain it produces that Effect, and conduces to that End merely by Accident; and therefore must be allow'd to be impertinent to be used to that purpose.

That your Way of using Force in Matters of Religion, even in a Country where the Magistrate's is of the true Religion, is *absolutely impertinent*; I shall farther shew you from your own Positions.

Here in the Entrance give me leave to observe to you, that you confound two things very different, *viz.* Your Way of applying Force, and the End for which you pretend you use it. And this perhaps may be it which contributes to cast that Mist about your Eyes, that you always return to the same place, and stick to the same gross Mistake. For here you say, *Force*, your *Way applied*, i. e. *to bring Men to embrace the Truth which must save them*: but, Sir, *to bring Men to embrace the Truth*, is not your *Way of applying Force*, but *the End* for which you pretend it is apply'd. Your *Way* is to punish Men (as you say) moderately for being Dissenters from the National Religion; this is your *Way of using Force*. Now if in this *Way of using it*, Force does Service merely by Accident, you will then, I suppose, allow it to be *absolutely impertinent*. For you say, *If by doing Service by Accident, I mean doing it but seldom, and beside the Intention of the Agent, you assure me, that it is not the thing you mean when you say Force may indirectly, and at a distance, do some Service.* For in that use of Force, which you defend, the Effect is both intended by him that uses it, and withal, you doubt not, so often attain'd, as abundantly to manifest the Usefulness of it. Whereby 'tis plain the two Marks, whereby you distinguish'd your *indirect and at a distance Usefulness*, from that

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which is by *Accident*, are that, *that by Accident* does Service but seldom, and besides the Intention of the Agent, but yours the contrary.

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First, as to the Intention, you tell us, *in the use of Force*, which you defend, *the Effect is intended by him that uses it*; that is, those who made Laws to punish Nonconformists, designed those Penalties to make all Men, under their Power, *consider so as to be convinced of, and embrace the Truths that should save them*. If one should ask you how you knew it to be their Intention, can you say, they ever told you so? If they did not, then so far you and I know their *Intentions* alike. Did they ever say so in those Laws? nor that neither. Those vers'd then in the Interpretations of Laws, will tell you nothing can be known to be the *Intention* of the Law-makers in any Law, of which the Law is wholly silent: That way then you cannot know it to have been their *Intention*, if the Law says nothing of it. Whatever was the *Intention* of former Law-makers, if you had read with Attention the last Act of Uniformity of *Car. 2.* printed before the Common-Prayer Book, I conclude you would have been better satisfied about the *Intention* of the then Law-makers in that Law; for I think nothing can be plainer to any one who will look into that Statute, than that their only End in that Law was, what they have expressed in these Words. *And to the End that Uniformity in the Publick Worship of God (which is so much desired) may be speedily effected*; which was driven with such speed, that if all concern'd had Opportunity to get and peruse the then establish'd Liturgy, 'tis certain they had not over-much time seriously and deliberately to consider of all the Parts of it before the Day set for the Use of it.

But you think, they ought to have *intended*, and therefore they did: And I think they neither ought, nor could, in making those Laws, intend so unpracticable a thing; and therefore they did not. Which being as certain a way of Knowledge as yours, if you know it by that way, 'tis possible you and I may at the same time know Contraries.

But you know it, by their *having provided sufficient means of Instruction for all under their Care in the True Religion*; (of this *sufficient means*, we have something to say in another Place.) Penalties laid expressly on one Fault, have no Evidence that they were designed to mend another; though there are sufficient means provided of mending it, if Men would make a sufficient Use of them; unless those two Faults are so connected, as one cannot be mended without the other. Now if Men cannot conform, without so *considering as to be convinced of, and embrace the Truth that must save them*, you may know that Penalties laid on Nonconformity, were *intended* to make Men so consider: But if Men may conform, without so *considering*, one cannot know nor conclude those Penalties were *intended* to make Men so consider, whatever Provision there is made of *Means of Instruction*.

But you will say, it is evident that Penalties on Nonconformists, were *intended* to make them use these means of Instruction, because they are *intended* for the bringing Men to Church, the Place of Instruction. That they are *intended* to bring Men to Church, the Place of Preaching, that I grant; but that those Penalties that are laid on Men, for not coming to Church, can be known thereby to be *intended* to make Men so consider, as to be convinced and embrace the True Religion, that I deny: And it is utterly impossible it should be so, if what you say be true, where you tell us,

Pag. 22. That the Magistrates concern themselves for Compliance or Conformity, only as the Fruit of their Conviction. If therefore the Magistrates are concerned for Mens Conformity, only as the Fruit of their Conviction, and coming to Church be that Conformity; coming to Church cannot be *intended* as a means of their Conviction: unless it be *intended* they should be convinc'd, before they are convinc'd.

But to shew you, that you cannot pretend the Penalty of Laws for Conformity, to proceed from a Care of the Souls of *all* under the Magistrate's Power, and so to be *intended* to make them *all* consider, in any Sense. Can you, or any one know, or suppose, that Penalties which are laid by the Law on Nonconformity, are *intended* to make *all* Men consider; where 'tis known that a great Number, under the Magistrate's Power, are dispensed with, and privileged from those Penalties? How many, omitting the Jews, are there, for Example, in the King of England's Dominions, under his Care and Power, of the *Walloon*, and *French Church*; to whom Force is never apply'd, and they live in Security from it? How many Pagans are there in

the Plantations, many whereof born in his Dominions, of whom there was never any Care taken, that they should so much as come to Church, or be in the least instructed in the Christian Religion? And yet must we believe, or can you pretend, that the Magistrate's Use of Force, against Nonconformists, is to make *all* his Subjects consider, *so as to be convinc'd of, and embrace the Truth that must save them*? If you say, in your way you mean no such Indulgence: I answer, the Question is not of yours, but the Magistrate's Intention; though what your *Intention* is, who would have the want of Consideration, or Knowledge, in Conformists; exempt from Force, is visible enough.

Again, Those Penalties cannot be supposed, to be *intended* to make Men *consider*; which are laid on those, who have, or may have already considered: And such you must grant to be the Penalties laid in *England*, on Nonconformists; unless you will deny, that any Nonconformist has, or can *consider*, so as to be convinced, or believe, and *embrace the Truth that must save him*. So that you cannot vouch the *Intention* of the Magistrate, where his Laws say nothing; much less affirm, that Force is *intended* to produce a certain End in *all* his Subjects, which is not applied to them *all*, and is applied to some who have attained that End already: Unless you have a Privilege to affirm, against all Appearance, whatsoever may serve your Cause. But to learn some Moderation in this, I shall send you to my *Pagans* and *Mahometans*. For whatever charitable Wishes Magistrates may sometimes have in their Thoughts, (which I meddle not with;) no body can say, that in making the Laws, or in the Use of Force, we are speaking of, they *intended* to make Men consider and examine, so as to be convinced of, and heartily to embrace the Truth that must save them, but he that gives himself the Liberty to say any thing.

The Service that Force does, *indirectly, and at a distance*; you tell us in the following Page, is to make People *apply themselves to the Use of those Means, and Helps, which are proper to make them what they are designed to be*. In the Case before us, What are Men designed to be? Holy Believers of the Gospel in this World, without which no Salvation, no seeing of God in the next. Let us see now, whether Force, your way applied, can be suited to such a Design, and so *intended* for that End.

You hold, That all out of the National Church, where the Religion of the National Church is true, should be punished, and ought to have Force used to them: And again, you grant That those who are in the Communion of the National Church, ought not to be punished, or be under the Stroke of Force; nor indeed in your way can they. If now *the Effect* be to prevail with Men, *to consider as they ought*, so that they may become *what they are designed to be*: How can any one think, that you, and they who use Force thus, *intend*, in the Use of it, that Men should really be Christians, both in Persuasion and Practice, without which there is no Salvation; if they leave off Force before they have attained that *Effect*? Or how can it be imagined, that they *intend* any thing but Conformity by their Use of Force; if they leave off the Use of it as soon as Men conform? Unless you will say that an outward Conformity to the National Church, whose Religion is the True Religion, is such an embracing of the Truth as is sufficient to Salvation? Or that an outward Profession of the Christian Religion is the same with being really a Christian; which possibly you will not be very forward to do, when you recollect what you meet with in the Sermons, and printed Discourses, of Divines of the Church of *England*, concerning the Ignorance and Irreligion of Conformists themselves. For Penalties can never be thought, by any one (but he that can think against common Sense, and what he pleases) to be *intended* for any End; which by that Constitution, and Law whereby they are imposed, are to cease before that End be attained. And will you say, that all who are conformable, have so well *considered*, that they *believe*, and *heartily embrace* the Truths of the Gospel, *that must save them*: When perhaps it will be found that a great many Conformists do not so much as understand them? But the Ignorance or Irreligiousness to be found amongst Conformists, which your way of talking forces me in some Places to take notice of, let me here tell you once for all, I lay not the Blame of upon Conformity, but upon your Use of Force to make Men conform. For whatever the Religion be, true or false, it is natural for Force, and Penalty, so applied, to bring the Irreligious, and those who are careless and unconcerned for the True, into the National Profession: But whether it be fitter for such to be kept out, rather than by Force to be driven into the Communion of any Church,

A Third Letter for Toleration.

and owned as Members of it, those who have a due Care and Respect for truly religious and pious Conformists, were best consider.

But farther, if, as you say, the Opposition to the True Religion lies only in Mens Lusts, it having *Light* and *Strength* enough (were it not for that) to prevail: And it is upon that Account only that Force is *necessary*, there is no Necessity at all to use Force on Men, only till they conform, and no farther: Since I think you will not deny, but that the *Corruption of humane Nature* is as great in Conformists as in Non-conformists; in the Professors of, as in the Dissenters from, the National Religion. And therefore either Force was not necessary before, or else it is necessary still, after Men are Conformists: Unless you will say, that it is harder for a Man to be a Professor, than a Christian indeed: And that the True Religion, by its own *Light* and *Strength*, can, without the Help of Force, prevail over a Man's Lusts, and the Corruption of his Nature; but it has need of the Help of Force, to make him a Conformist, and an outward Professor. And so much for the *Effect*, which is *intended by him that uses it in that Use of Force which you defend*.

The other Argument you bring to shew, that your *indirect, and at a distance Usefulness* of Force your way apply'd, is not by Accident, is the *frequent Success* of it. Which I think is not the true mark of what is not *by Accident*: For an Effect may not be *by Accident*, though it has never been produced but once; and is certainly as little *by Accident* the first time, as when it has been produced a thousand times. That then, by which any thing is excus'd from being by Accident, is not the frequency of the Event, but that whereon the frequency of the Event depends, when frequent Trials are made; and that is the proper, natural, direct Efficacy of the Cause or Means, which produces the Effect. As in the Case before us, Penalties are the Cause or Means used to produce an End; the proper and immediate Effect of Penalties, is to produce some Pain or Inconvenience; and the natural Effect of that, is to make a Man, who naturally flies from all Pain or Inconvenience, to endeavour to avoid it; whereby it naturally and directly works upon the Will of Man, by proposing to him this unavoidable Choice of doing some Action, or enduring the Pain or Inconvenience of the Penalty annexed to its Omission. When the Pain of doing the Action is outweigh'd in the Sense of him that lies under the Penalty, the Pain, that by the Law is annex'd to the Omission, operates upon his Will, as naturally, as thirteen Ounces in one Scale, laid against twelve Ounces in the other, incline the Balance, and bring it down on that side. And this is by a direct and natural Efficacy, wherein there is nothing of Chance.

Let us see this, how far this will go in your *indirect, and at a distance, Usefulness*. In your Method, the Action you propose to be done, is *Considering*, or a severe and impartial Examining matters of Religion, which you tell us, Men by their great Negligence or Aversion are kept from doing. What now is a proper means to produce this? Penalties, without which, you tell us, it *will not be done*. How now is it apply'd in your Method? Conformity, and Mens Neglect or Aversion to it, is laid in one Scale, and the Penalty joyn'd to the Omission of it, laid in the other; and in this Case, if the Inconvenience of the Penalty overweighs the Pains of, or Aversion to Conformity, it does by a direct and natural Efficacy produce Conformity: But if it produces a severe and impartial Examination, that is merely by Accident; because the Inconvenience of the Penalty is not laid against Mens Aversion or Backwardness to examine impartially, as a Counter-balance to that, but against their Aversion or Backwardness to conform; and so whatever it does, *indirectly, and at a distance*, 'tis certain its making Men *severely and impartially examine* (if ever that happens) is as much by Accident, as it would be *by Accident*, if a piece of Lead laid in one Scale as a Counterpoise to Feathers in the opposite Scale, should move or weigh down Gold that was put in the Scale of another pair of Balances, which had no Counterpoise laid against it. Unless you will say there is a necessary Connection between Conformity, and a severe and impartial Examination.

But you will say, perhaps, that though it be not possible that Penalties should produce Examination but by mere Accident, because Examination has no necessary Connection with Conformity, or the Profession of any Religion; yet since there are some who will not take up any Profession without a *severe and impartial Examination*, Penalties for Nonconformity will, by a direct and natural Efficacy, produce Examination in all such. To which I answer, That those are (if we may believe what you say) so very few, that this your Remedy, which you put into the Magistrate's

Hands

Hands to bring *all* his Subjects to consider and examine, will not work upon one in a thousand; nay, it can work on none at all, to make them severely and impartially examine, but merely by *Accident*. For if they are Men, whom a slight and partial Examination (which upon your Principles you must say) sufficed to make Nonconformists, a slight and partial Examination will as well serve to make them Conformists; and so Penalties laid on them to make them conform, can only by Accident produce a *severe and impartial Examination*, in such Men, who can take up the Profession of any Religion without a *severe and impartial Examination*, no more than it can otherwise than by Accident, produce any Examination in those who, without any Examination, can take up the Profession of any Religion.

And in those very few, who take not up the Profession of any Religion without a *severe and impartial Examination*, that Penalties can do any Service, to bring them either to the *Truth that must save them*, or so much as to outward Conformity, but merely by *Accident*, that also is evident. Because all such in a Country, where they dissent from the National Religion, must necessarily have severely and impartially examin'd already, or else you destroy the Supposition this Argument is built on, *viz.* That they are Men who do severely and impartially examine before they chuse. And if you lay, or continue your Penalties on Men, that have so examin'd, 'tis plain you *use them instead of Reasons and Arguments*; in which Use of them, you confess they have no *proper Efficacy*, and therefore if they do any Service, it is merely by Accident.

But now let us see the *Success* you boast of, and for that you tell us, that you *doubt* not but it is *so often attain'd, as abundantly to manifest the Usefulness of it*. You speak here of it, as thing tried, and so known, that you doubt not. Pray tell us where your *moderate* (for great ones you acknowledge to do harm, and to be useless) Penalties have been used, with such Success, that we may be past Doubt too. If you can shew no such place, do you not vouch Experience where you have none? and shew a Willingless not to doubt, where you have no Assurance? In all Countries, where any Force is used to bring Men to the Profession of the National Religion, and to outward Conformity, it is not to be doubted, but that Force joining with their natural Corruption, in bringing them into the way of Preferment, Countenance, Protection, Ease and Impunity, should easily draw in all the Loose and Careless in matters of Religion, which are every where the far greater Number: But is it those you count upon, and will you produce them as Examples of what Force has done to make Men *consider, study, and embrace the True Religion*? Did the Penalties laid on Nonconformity make you *consider, so as to study, be convinced, and embrace the True Religion*? Or can you give an Instance of any one, in whom it produced this Effect? If you cannot, you will have some reason to doubt of what you have said, and not to be so confident that the Effect you talk of, is so often attain'd. Not that I deny, but that God may sometimes have made these Punishments the Occasions to Men of setting themselves seriously on considering Religion, and thence they may have come into the National Religion upon a real Conviction: But the Instances of it I believe to be so few, that you will have reason to remember your own Words, where you speak of such things as, "Any Way, at any Time, upon any Person, by any Accident," *may be useful towards the promoting of True Religion: If Men should thence take occasion to apply such things generally, who sees not that, however they might chance to hit right in some few Cases, yet upon the whole matter, they would certainly do a great deal more Harm than Good*. You and I know a Country wherein, not long since, greater Severities were used than you pretend to approve of. Were there not, for all that, great Numbers of several Professions stood out, who by your Rule, ought now to have your moderate Penalties tried upon them? And can you think less Degrees of Force can work, and often, as you say, prevail, where greater could not? But perhaps they might prevail on many of those to return, who having been brought into the Communion of the Church by former penal Laws, have now upon the *Relaxation* left it again. A manifest Demonstration, is it not? That *their Compliance was the Fruit of their Conviction*; and that the Magistrate was concern'd for *their Compliance only as the Fruit of their Conviction*: when they as soon as any Relaxation of those Laws took off the Penalties, left again the Communion of the National Church? For the *lessening the Number of Conformists*, is, I suppose, one of those things which you say your *Eyes cannot but see at this time*; and which you, with concern, impute to the late *Relaxation*. A plain Evidence how *presumable* it

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it is, even in your own Opinion, that those who conform do it upon real *Conviction*.

To conclude, these Proofs, though I do not pretend to bring *as good as the Thing will admit*, will serve my Turn to shew, that Force is impertinent; since by your own Confession it has no direct Efficacy to convince Men, and by its being *indirect and at a distance* useful, is not at all distinguish'd from being barely so *by accident*: since you can neither prove it to be intended for that end, nor frequently to succeed, which are the two Marks whereby you put a Difference between *indirect, and at a distance, and by accident*: This, I say, is enough to shew what the Author said, is true, that the Use of Force is wholly *impertinent*. Which, whatever others do, you upon another reason, must be forced to allow.

You profess your self of the Church of *England*, and if I may guess, are so far of it, as to have subscrib'd the 39 Articles, which if you have done, and assented to what you subscribed, you must necessarily allow that all Force, used for the bringing Men to the true Religion, is *absolutely impertinent*; for that must be *absolutely impertinent* to be used as a Means, which can contribute nothing at all to the End for which it is used. The End here, is to make a Man a true Christian, that he may be saved; and he is then, and then only, a true Christian, and in the Way of Salvation, when he believes, and with Sincerity obeys the Gospel. By the 13th Article of the Church of *England*, you hold, that *WORKS DONE BEFORE THE GRACE OF CHRIST, AND THE INSPIRATION OF HIS SPIRIT, ARE NOT PLEASING TO GOD; FOR AS MUCH AS THEY SPRING NOT OF FAITH IN JESUS CHRIST, NEITHER DO THEY MAKE MEN MEET TO RECEIVE GRACE, (OR AS THE SCHOOL-AUTHORS SAY) DESERVE GRACE OF CONGRUITY; YEA RATHER, FOR THAT THEY ARE NOT DONE AS GOD HAS WILLED AND COMMANDED THEM TO BE DONE, WE DOUBT NOT BUT THEY HAVE THE NATURE OF SIN*. Now if it be impertinent to use Force to make a Man do more than he can, and a Man can do nothing to procure Grace, unless *Sin* can procure it; and without Grace, a Man cannot believe, or live so as to be a true Christian, it is certainly wholly *impertinent* to use Force to bring a Man to be truly a Christian. To hear and consider, is in Mens Power, you will say, and to that Force may be pertinent; I grant to make Men hear, but not to make them *consider* in your Sense, which you tell us, is to *consider so as to embrace*; if you mean by *embracing* any thing but outward Conformity: And that according to your Article, contributes nothing to the attaining of Grace; because without Grace, your Article says it is a Sin; and to conform to, and outwardly profess a Religion which a Man does not understand and heartily believe, every one, I think, judges to be a *Sin*, and no fit Means to procure the Grace of God.

Pag. 31. But you tell us, *That God denies his Grace to none who seriously ask it*. If that be so, methinks Force should most properly and pertinently be used to make Men *seriously* pray to God for Grace. But how, I beseech you, will this stand with your 13th Article? For if you mean by *seriously*; so as will make his Seeking acceptable to God, that cannot be, because he is supposed yet to want Grace which alone can make it acceptable: and if his asking has the *Nature of Sin*, as in the Article you *do not doubt* but it has, can you expect that Sinning should procure the Grace of God? You will I fear here, without some great Help in a very nice Distinction from the *School-Authors*, be forced either to renounce your Article in the plain Sense of it, and so become a Dissenter from the Church of *England*, or else acknowledge Force to be wholly *impertinent* to the Business of true Religion and Salvation.

Pag. 27. Another Reason I gave against the *Usefulness* of Force in Matters of Religion, was, "Because the Magistrates of the World, being few of them in the right Way, (not one of ten, take which side you will) perhaps not one of an hundred, being of the true Religion; 'Tis likely your indirect Way of using Force would do an hundred, or at least ten times as much Harm as Good. To which you reply, *which would have been to the purpose, if you had asserted, that every Magistrate may use Force, your indirect Way (or any Way) to bring Men to his own Religion, whatever that be. But if you assert no such thing, (as no Man you think but an Atheist will assert it) then this is quite beside the Business*. I think I have proved, that if Magistrates of the true Religion may use Force to bring Men to their Religion, every Magistrate may use Force to bring Men to his own Religion, when he thinks it the true: And then do you look where the *Atheism* will light.

In the next Paragraph, having quoted these following Words of mine; where I say,
 “ Under another Pretence, you put into the Magistrate’s Hands as much Power to
 “ force Men to his Religion, as any the openest Persecutors can pretend to. I ask
 “ what difference is there between punishing them to bring them to Mass, and pu-
 “ nishing them to bring them to consider those Reasons and Arguments which are
 “ proper and sufficient to convince them that they ought to go to Mass? You reply;
A Question which you shall then think your self obliged to answer, when I have produced Pag. 27.
those Reasons and Arguments which are proper and sufficient to convince Men that they
ought to go to Mass. But if you had not omitted the three or four immediately pre-
 ceding Lines, (an Art to serve a good Cause, which puts me in mind of my *Pagans*
and Mahometans) the Reader would have seen that your Reply was nothing at all to
 my Argument: My Words were these.

“ Especially, if you consider, that as the Magistrate will certainly use it [Force] to
 “ force Men to hearken to the *proper Ministers of his Religion*, let it be what it will;
 “ so you having set no Time nor Bounds to this Consideration of Arguments and Rea-
 “ sons short of being convinced, you under another, &c. My Argument is to shew of
 what advantage Force, your Way apply’d, is like to be to the true Religion, since it
 puts as much Force into the Magistrate’s Hands as the openest Persecutors can pre-
 tend to, which the Magistrates of wrong Persuasions may and will use as well as those
 of the true; because your Way sets no other Bounds to considering short of complying.
 And then I ask, “ What Difference there is between punishing you to bring you
 “ to Mass, or punishing you to consider those *Reasons and Arguments* which are
 “ proper and sufficient to convince you that you ought to go to Mass? To
 “ which you reply, That it is a *Question you shall then think your self oblig’d to*
answer, when I have produced those Reasons and Arguments that are proper and suf-
ficient to convince Men that they ought to go Mass. Whereas the Objection is the same,
 Whether there be or be not, Reasons and Arguments proper to convince Men;
 that they ought to go to Mass; for Men must be punished on till they have so consi-
 dered as to comply: And what difference is there then between punishing Men to bring
 them to Mass, and punishing them to make them consider so as to go to Mass? But
 though I pretend not to produce any Reasons and Arguments proper and sufficient to
 convince you or all Men, that they ought to go to Mass; yet do you think there are
 none proper and sufficient to convince any Men? And that all the Papists in the
 World go to Mass without believing it their Duty? And whosoever believes it to be
 his Duty, does it upon Reasons and Arguments, proper and sufficient to convince
 him (though perhaps not to convince another) that it is so, or else I imagine he
 would never believe it at all. What think you of those great Numbers of *Japaneses*, that
 resisted all sorts of Torments, even to Death it self, for the Romish Religion? And
 had you been in *France* some Years since, who knows but the Arguments the King of
France produced might have been *proper and sufficient* to have convinced you that you
 ought to go to Mass? I do not by this, think you less confident of the Truth of your
 Religion, than you profess to be. But Arguments set on with Force, have a strange
 Efficacy upon humane Frailty; and he must be well assured of his own Strength, who
 can peremptorily affirm, he is sure he should have stood, what above a Million of Peo-
 ple sunk under: amongst which, ’tis great Confidence to say, there was not one so
 well persuaded of the Truth of his Religion, as you are of yours; though some of
 them gave great Proofs of their Persuasion in their Sufferings for it. But what the
necessary Method of Force may be able to do, to bring any one, in your Sense, to any
 Religion, *i. e.* to an outward Profession of it, he that thinks himself secure against,
 must have a greater Assurance of himself, than the Weakness of decayed and depra-
 ved Nature will well allow. If you have any Spell against the Force of Arguments,
 driven with Penalties and Punishments, you will do well to teach it the World; for
 it is the hard Luck of well-meaning People to be often misled by them, and even the
 confident themselves have not seldom fallen under them, and betrayed their Weakness.

To my demanding, if you meant *Reasons and Arguments proper and sufficient to con-*
vince Men of the Truth, why did you not say so? You reply, *As if it were possible for* Pag. 27.
any Man that reads your Answer, to think otherwise. Whoever reads that Passage in
 your *A. p. 5.* cannot possibly think you meant to speak out, and possibly you found
 some Difficulty to add any thing to your Words (which are these, *Force used to bring* A. p. 5.
Men to consider Reasons and Arguments proper and sufficient to convince them) that might
 determine their Sense. For if you had said, *to convince them of Truth*; then the
 Magistrate

Magistrate must have made Laws, and *used Force* to make Men search after Truth in general, and that would not have served your turn: If you had said to *convince them* of the Truth of the Magistrate's Religion, that would too manifestly have put the Power in every Magistrate's Hands, which you tell us, *none but an Atheist will say*. If you had said, to *convince them* of the Truth of your Religion, that had looked too ridiculous to be owned, though it were the thing you meant; and therefore in this strait, where nothing you could say, would well fit your purpose, you wisely chuse to leave the Sense imperfect, and name nothing they were to be convinced of, but leave it to be collected by your Reader out of your Discourse, rather than add three Words to make it good Grammar, as well as intelligible Sense.

Pag. 28. To my saying, "That if you pretend it must be Arguments to convince Men of the Truth, it would in this Case do you little Service; because the Mass in France is as much suppos'd the Truth, as the Liturgy here. You reply, *So that it seems, that in my Opinion, whatsoever is suppos'd the Truth, is the Truth, for otherwise this Reason of mine is none at all*. If, in my Opinion, the Supposition of Truth authorizes the Magistrate to use the same Means to bring Men to it, as if it were true, my Argument will hold good, without taking all to be true which some Men suppose true. According to this Answer of yours, to suppose or believe his Religion the true, is not enough to authorize the Magistrate to use Force, he must know, *i. e.* be infallibly certain, that his is the true Religion. We will for once suppose you our Magistrate, with Force promoting our National Religion. I will not ask you, whether you know that all required of Conformists, is necessary to Salvation: But will suppose one of my Pagans asking you, whether you know Christianity to be the true Religion? If you say, Yes, he will ask you how you know it? and no doubt, but you will give the Answer, whereby our Saviour proved his Mission, *John 5. 36.* that *the Works which our Saviour did bear Witness of him, that the Father sent him*. The Miracles that Christ did, are a Proof of his being sent from God, and so his Religion the true Religion. But then you will be asked again, Whether you know that he did those Miracles, as well as those who saw them done? If you answer, Yes; then it is plain that Miracles are not yet withdrawn, but do still accompany the Christian Religion with all the Efficacy and Evidence, that they had upon the Eye-witnesses of them, and then upon your own Grounds, there will be no necessity of the Magistrate's Assistance, Miracles still supplying the want of it. If you answer, that Matter of fact done out of your sight, at such a distance of Time and Place, cannot be known to you as certainly, as it was to the Eye witnesses of it, but that you upon very good Grounds firmly believe it; you are then come to believing, that yours is the true Religion, and if that be sufficient to authorize you to use Force, it will authorize any other Magistrate of any other Religion to use Force also. For whoever believes any thing, takes it to be true, and as he thinks upon good Grounds; and those often who believe on the weakest Grounds, have the strongest Confidence: and thus all Magistrates who believe their Religion to be true, will be obliged to use Force to promote it, as if it were the true.

Pag. 28. To my saying that the Usefulness of Force, your Way apply'd, amounts to no more but this, that it is not impossible but that it may be useful. You reply, *I leave it to be judg'd by what has been said*; and I leave it to you your self to judge: Only, that you may not forget, I shall here remind you in short of some of the Reasons I have to say so: 1. You grant that Force has no direct Efficacy to bring Men to embrace the Truth. 2. You distinguish the *indirect*, and *at a distance Usefulness* of your Force, from that which is barely *by Accident*; by these two Marks, *viz.* 1st. That Punishment on Dissenters for Nonconformity, is, *by those that use it, intended to make Men consider*: and 2^d. That your moderate Punishments, by Experience, are found *often successful*; and yours having neither of these Marks, it must be concluded to be useful only by Accident: and such an Usefulness, as I said, "One cannot deny, to Auricular Confession, doing of Penance, going Pilgrimages to Saints, and what not? Yet our Church does not think fit to use them; though it cannot be deny'd but they may have some of your *indirect and at a distance Usefulness*; that is, perhaps may *do some Service indirectly*, and by Accident. If the Intention of those that use them, and the *Success* they will tell you they find in the use of them, be a Proof of doing Service more than by Accident; that cannot be deny'd to them more than to Penalties, your way applied. To which, let me add, that Niceness and Difficulty there is, to hit that just Degree of Force; which according to your Hypothesis, must be neither so much as to do harm, nor so little as to be ineffectual; for you your self cannot determine it, makes

makes it Usefulness yet more uncertain and accidental. And after all, let its Efficacy to work upon Mens Minds be what it will, great or little, it being sure to be employ'd ten, or possibly, an hundred times to bring Men to Error, for once that it is employ'd to bring Men to the Truth; and where it chances to be employ'd, on the side of Truth, it being liable to make an hundred, or perhaps a thousand outward Conformists, for one true and sincere Convert; I leave it also to be judg'd what Usefulness it is like to be of.

To shew the Usefulness of Force, your way apply'd, I said, "Where the Law punish'd Dissenters without telling them it is to make them consider, they may through Ignorance and Oversight neglect to do it. Your Answer is, *But where the Law provides sufficient means of Instruction for all, as well as Punishment for Dissenters, it is so plain to all concern'd, that the Punishment is intended to make them consider, that you see no danger of Mens neglecting to do it, through Ignorance and Oversight.* I hope you mean by *consider*, so to consider as not only to embrace in an outward Profession (for then all you say is but a poor Fallacy, for such a Considering amounts to no more but bare outward Conformity;) but so to consider, study and examine Matters of Religion, as really to embrace, what one is convinced to be the true, with Faith and Obedience. If it be so plain and easy to understand, that a Law, that speaks nothing of it, should yet be intended to make Men consider, search and study, to find out the Truth that must save them; I wish you had shew'd us this Plainness. For I confess many of all Degrees, that I have purposely ask'd about it, did not ever see, or so much as dream, that the Act of Uniformity, or against Conventicles, or the Penalties in either of them, were ever intended to make Men seriously study Religion, and make it their Business to find the Truth which must save them; but barely to make Men conform. But perhaps you have met with Handicrafts-Men, and Country-Farmers; Maid-Servants, and Day-Labourers, who have quicker Understandings, and reason better about the Intention of the Law, for these as well others are concern'd. If you have not, 'tis to be fear'd, your saying it is so plain, that you see no danger of Mens neglecting to do it, through Ignorance or Oversight, is more for its serving your purpose, than from any experience you have, that it is so.

When you will enquire into this Matter, you will, I guess, find the People so ignorant amidst that great Plainness you speak of, that not one of twenty of any Degree, amongst Conformists or Nonconformists, ever understood the Penalty of 12 d. a Sunday, or any other of our Penal Laws against Nonconformity, to be intended to set Men upon studying the true Religion, and impartially examine what is necessary to Salvation. And if you would come to *Hudibras's* Decision, I believe he would have a good Wager of it, who should give you a Guinea for each one who had thought so, and receive but a Shilling for every one who had not. Indeed you do not say, it is plain everywhere, but only where the Law provides sufficient Means of Instruction for all, as well as Punishments for Dissenters. From whence, I think it will follow, that that contributes nothing to make it plain, or else that the Law has not provided sufficient means of Instruction in England, where so very few find this to be so plain. If by this sufficient Provision of means of Instruction for all; you mean, Persons maintain'd at the Publick Charge to preach, and officiate in the publick Exercise of the National Religion; I suppose you needed not this Restriction, there being few Places which have an establish'd National Religion, where there is not such means of Instruction provided: if you intend any other means of Instruction, I know none the Law has provided in England but the 39 Articles, the Liturgy, and the Scripture, and how either of them by it self, or these altogether, with a National Clergy, make it plain, that the Penalties laid on Nonconformity, are intended to make Men consider, study, and impartially examine Matters of Religion, you would do well to shew. For Magistrates usually know (and therefore make their Laws accordingly) that the People seldom carry either their Interpretation or Practice beyond what the express Letter of the Law requires of them. You would do well also to shew, that a sufficient Provision of means of Instruction, cannot but be understood to require an effectual Use of them, which the Law that makes that Provision says nothing of. But on the contrary, contents it self with something very short of it: For Conformity or Coming to Church, is at least as far from considering, studying and impartially examining Matters of Religion, so as to embrace the Truth upon Conviction and with an obedient Heart, as being present at a Discourse concerning Mathematicks, and studying Mathematicks, so as to become a knowing Mathematician, are different one from the other.

People generally think they have done their Duties abundantly, if they have been at Church, whether they mind any thing done there or no: This they call serving of God, as if it were their whole Duty; so backward are they to understand more, tho' it be plain the Law of God expressly requires more. But that they have fully satisfied the Law of the Land, no body doubts; nor is it easy to answer what was reply'd to me on this occasion, *viz.* If the Magistrate *intended* any thing more in those Laws but Conformity, would he not have said it? To which let me add, if the Magistrate *intended Conformity as the fruit of Conviction*, would he not have taken some Care to have them instructed before they conformed, and examin'd when they did? but 'tis *presumable* their Ignorance, Corruption and Lusts, all drop off in the Church-porch, and that they become perfectly good Christians as soon as they have taken their Seats in the Church.

If there be any whom your Example or Writing hath inspir'd with Acuteness enough to find out this; I suspect the Vulgar who have scarce Time and Thought enough to make Inferences from the Law, which scarce one of ten of them ever so much as reads, or perhaps understands when read, are still, and will be ignorant of it: And those who have the Time and Abilities to argue about it, will find reason to think that those Penalties were not *intended* to make Men examine the Doctrine and Ceremonies of Religion; since those who should examine, are prohibited by those very Laws, to follow their own Judgments, (which is the very End and Use of Examination) if they at all differ from the Religion establish'd by Law. Nor can it appear so plain to all concern'd, that the Punishment is *intended* to make them consider and examine, when they see the Punishments you say are to make People consider, spare those who consider and examine Matters of Religion, as little as any of the most ignorant and careless Dissenters.

To my saying, "Some Dissenters may have consider'd already, and then Force imploy'd upon them must needs be usefess; unless you can think it useful to punish a Man to make him do that which he has done already. You reply, *No Man who rejects Truth necessary to his Salvation, has consider'd already as he ought to consider.* The words *as he ought*, are not, as I take it in the Question: and so your Answer is, *No Man who rejects the Truth necessary to his Salvation, hath consider'd, study'd or examin'd Matters of Religion.* But we will let that go: and yet with that Allowance, your Answer will be nothing to the purpose, unless you will dare to say, that all Dissenters reject Truth necessary to Salvation. For without that Supposition, that all Dissenters reject Truth necessary to Salvation, the Argument and Answer will stand thus. It may be usefess to punish all Dissenters to make them consider, because some of them may have consider'd already. To which, the Answer is, Yes, some of them may have consider'd already, but those who reject Truth necessary to their Salvation, have not consider'd as they ought.

L: p. 167. I said, "The greatest Part of Mankind, being not able to discern betwixt Truth and Falshood, that depends upon long and many Proofs, and remote Consequences; nor having Ability enough to discover the false Grounds, and resist the captious and fallacious Arguments of learned Men versed in Controversies, are so much more expos'd, by the Force, which is used to make them hearken to the Information and Instruction of Men appointed to it by the Magistrate, or those of his Religion, to be led into Falshood and Error, than they are likely this way to be brought to embrace the Truth which must save them; by how much the national Religions of the World are, beyond comparison, more of them false or erroneous, than such as have God for their Author, and Truth for their Standard. You reply, *If the first Part of this be true, then an infallible Guide, and implicit Faith, are more necessary than ever you thought them.* Whether you conclude from thence or no, that then there will be a necessity of an *infallible Guide*, and an *implicit Faith*, 'tis nevertheless true, that the greatest part of Men are unable to discern, as I said, between Truth and Falshood depending, upon long and many Proofs, &c. But whether that will make an infallible Guide necessary or no, Imposition in Matters of Religion certainly will: since there can be nothing more absurd imaginable, than that a Man should take upon him to impose on others in Matters of their Eternal Concernment, without being, or so much as pretending to be *infallible*: For colour it with the name of *considering* as much as you please, as long as it is to make Men consider as they ought, and considering as they ought, is so to consider, as to embrace; the using of Force to make Men consider, and the using of Force to make them embrace any Doctrine or Opinion, is the same thing: and to

shew a Difference betwixt imposing an Opinion, and using Force to make it be embrac'd, would require such a piece of Subtilty, as I heard lately from a learned Man out of the Pulpit, who told us, that though two things, he named, were all one, yet for Distinction's sake he would divide them. Your Reason for the necessity of an infallible Guide, is, *For if the greatest part of Mankind be not able to discern betwixt Truth and Falshood, in Matters concerning their Salvation (as I must mean if I speak to the purpose) their Condition must needs be very hazardous, if they have not some Guide or Judge, to whose Determination and Direction they may securely resign themselves.* And therefore they must resign themselves to the *Determination and Direction* of the Civil Magistrate, or be punish'd. Here 'tis like you will have something again to say to my *Modesty and Conscience*, for imputing to you what you no where say. I grant it, in direct Words; but in effect as plainly as may be. The Magistrate may *impose sound Creeds and decent Ceremonies*, i. e. such as he thinks fit, for what is *sound and decent* he I hope must be Judge; and if he be Judge of what is *sound and decent*, it amounts to no more, but what he thinks fit: And if it be not what he thinks fit, why is one Ceremony prefer'd to another? Why one Doctrine of the Scripture put into the Creed and Articles, and another as sound left out? They are *Truths necessary to Salvation*. We shall see that in good time: Here only I ask, Does the Magistrate only believe them to be Truths and Ceremonies necessary to Salvation, or does he certainly know them to be so? If you say he only believes them to be so, and that that is enough to authorize him to *impose* them, you, by your own Confession, authorize Magistrates to *impose* what they think necessary for the Salvation of their Subjects Souls; and so the King of France did what he was obliged to, when he said he would have all his Subjects saved, and so fell to dragooning.

If you say the Magistrate certainly knows them to be necessary to Salvation, we are luckily come to an *infallible Guide*. Well then, the *sound Creeds* are agreed on; the Confession and Liturgy are framed; the *Ceremonies* pitch'd on; and the Terms of Communion thus set up, you have Religion establish'd by Law: And what now is the Subject to do? He is to conform. No; he must first *consider*. Who bids him *consider*? No body, he may if he pleases, but the Law says nothing to him of it: *consider* or not *consider*, if he conforms 'tis well, and he is approved of, and admitted. He does consider the best he can, but finds some things he does not understand, other things he cannot believe, assent or consent to. What now is to be done with him? He must either be punished on, or resign himself up to the Determination and Direction of the Civil Magistrate; which till you can find a better Name for it, we will call *implicit Faith*. And thus you have provided a Remedy for the *hazardous Condition* of weak Understandings, in that which you suppose necessary in the Case, viz. an *infallible Guide* and *implicit Faith*, in *Matters concerning Mens Salvation*.

But you say, *For your part, you know of no such Guide of God's appointing.* Let Pag. 29; that be your Rule, and the Magistrate with his co-active Power, will be left out too. You think there is no need of any such; because notwithstanding the long and many Proofs and remote Consequences, the false Grounds, and the captious and fallacious Arguments of learned Men vers'd in Controversies, with which I (as well as those of the Roman Communion) endeavour to amuse you; through the Goodness of God the Truth which is necessary to Salvation, lies so obvious and exposed to all that sincerely and diligently seek it, that no such Person shall ever fail of attaining the Knowledge of it. This then is your Answer, that *Truths necessary to Salvation are obvious*; so that those who seek them sincerely and diligently, are not in danger to be misled or expos'd in those to Error, by the Weakness of their Understandings. This will be a good Answer to what I objected from the Danger most are in to be led into Error, by the Magistrate's adding Force to the Arguments for their national establish'd Religions; when you have shewn that nothing is wont to be impos'd in national Religions, but what is necessary to Salvation; or which will a little better accommodate your Hypothesis, when you can shew that nothing is impos'd, or requir'd for Communion with the Church of England, but what is necessary to Salvation; and consequently, is very easy and obvious to be known, and distinguish'd from Falshood. And indeed, besides what you say here, upon your Hypothesis, that Force is lawful only because it is necessary to bring Men to Salvation, it cannot be lawful to use it, to bring Men to any thing, but what is absolutely necessary to Salvation. For if the Lawfulness of Force be only from the need Men have of it to bring them to Salvation, it cannot lawfully be used, to bring Men to that which they do not need, or is not necessary to

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their *Salvation*; for in such an Application of it; it is not needful to their *Salvation*. Can you therefore say, that there is nothing requir'd to be believ'd and profess'd in the Church of *England*, but what lies so obvious and expos'd to all that sincerely and diligently seek it, that no such Person shall ever fail of attaining the Knowledge of it? What think you of St. *Athanasius's* Creed? Is the Sense of that so obvious and expos'd to every one who seeks it, which so many learned Men have explain'd so different ways, and which yet a great many profess they cannot understand? Or is it necessary to your or my *Salvation*, that you or I should believe and pronounce all those damn'd who do not believe that Creed, *i. e.* every Proposition in it? which I fear would extend to not a few of the Church of *England*, unless we can think that People believe, *i. e.* assent to the Truth of Propositions, they do not at all understand. If ever you were acquainted with a Country Parish, you must needs have a strange Opinion of them, if you think all the Plowmen and Milkmaids at Church, understood all the Propositions in *Athanasius's* Creed; 'tis more, truly, than I should be apt to think of any one of them, and yet I cannot hence believe my self authoriz'd to judge or pronounce them all damn'd: 'Tis too bold an intrenching on the Prerogative of the Almighty, to their own Master they stand or fall.

The Doctrine of Original Sin, is that which is profess'd, and must be owned by the Members of the Church of *England*, as is evident from the thirty nine Articles, and several Passages in the Liturgy: And yet I ask you, whether this be so obvious and expos'd to all that diligently and sincerely seek the Truth, that one who is in the Communion of the Church of *England*, sincerely seeking the Truth, may not raise to himself such Difficulties concerning the Doctrine of Original Sin as may puzzle him, though he be a Man of Study; and whether he may not push his Enquiries so far, as to be stagger'd in his Opinion.

If you grant me this, as I am apt to think you will, then I enquire whether it be not true (notwithstanding what you say concerning the Plainness and Obviousness of Truths necessary to *Salvation*) that a great part of Mankind may not be able to discern between Truth, and Falshood, in several Points, which are thought so far to concern their *Salvation*, as to be made necessary Parts of the National Religion.

If you say it may be so, then I have nothing farther to enquire; but shall only advise you not to be so severe hereafter in your Censure of Mr. *Reynolds*, as you are, where you tell me, that the famous Instance I give of the two *Reynolds's* is not of any moment to prove the contrary; unless I can undertake, that he that erred was as sincere in his enquiry after that Truth, as I suppose him able to examine and judge.

You will, I suppose, be more charitable another time, when you have consider'd, that neither Sincerity, nor Freedom from Error, even in the establish'd Doctrines of their own Church, is the Privilege of those who joyn themselves in outward Profession to any national Church whatsoever. And it is not impossible, that one who has subscribed the thirty nine Articles, may yet make it a Question, *Whether it may be truly said that God imputes the first Sin of Adam to his Posterity?* &c. But we are apt to be so fond of our own Opinions, and almost *Infallibility*, that we will not allow them to be sincere, who quit our Communion; whilst at the same time we tell the World, it is presumable, that all who embrace it do it sincerely, and upon Conviction; though we cannot but know many of them to be but loose, inconsiderate, and ignorant People. This is all the reason you have, when you speak of the *Reynolds's*, to suspect one of the Brothers more than the other: And to think that Mr. *Chillingworth* had not as much Sincerity when he quitted, as when he return'd to the Church of *England*, is a Partiality, which nothing can justify without pretending to *Infallibility*.

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To shew that you do not fancy your Force to be useful, but that you judge so upon just and sufficient Grounds, you tell us, the strong Probability of its Success is grounded upon the Consideration of human Nature, and the general Temper of Mankind, apt to be wrought upon by the Method you speak of, and upon the indisputable Attestation of Experience. The Consideration of human Nature, and the general Temper of Mankind, will teach one this, That Men are apt, in things within their Power, to be wrought upon by Force, and the more wrought upon, the greater the Force or Punishments are: So that where moderate Penalties will not work, great Severities will. Which Consideration of human Nature, if it be a just ground to judge any Force useful, will I fear necessarily carry you, in your Judgment, to Severities beyond the moderate Penalties

Penalties, so often mentioned in your System, upon a *strong Probability* of the Success of greater Punishments, where less would not prevail.

But if to *consider* so as you require, *i. e.* so as to *embrace*, and *believe*, be not in their Power, then no Force at all, great or little, is or can be *useful*. You must therefore (consider it which way you will) either renounce all Force as *useful*, or pull off your Mask, and own all the Severities of the cruellest Persecutors.

The other Reason of your judging Force to be useful, you say, *is grounded on the indisputable Attestation of Experience*. Pray tell us where you have this *Attestation of Experience* for your moderate, which is the only useful Force: Name the Country where true Religion or sound Christianity has been *nationally receiv'd*, and *establish'd* by moderate penal Laws, that the *observing Persons* you appeal to, may know where to employ their Observation: Tell us how long it was tried, and what was the Success of it? And where there has been the Relaxation of such moderate penal Laws, the Fruits whereof have *continually* been *Epicurism* and *Atheism*? Till you do this, I fear, that all the World will think, there is a more *indisputable Attestation of Experience* for the Success of dragooning, and the *Severities* you condemn, than of your moderate Method; which we shall compare with the King of France's, and see which is most successful in making Profelytes to Church-Conformity, (for yours as well as his reach no farther than that) when you produce your Examples: The confident Talk whereof, is good to countenance a Cause, though Experience there be none in the Case.

But you appeal, you say, to all *observing Persons*, *whether wherever true Religion or sound Christianity have been nationally receiv'd and establish'd by moderate penal Laws, it has not always visibly lost ground by the Relaxation of those Laws?* True or false Religions, sound or unsound Christianity, wherever establish'd into national Religions by penal Laws, always have lost, and always will lose ground, *i. e.* lose several of their conforming Professors upon the Relaxation of those Laws. But this concerns not the true, more than other Religions; nor is any Prejudice to it; but only shews, that many are, by the Penalties of the Law, kept in the Communion of the national Religion, who are not really convinced or persuaded of it: And therefore, as soon as Liberty is given, they own the dislike they had many of them before, and out of Persuasion, Curiosity, &c. seek out and betake themselves to some other Profession. This need not startle the Magistrates of any Religion, much less those of the true, since they will be sure to retain those, who more mind their secular Interest than the Truth of Religion, (who are every where the greater Number) by the Advantages of Countenance and Preferment: And if it be the true Religion, they will retain those also, who are in earnest of it, by the stronger tie of Conscience and Conviction.

You go on, *whether Sects and Heresies (even the wildest and most absurd, and even Epicurism and Atheism) have not continually thereupon spread themselves, and whether the very Life of Christianity has not sensibly decay'd, as well as the Number of sound Professors of it been daily lessen'd upon it?* As to *Atheism* and *Epicurism*, whether they more spread under Toleration, or national Religions, establish'd by moderate penal Laws, when you shew us the Countries where fair Trial hath been made of both, that we may compare them together, we shall better be able to judge.

Epicurism and Atheism, say you, are found *constantly to spread themselves upon the Relaxation of moderate Penal Laws*. We will suppose your History to be full of Instances of such Relaxations, which you will in good time communicate to the World, that wants this Assistance from your Observation. But were this to be justified out of History, yet would it not be any Argument against Toleration; unless your History can furnish you with a new sort of Religion founded in *Atheism*. However, you do well to charge the spreading of *Atheism* upon Toleration in Matters of Religion, as an Argument against those who deny *Atheism* (which takes away all Religion) to have any Right to Toleration at all. But perhaps (as is usual for those who think all the World should see with their Eyes, and receive their Systems for unquestionable Verities) Zeal for your own way makes you call all *Atheism*, that agrees not with it. That which makes me doubt of this, are these following words; *Not to speak of what at this time our Eyes cannot but see for fear of giving Offence: Though I hope it will be none to any that have a just Concern for Truth and Piety, to take notice of the Books and Pamphlets which now fly so thick about this Kingdom, manifestly tending to the multiplying of Sects and Divisions, and even to the promoting of Scepticism in Religion amongst us. In which Number, you say, you shall not much need my Pardon, if you reckon the First* and

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A Third Letter for Toleration.

and Second Letter concerning Toleration. Wherein, by a broad Insinuation, you impute the spreading of *Atheism* among us, to the late *Relaxation* made in favour of Protestant Dissenters: And yet all that you take notice of as a Proof of this, is the Books and Pamphlets which now fly so thick about this Kingdom, manifestly tending to the multiplying of *Sefts* and Divisions, and even to the promoting of *Scepticism* in Religion amongst us; and for Instance, you name the First and Second Letter concerning Toleration. If one may guess at the others by these, The *Atheism* and *Scepticism* you accuse them of will have but little more in it, than an Opposition to your Hypothesis; on which, the whole Business of Religion must so turn, that whatever agrees not with your System, must presently, by Interpretation, be concluded to tend to the promoting of *Atheism* or *Scepticism* in Religion. For I challenge you to shew in either of those two Letters you mention, one Word tending to *Epicurism*, *Atheism*, or *Scepticism* in Religion.

But, Sir, against the next time you are to give an Account of Books and Pamphlets tending to the promoting *Scepticism* in Religion amongst us, I shall mind you of the third Letter concerning Toleration, to be added to the Catalogue, which asserting and building upon this, that *True Religion*, may be known by those who profess it, to be the only *True Religion*, does not a little towards betraying the Christian Religion to Scepticks. For what greater advantage can be given them, than to teach, that one may know the true Religion? thereby putting into their Hands a Right to demand it to be demonstrated to them, that the Christian Religion is true, and bringing on the Professors of it to a necessity of doing it. I have heard it complain'd of as one great Artifice of Scepticks, to require Demonstrations where they neither could be had, nor were necessary. But if the true Religion may be known to Men to be so, a Sceptick may require, and you cannot blame him if he does not receive your Religion, upon the strongest probable Arguments, without Demonstration.

And if one should demand of you Demonstration of the Truths of your Religion, which I beseech you, would you do, either renounce your Assertion, that it may be known to be true, or else undertake to demonstrate it to him?

And as for the decay of the very Life and Spirit of Christianity, and the spreading of *Epicurism* amongst us: I ask, what can more tend to the promoting of them than this Doctrine, which is to be found in the same Letter, viz. That it is presumable that those who conform, do it upon Reason and Conviction? When you can instance in any thing so much tending to the promoting of *Scepticism* in Religion and *Epicurism*, in the first or second Letter concerning Toleration, we shall have reason to think you have some Ground for what you say.

As to *Epicurism*, the spreading whereof you likewise impute to the *Relaxation* of your moderate penal Laws; That so far as it is distinct from *Atheism*, I think regards Mens Lives more than their Religions, i.e. speculative Opinions in Religion and Ways of Worship, which is that we mean by Religion, as concern'd in Toleration. And for the Toleration of corrupt Manners, and the Debaucheries of Life, neither our Author, nor I do plead for it; but say it is properly the Magistrate's Business, by Punishments to restrain and suppress them. I do not therefore blame your Zeal against *Atheism* and *Epicurism*; but you discover a great Zeal against something else, in charging them on Toleration, when it is in the Magistrate's Power to restrain and suppress them by more effectual Laws than those for Church-Conformity. For there are those who will tell you, that an outward Profession of the national Religion, even where it is the true Religion, is no more opposite to, or inconsistent with *Atheism* or *Epicurism*, than the owning of another Religion, especially any Christian Profession, that differs from it. And therefore, you, in vain, impute *Atheism* or *Epicurism* to the Relaxation of penal Laws, that require no more than an outward Conformity to the national Church.

As to the *Sefts* and unchristian Divisions (for other Divisions there may be without prejudice to Christianity) at whose Door they chiefly ought to be laid, I have shew'd you elsewhere.

One thing I cannot but take notice of here, that having named *Sefts*, *Heresies*, *Epicurism*, *Atheism*, and a Decay of the Spirit and Life of Christianity, as the Fruits of Relaxation, for which you had the Attestation of former Experience, you add these words, Not to speak of what our Eyes at this time cannot but see, for fear of giving offence. Whom is it, I beseech you, you are so afraid of offending, if you should speak of the *Epicurism*, *Atheism*, and Decay of the Spirit, and Life of Christianity, amongst us?

us? But I see, he that is so moderate in one part of his Letter, that he will not take upon him to teach Law-makers and Governors, even what they cannot know without being taught by him, i. e. what he calls moderate Penalties or Force; may yet, in another part of the same Letter, by broad Insinuations, use Reproaches, wherein 'tis a hard matter to think Law-makers and Governors are not meant. But whoever be meant, it is at least advisable in Accusations that are easier suggested than made out, to cast abroad the Slander in general, and leave others to apply it, for fear those who are named, and so justly offended with a false Imputation, should be entitled to ask, as in this Case, how it appears that *Sects and Heresies have multiply'd, Epicurism and Atheism spread themselves, and that the Life and Spirit of Christianity is decay'd* more within these two Years, than it was before; and that all this Mischief is owing to the late Relaxation of the Penal Laws against Protestant Dissenters?

You go on, *And if these have always been the Fruits of the Relaxation of moderate Penal Laws, made for the preserving and advancing true Religion; you think this Consideration alone is abundantly sufficient to shew the Usefulness and Benefit of such Laws. For if these Evils have constantly sprung from the Relaxation of those Laws, 'tis evident they were prevented before by those Laws.* One would think by your saying, *always been the Fruits and constantly sprung,* that moderate Penal Laws, for preserving the true Religion, had been the constant Practice of all Christian Commonwealths; and that Relaxations of them, in favour of a free Toleration, had frequently happen'd; and that there were Examples both of the one and the other, as common and known, as of Princes that have persecuted for Religion, and learned Men who have employ'd their Skill to make it good. But till you shew us in what Ages or Countries your moderate Establishments were in fashion, and where they were again removed to make way for our Author's Toleration, you to as little purpose talk of the *Fruits* of them, as if you should talk of the Fruit of a Tree which no body planted, or was now where suffered to grow till one might see what Fruit came from it.

Having laid it down as one of the Conditions for a fair Debate of this Controversy, "That it should be without supposing all along your Church in the right, and your Religion the true; I add these words: "Which can no more be allow'd to you *IN THIS CASE*, whatever your Church or Religion be, than it can be to a Papist or a Lutheran, a Presbyterian or an Anabaptist; nay, no more to you, than it can be allow'd to a Jew or Mahometan." To which you reply, *No, Sir? Not whatever your Church or Religion be? That seems somewhat hard.* And you think I might have given you some reason for what I say: For certainly it is not so self-evident as to need no Proof. But you think it is no hard matter to guess at my Reason, tho I did not think fit expressly to own it. For 'tis obvious enough, there can be no other Reason for this Assertion of mine, but either the equal Truth, or at least the equal Certainty (or Uncertainty) of all Religions. For whoever considers my Assertion, must see, that to make it good I shall be obliged to maintain one of these two things: Either, 1. That no Religion is the true Religion, in opposition to other Religions: Which makes all Religions true or false, and so either way indifferent. Or, 2. That tho some one Religion be the true Religion, yet no Man can have any more Reason than another Man of another Religion may have, to believe his to be the true Religion. Which makes all Religions equally certain, (or uncertain, whether I please) and so renders it vain and idle to enquire after the true Religion, and only a Piece of good Luck if any Man be of it, and such good Luck as he can never know that he has, till he come into the other World. Whether of these two Principles I will own, you know not. But certainly one or other of them lies at the bottom with me, and is the lurking Supposition upon which I build all that I say.

Certainly no, Sir, neither of these Reasons you have so ingenuously and friendly found out for me, lies at the bottom; but this, That whatever Privilege or Power you claim, upon your supposing yours to be the true Religion, is equally due to another (who supposes his to be the true Religion) upon the same Claim: and therefore that is no more to be allow'd to you than to him. For whose is really the true Religion, yours or his, being the Matter in contest betwixt you, your supposing can no more determine it on your side, than his supposing on his; unless you can think you have a right to judg in your own Cause. You believe yours to be the true Religion, so does he believe his: You say you are certain of it, so says he, he is: You think you have Arguments proper and sufficient to convince him, if he would consider them; the same thinks he of his. If this Claim, which is equally on both sides, be allow'd to either, without any Proof; 'tis plain

plain he, in whose favour it is allow'd, is allow'd to be Judg in his own Cause, which no body can have a Right to be, who is not at least infallible. If you come to Arguments and Proofs, which you must do, before it can be determin'd whose is the true Religion, 'tis plain your Supposition is not allow'd.

In our present Case, in using Punishments in Religion, your supposing yours to be the true Religion, gives you or your Magistrate no more Advantage over a Papist, Presbyterian, or Mahometan, or more reason to punish either of them for his Religion, than the same Supposition in a Papist, Presbyterian, or Mahometan, gives any of them, or a Magistrate of their Religion, Advantage over you, or reason to punish you for your Religion: And therefore this Supposition, to any Purpose or Privilege of using of Force, is no more to be allow'd to you, than to any one of any other Religion. This the Words, *IN THIS CASE*, which I there us'd, would have satisfy'd any other to have been my meaning: But whether your Charity made you not to take notice of them, or the Joy of such an Advantage as this, not to understand them, this is certain; you were resolv'd not to lose the Opportunity, such a place as this afforded you, of shewing your Gift, in commenting and guessing shrewdly at a Man's Reasons, when he does not think fit expressly to own them himself.

I must own you have a very lucky Hand at it; and as you do it here upon the same ground, so it is just with the same Success, as you in another Place have exercis'd your Logick on my saying something to the same purpose, as I do here. But, Sir, if you will add but one more to your plentiful Stock of Distinctions, and observe the Difference there is between the ground of any one's supposing his Religion is true, and the Privilege he may pretend to by supposing it true, you will never stumble at this again; but you will find, that tho upon the former of these Accounts, Men of all Religions cannot be equally allow'd to suppose their Religions true, yet in reference to the latter, the Supposition may and ought to be allow'd, or deny'd equally to all Men. And the reason of it is plain, viz. Because the Assurance wherewith one Man supposes his Religion to be true, being no more an Argument of its Truth to another, than *vice versa*; neither of them can claim by the Assurance, wherewith he supposes his Religion the true, any Prerogative or Power over the other, which the other has not by the same Title an equal Claim to, over him. If this will not serve to spare you the Pains another time of any more such Reasonings, as we have twice had on this Subject, I think I shall be forced to send you to my *Mahometans* or *Pagans*: And I doubt whether I am not less civil to your Parts than I should be, that I do not send you to them now.

Pag. 47.

You go on, and say, *But as unreasonable as this Condition is, you see no need you have to decline it, nor any Occasion I had to impose it upon you. For certainly the making what I call your new Method, consistent and practicable, does no way oblige you to suppose all along your Religion the true, as I imagine.* And as I imagine it does: For without that Supposition, I would fain have you shew me, how it is in any one Country, practicable to punish Men to bring them to the true Religion. For if you will argue for Force, as necessary to bring Men to the true Religion, without supposing yours to be it, you will find your self under some such Difficulty as this, that then it must be first determin'd, (and you will require it should be) which is the true Religion, before any one can have a Right to use Force to bring Men to it; which, if every one did not determine for himself, by supposing his own the true, no body, I think, will desire Toleration any longer than till that be settled.

Ibid.

You go on: *No, Sir, it is enough for that purpose, that there is one true Religion, and but one.* Suppose not the national Religion establish'd by Law in England to be that, and then even upon your Principles of its being *useful*, and that the Magistrate has a Commission to use Force for the promoting the true Religion; prove, if you please, that the Magistrate has a Power to use Force to bring Men to the national Religion in England. For then you must prove the national Religion, as establish'd by Law in England, to be that *one true Religion*, and so the true Religion; that he rejects the true Religion who dissents from any part of it; and so rejecting the true Religion, cannot be saved. But of this more in another Place.

Ibid.

Your other two Suppositions, which you join to the foregoing, are, *That that Religion may be known by those who profess it, to be the only true Religion; and may also be manifested to be such by them to others, so far at least, as to oblige them to receive it, and to leave them without Excuse, if they do not.*

These,

These, you say, are Suppositions, *enough for the making your Method consistent and practicable*. They are, I guess, more than enough, for you, upon them, to prove any national Religion in the World *the only true Religion*. And till you have proved (for you profess here to have quitted the Supposition of any one's being true, as necessary to your Hypothesis) some national Religion to be that *only true Religion*, I would gladly know how it is any where practicable to use Force to bring Men to the true Religion.

You suppose *there is one true Religion, and but one*. In this we are both agreed: And from hence, I think, it will follow, since whoever is of this true Religion shall be saved, and without being of it no Man shall be saved, that upon your second and third Supposition, it will be hard to shew any national Religion to be this *only true Religion*. For who is it will say, he knows, or that it is knowable, that any national Religion (wherein must be comprehended all that, by the penal Laws, he is requir'd to embrace) is that *only true Religion*; which if Men reject, they shall; and which, if they embrace, they shall not miss Salvation? Or can you undertake that any national Religion in the World can be *manifested* to be such, *i. e.* in short, to contain all things necessary to Salvation, and nothing but what is so? For that, and that alone, is the *one only true Religion*, without which no body can be saved; and which is enough for the Salvation of every one who embraces it. And therefore whatever is less or more than this, is not the *one only true Religion*, or that which there is a Necessity for their Salvation, Men should be forced to embrace.

I do not hereby deny, that there is any national Religion which contains all that is necessary to Salvation, for so doth the Romish Religion, which is not for all that, so much as a true Religion. Nor do I deny, that there are national Religions that contain all things necessary to Salvation, and nothing inconsistent with it, and so may be call'd *true Religions*. But since they all of them joyn with what is necessary to Salvation, a great deal that is not so, and make that as necessary to Communion, as what is necessary to Salvation, not suffering any one to be of their Communion; without taking all together; nor to live amongst them free from Punishment, out of their Communion; will you affirm, that any of the National Religions of the World, which are imposed by penal Laws, and to which Men are driven with Force, can be said to be, that *one only true Religion*, which if Men embrace, they shall be saved; and which, if they embrace not, they shall be damn'd? And therefore your two Suppositions, True or False, are not enough to make it practicable, upon your Principles of Necessity, to use Force upon Dissenters from the national Religion, though it contain in it nothing but Truth, unless that which is requir'd to Communion be all necessary to Salvation. For whatever is not necessary to Salvation, there is no Necessity any one should embrace. So that whenever you speak of the *true Religion*, to make it to your purpose, you must speak only of what is necessary to Salvation; unless you will say, that in order to the Salvation of Mens Souls, it is necessary to use Force to bring them to embrace something, that is not necessary to their Salvation. I think that neither you, nor any body else, will affirm, that it is necessary to use Force to bring Men to receive all the Truths of the Christian Religion, though they are Truths God has thought fit to reveal. For then, by your own Rule, you who profess the Christian Religion, must know them all, and must be able to manifest them to others; for it is on that here you ground the Necessity and Reasonableness of Penalties used to bring Men to embrace the Truth. But I suspect 'tis the good Word *Religion* (as in other Places other Words) has misled you, whilst you content your self with good Sounds, and some confused Notions, that usually accompany them, without annexing to them any precise determin'd Signification. To convince you that 'tis not without ground I say this, I shall desire you but to set down what you mean here by *true Religion*, that we may know what in your Sense is, and what is not contain'd in it. Would you but do thus fairly, and define your Words, or use them in one constant settled Sense, I think the Controversy between you and me would be at an end, without any farther Trouble.

Having shewed of what Advantage they are like to be to you for the making your Method practicable, in the next Place let us consider your Suppositions themselves. As to the first, *There is one true Religion, and but one*, we are agreed. But what you say in the next Place, *That that one true Religion may be known by those who profess it*, will need a little Examination. As first, it will be necessary to enquire, what you mean by *known*; whether you mean by it Knowledge properly so call'd, as contra-distinguish'd

to Belief; or only the Assurance of a firm Belief? If the latter, I leave you your Supposition to make your Use of it, only with this Desire, that to avoid Mistakes, when you do make any Use of it, you would call it Believing. If you mean that the true Religion may be known with the Certainty of Knowledge properly so call'd; I ask you farther, Whether that true Religion be to be known by the Light of Nature, or needed a Divine Revelation to discover it? If you say (as I suppose you will) the latter; then I ask whether the making out of that to be a Divine Revelation, depends not upon particular matters of fact, whereof you were no Eye-witness; but were done many Ages before you were born? and if so, by what Principles of Science they can be known to any Man now living?

The Articles of my Religion, and of a great many other such short-sighted People as I am, are Articles of Faith, which we think there are so good grounds to believe, that we are persuaded to venture our eternal Happiness on that Belief: And hope to be of that Number of whom our Saviour said, *Blessed are they that have not seen, and yet have believed.* But we neither think that God requires, nor has given us Faculties capable of knowing in this World several of those Truths which are to be believed to Salvation. If you have a Religion, all whose general Truths are either self-evident, or capable of Demonstration, (for matters of Fact are not capable of being any way known but to the by-standers) you will do well to let it be known, for the ending of Controversies, and banishing of Error, concerning any of those Points, out of the World. For whatever may be known, besides matter of fact, is capable of Demonstration; and when you have demonstrated to any one any Point in Religion, you shall have my Consent to punish him if he do not assent to it. But yet let me tell you, there are many Truths even in Mathematicks, the Evidence whereof one Man seeing is able to demonstrate to himself, and so may know them; which Evidence yet he not being able to make another see, (which is to demonstrate to him) he cannot make known to him, though his Scholar be willing, and with all his Power applies himself to learn it.

But granting your Supposition, That the one true Religion may be known by those who profess it to be the only true Religion; will it follow from hence, that because it is knowable to be the true Religion, therefore the Magistrate who professes it actually knows it to be so? Without which Knowledge, upon your Principles, he cannot use Force to bring Men to it. But if you are but at Hand to assure him which is the true Religion, for which he ought to use Force, he is bound to believe you; and that will do as well as if he examin'd and knew himself, or perhaps better. For you seem not well satisfied with what the Magistrates have lately done, without your leave, concerning Religion in England. And I confess the easiest way to remove all Difficulties in the Case, is for you to be the Magistrates infallible Guide in Matters of Religion. And therefore you do well here also to keep to your safe Stile, lest if your Sense were clear and determin'd, it might be more exposed to Exceptions; and therefore you tell us the true Religion may be known by those who profess it. For not saying by some of those, or by all those, the Error of what you say is not so easily observed, and requires the more trouble to come at: Which I shall spare my self here, being satisfied that the Magistrate, who has so full an Employment of his Thoughts in the Cares of the Government, has not an over-plus of leisure to attain that Knowledge which you require, and so usually contents himself with believing.

Your next Supposition is, That the one true Religion may also be manifested to be such, by them, to others; so far, at least, as to oblige them to receive it, and leave them without Excuse if they do not. That it can be manifested to some, so as to oblige, i. e. cause them to receive it, is evident, because it is received. But because this seems to be spoken more in reference to those who do not receive it, as appears by these following Words of yours: *Then 'tis altogether as plain, that it may be very reasonable and necessary for some Men to change their Religion; and that it may be made appear to them to be so. And then, if such Men will not consider what is offer'd to convince them of the Reasonableness and Necessity of doing it; it may be very fit and reasonable, you tell me, for any thing I have said to the contrary, in order to the bringing them to the Consideration, to require them, under convenient Penalties, to forsake their false Religions, and to embrace the true.* You suppose the true Religion may be so manifested by a Man that is of it, to all Men so far as to leave them, if they do not embrace it, without Excuse. Without Excuse, to whom I beseech you? To God indeed, but not

not to the Magistrate, who can never know whether it has been so *manifested* to any Man, that it has been through his *Fault* that he has not been convinc'd, and not through the *Fault* of him to whom the Magistrate committed the Care of convincing him: And 'tis a sufficient *Excuse* to the Magistrate, for any one to say to him; I have not neglected to consider the Arguments that have been offered me, by those whom you have employed to manifest it to me, but that yours is the only true Religion I am not convinced. Which is so direct and sufficient an *Excuse* to the Magistrate, that had he an express Commission from Heaven to punish all those who did not consider, he could not yet justly punish any one whom he could not convince had not consider'd. But you endeavour to avoid this, by what you infer from this your Supposition, *viz.* That then it may be very fit and reasonable, for any thing I have said to the contrary, to require Men under convenient Penalties to forsake their false Religions, to embrace the true, in order to the bringing them to Consideration. Whether I have said any thing to the contrary, or no, the Readers must judge, and I need not repeat. But now, I say, it is neither just nor reasonable to require Men, under Penalties, to attain one End, in order to bring them to use the means not necessary to that, but to another End. For where is it you can say (unless you will return to your old Supposition, of yours being the true Religion; which you say is not necessary to your Method) that Men are by the Law required to forsake their false Religions, and embrace the true? The utmost is this, in all Countries, where the national Religion is imposed by Law, Men are required under the Penalties of those Laws outwardly to conform to it; which you say is in order to make them consider. So that your Punishments are for the attaining one End, *viz.* Conformity, in order to make Men use Consideration, which is a Means not necessary to that, but another End, *viz.* finding out and embracing the one true Religion. For however Consideration may be a necessary Means to find and embrace the one true Religion, it is not at all a necessary Means to outward Conformity in the Communion of any Religion. Pag. 48.

To manifest the Consistency and Practicableness of your Method, to the Question, what Advantage would it be to the true Religion, if Magistrates did every where so punish? You answer, That by the Magistrates punishing, if I speak to the purpose, I must mean their punishing Men for rejecting the true Religion, (so tender'd to them, as has been said) in order to the bringing them to consider and embrace it. Now before we can suppose Magistrates every where so to punish, we must suppose the true Religion to be every where the national Religion. And if this were the Case, you think it is evident enough, what Advantage to the true Religion it would be, if Magistrates every where did so punish. For then we might reasonably hope that all false Religions would soon vanish, and the true become once more the only Religion in the World: whereas if Magistrates should not so punish, it were much to be fear'd (especially considering what has already happen'd) that on the contrary false Religions, and Atheism, as more agreeable to the Soil, would daily take deeper Roots, and propagate themselves, till there were no room left for the true Religion (which is but a foreign Plant) in any Corner of the World. Pag. 47.

If you can make it practicable that the Magistrate should punish Men for rejecting the true Religion, without judging which is the true Religion: or if true Religion could appear in Person, take the Magistrate's Seat, and there judge all that rejected her, something might be done. But the Mischief of it is, it is a Man that must condemn, Men must punish, and Men cannot do this but by judging who is guilty of the Crime which they punish. An Oracle, or an Interpreter of the Law of Nature, who speaks as clearly, tells the Magistrate, he may and ought to punish those, who reject the true Religion, tender'd with sufficient Evidence: The Magistrate is satisfied of his Authority, and believes this Commission to be good. Now I would know how possibly he can execute it, without making himself the Judge. 1. What is the true Religion? unless the Law of Nature at the same time deliver'd into his Hands the thirty nine Articles of the one only true Religion, and another Book wherein all the Ceremonies and outward Worship of it are contain'd. But it being certain, that the Law of Nature has not done this; and as certain, that the Articles, Ceremonies, and Discipline of this one only true Religion, have been often varied in several Ages and Countries, since the Magistrate's Commission by the Law of Nature was first given: there is no Remedy left, but that the Magistrate must judge what is the true Religion, if he must punish them who reject it. Suppose the Magistrate be commission'd to punish those who depart from right Reason, the Magistrate can yet

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never punish any one, unless he be Judge what is right Reason; and then judging that Murder, Theft, Adultery, narrow Cart-Wheels, or want of Bows and Arrows in a Man's House, are against right Reason, he may make Laws to punish Men guilty of those, as rejecting right Reason.

So if the Magistrate in *England* or *France*, having a Commission to punish those who reject the one only true Religion, judges the Religion of his national Church to be it, 'tis possible for him to lay penalties on those who reject it, pursuant to that Commission; otherwise, without judging that to be the one only true Religion, 'tis wholly impracticable for him to punish those who embrace it not, as Rejecters of the one only true Religion.

To provide as good a *Salvo* as the thing will bear, you say, in the following Words, *Before we can suppose Magistrates every where so to punish, we must suppose the true Religion to be every where the national.* That is true of actual Punishment, but not of laying on Penalties by Law; for that would be to suppose the national Religion makes or chuses the Magistrate, and not the Magistrate the national Religion. But we see the contrary; for let the national Religion be what it will before, the Magistrate doth not always fall into it and embrace that; but if he thinks not that, but some other the true, the first Opportunity he has, he changes the national Religion into that which he judges the true, and then punishes the Dissenters from it; where his Judgment, which is the true Religion, always necessarily precedes, and is that which ultimately does, and must determine who are Rejecters of the true Religion, and so, obnoxious to Punishment. This being so, I would gladly see how your Method can be any way practicable to the Advantage of the true Religion, whereof the Magistrate every where must be Judge, or else he can punish no body at all.

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You tell me that whereas I say, that to justify Punishment it is requisite that it be directly useful for the procuring some greater Good than that which it takes away; you wish I had told you why it must needs be directly useful for that purpose. However exact you may be in demanding Reasons of what is said, I thought here you had no cause to complain; but you let slip out of your Memory the foregoing words of this Passage, which together stands thus, "Punishment is some Evil, some Inconvenience,

L. 2. p. 281.

"some Suffering, by taking away or abridging some good thing, which he who is punished has otherwise a Right to. Now to justify the bringing any such Evil upon any Man, two things are requisite; 1. That he that does it has a Commission so to do. "2. That it be directly useful for the promoting some greater Good. 'Tis evident by these words, that Punishment brings direct Evil upon a Man, and therefore it should not be used but where it is directly useful for the procuring some greater Good. In this Case, the signification of the Word *directly*, carries a manifest Reason in it, to any one who understands what *directly* means. If the taking away any Good from a Man cannot be justified, but by making it a means to procure a greater, is it not plain it must be so a means as to have, in the Operation of Causes and Effects, a natural Tendency to that Effect? and then it is called *directly* useful to such an End: And this may give you a reason, why Punishment must be directly useful for that purpose. I know you are very tender of your indirect and at a distance Usefulness of Force, which I have in another Place shew'd to be, in your way, only useful by Accident; nor will the Question you here subjoin, excuse it from being so, viz. why Penalties are not as directly useful for the bringing Men to the true Religion, as the Rod of Correction is to drive Foolishness from a Child, or to work Wisdom in him? Because the Rod works on the Will of the Child, to obey the Reason of the Father, whilst under his Tuition, and thereby makes it supple to the Dictates of his own Reason afterwards, and disposes him to obey the Light of that, when being grown to be a Man, that is to be his Guide, and this is Wisdom. If your Penalties are so used, I have nothing to say to them.

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Your way is charg'd to be impracticable to those Ends you purpose, which you endeavour to clear, p. 63. That there may be fair play on both sides, the Reader shall have in the same view what we both say.

L. 2. p. 286. "It remains now to examine, whether the Author's Argument will not hold good, even against Punishments in your way. For if the Magistrate's Authority be, as you here say, only to procure all his Subjects (mark what you say, ALL HIS SUB-

JECTS

L. 3. p. 63. But how little to the purpose this Request of yours is, will quickly appear. For if the Magistrate provides sufficiently

for

“*JECTS*) the means of discovering the way of Salvation, and to procure withal, as much as in him lies, that *NONE* remain ignorant of it, or refuse to embrace it, either for want of using those Means, or by reason of any such Prejudices as may render them ineffectual. If this be the Magistrate’s Business, in reference to *ALL HIS SUBJECTS*; I desire you, or any Man else, to tell me how this can be done, by the application of Force only to a part of them; unless you will still vainly suppose ignorance, negligence, or prejudice, only amongst that part which any where differs from the Magistrate. If those of the Magistrate’s Church may be ignorant of the way of Salvation; If it be possible there may be amongst them, those who refuse to embrace it, either for want of using those Means, or by reason of any such Prejudices as may render them ineffectual; What, in this Case, becomes of the Magistrate’s Authority to procure all his Subjects the means of discovering the way of Salvation? Must these of his Subjects be neglected, and left without the means he has Authority to procure them? Or must he use Force upon them too? And then, pray shew me how this can be done. Shall the Magistrate punish those of his own Religion, to procure them the means of discovering the way of Salvation, and to procure, as much as in him lies, that they remain not ignorant of it, or refuse not to embrace it? These are such Contradictions in Practice, this is such Condemnation of a Man’s own Religion, as no one can expect from the Magistrate; and I dare say you desire not of him. And yet this is that he must do, *If his Authority be to procure ALL his Subjects the means of discovering the way to Salvation.* And if it be so needful, as you say it is, that he should use it; I am sure Force cannot do that till it be apply’d wider, and Punishment be laid upon more than you would have it. For if the Magistrate be by Force to procure, as much as in him lies, that *NONE* remain ignorant of the way of Salvation; must he not punish all those who are ignorant of the way of Salvation? And pray tell me how is this any way practicable, but by supposing none in the National Church ignorant, and all out of it ignorant of the way of Salvation? Which, what is it, but to punish Men barely for not being of the Magistrate’s Religion; The very thing you deny he has Authority to do? So that the Magistrate having, by your own Confession, no Authority, thus to use Force; and it being otherways impracticable for the procuring all his Subjects the means of discovering the way of Salvation; there is an end of Force. And so Force being laid aside, either as unlawful, or unpracticable, the Author’s Argument holds good against Force, even in your way of applying it.

for the instruction of all his Subjects in the true Religion; and then requires them all, under convenient Penalties, to hearken to the Teachers and Ministers of it, and to profess and exercise it with one accord, under their Direction, in Publick Assemblies: Is there any pretence to say, that in so doing he applies Force only to a part of his Subjects; when the Law is general, and excepts none? ’Tis true, the Magistrate inflicts the Penalties in that Case, only upon them that break the Law. But is that the thing you mean by his applying Force only to a part of his Subjects? Would you have him punish all indifferently? them that obey the Law, as well as them that do not?

As to Ignorance, Negligence and Prejudice, I desire you, or any Man else, to tell me what better Course can be taken to cure them, than that which I have mentioned. For if after all that God’s Ministers, and the Magistrate can do, some will still remain ignorant, negligent, or prejudiced; I do not take that to be any disparagement to it: For certainly that is a very extraordinary Remedy, which infallibly cures all diseas’d Persons to whom it is applied.

The Backwardness and Lusts that hinder an impartial Examination, as you describe A. p. 6, it, is general. The Corruption of Nature which hinders a real embracing the true Religion; that also you tell us here, is universal. I ask a Remedy for these in your way. You say the Law for Conformity is general, excepts none. Very likely, none that do not conform; but punishes none who conforming, do neither impartially examine nor really embrace the true Religion. From whence I conclude there is no Corruption of Nature in those, who are brought up or join in outward Communion with the Church of England. But as to Ignorance, Negligence and Prejudice, you say you desire me; or any Man else, to tell what better Course can be taken to cure them, than that which

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which you have mentioned. If your Church can find no better way to cure Ignorance and Prejudice, and the Negligence, that is in Men, to examine Matters of Religion and heartily embrace the true, than what is impracticable upon Conformists, then of all others, Conformists are in the most deplorable Estate. But, as I remember, you have been told of a better way, which is, the discoursing with Men seriously and friendly about Matters in Religion, by those whose Profession is the Care of Souls; examining what they do understand, and where, either through Laziness, Prejudice or Difficulty, they do stick; and applying to their several Diseases proper Cures, which it is as impossible to do by a general Harangue, once or twice a Week out of the Pulpit, as to fit all Mens Feet with one Shoe, or cure all Mens Ails with one, though very wholesome, Diet-drink. To be thus *instant in Season and out of Season*, some Men have thought a better way of Cure, than a Desire, only to have Men driven by the Whip, either in your, or the Magistrate's Hands, into the Sheepfold: where when they are once, whether they understand or no, their Ministers Sermons; whether they are, or can be better for them or no; whether they are ignorant and hypocritical Conformists, and in that way like to remain so, rather than to become knowing and sincere Converts, some Bishops have thought is not sufficiently enquired; but this no body is to mention, for whoever does so, *makes himself an occasion to shew his good will to the Clergy.*

This had not been said by me here, now I see how apt you are to be put out of temper with any thing of this kind, (though it be in every serious Man's Mouth) had not you desired me to shew you a better way than Force, your way apply'd. And to use your way of arguing, since bare preaching, as now us'd, 'tis plain, will not do, there is no other means left but this to deal with the corrupt Nature of Conformists; for Miracles are now ceased, and Penalties they are free from; therefore, by your way of concluding, *no other being left*, this of visiting at home, conferring and instructing, and admonishing Men there, and the like means, proposed by the reverend Author of the *Pastoral Care*, is necessary; and Men, whose Business is the Care of Souls, are obliged to use it: for you cannot prove, that it cannot do some Service (I think I need not say) *indirectly and at a distance.* And if this be proper and sufficient to bring Conformists (notwithstanding the Corruption of their Nature) to *examine impartially*, and *really embrace the Truth that must save them*, it will remain to shew, Why it may not do as well on Nonconformists (whose, I imagine, is the common Corruption of Nature) to bring them to examine and embrace the Truth, that must save them? And though it be not so extraordinary a Remedy as will *infallibly cure all diseased Persons, to whom it is apply'd*; yet since the Corruption of Nature, which is the same Disease, and hinders the *impartial Examination*, and *heartily embracing the Truth that must save them*, is equally in both, Conformists and Nonconformists, 'tis reasonable to think it should in both have the same Cure, let that be what it will.

C H A P. X.

Of the Necessity of Force in Matters of Religion.

Pag. 30. **Y**OU tell us you do not ground the lawfulness of such Force, as you take to be useful for promoting the true Religion, upon the bare usefulness of such Force, but upon the necessity as well as usefulness of it; and therefore you declare it to be no fit means to be used, either for that purpose or any other, where it is not necessary as well as useful.

How useful Force in the Magistrate's Hand, for bringing Men to the true Religion, is like to be, we have shewn in the foregoing Chapter, in answer to what you have said for it. So that it being proved not useful, it is impossible it should be necessary. However we will examine what you say to prove the necessity of it. The Foundation you build on for its necessity we have in your *Argument considered*, where having at large dilated on Mens inconsiderateness in the choice of their Religions, and their persisting in those they have once chosen, without due Examination, you conclude thus; *Now if this be the Case, if Men are so averse to a due Consideration, if they usually take up their Religion, without examining it as they ought, what other means is there left? Wherein you suppose Force necessary, instead of proving it to be so; for preaching* and

and Persuasion not prevailing upon all Men, you upon your own Authority think fit something else should be done; and that being resolv'd, you readily pitch on Force, because you say you can find nothing else, which in effect is only to tell us, if the Salvation of Mens Souls were only left to your Discretion, how you would order the matter.

And in your Answer to me, you very confidently tell us, *the true Religion cannot prevail without the Assistance either of Miracles, or of Authority.* I shall here only observe one or two things, and then go on to examine how you make this good. Pag. 7.

The first thing I shall observe is, that in your *Argument considered, &c.* you suppose Force necessary only to master the Aversion there is in Men to *Considering and Examination*: And here in your Answer to me, you make Force necessary to conquer the Aversion there is in Men to *embrace and obey* the true Religion. Which are so very different, that the former justifies the use of Force only to make Men *consider*, the other justifies the use of Force to make Men *embrace* Religion. If you meant the same thing when you writ your first Treatise, it was not very ingenuous to express your self in such Words as were not proper to give your Reader your true meaning; it being a far different thing to use Force to make Men *consider*, which is an Action in their Power to do or omit; and to use Force to make them *embrace*, i. e. *believe* any Religion, which is not a thing in any one's Power to do or forbear as he pleases. If you say you meant barely considering in your first Paper, as the whole Current of it would make one believe, then I see your Hypothesis may mend, as we have seen in other Parts, and in Time, may grow to its full Stature.

Another thing I shall remark to you, is, That in your first Paper, besides Preaching and Persuasion, and the Grace of God, nothing but Force was necessary. Here in your second, it is *either Miracles or Authority*, which how you make good, we will now consider.

You having said, you had *no reason from any Experiment to expect that the true Religion should be any way a Gainer by Toleration.* I instanced in the prevailing of the Gospel, by its own Beauty, Force, and Reasonableness, in the first Ages of Christianity. You reply, that it has not the same Beauty, Force and Reasonableness now, that it had then, unless I include *Miracles* too, which are now ceased; and as you tell us, *were not withdrawn, till by their Help Christianity had prevailed to be received for the Religion of the Empire, and to be encouraged and supported by the Laws of it.* Pag. 5. 37.

If therefore we will believe you upon your own Word, Force being necessary (for prove it necessary you never can) you have enter'd into the Counsel of God, and tell us, when Force could not be had, *Miracles* were employ'd to supply its Want. *I cannot but think*, say you, *it's highly probable (if we may be allowed to guess at the Counsels of infinite Wisdom) that God was pleased to continue them till then, i. e. till the Laws of the Empire supported Christianity, not so much for any Necessity there was of them all that time, for the evincing the Truth of the Christian Religion, as to supply the want of the Magistrate's Assistance.* You allow your self to guess very freely, when you will make God use *Miracles* to supply a means he no where authorized or appointed. How long *Miracles* continued we shall see anon. Pag. 37.

Say you, *If we may be allowed to guess*: this Modesty of yours where you confess you guess, is only concerning the time of the continuing of *Miracles*; but as to their supplying the want of coactive Force, that you are positive in, both here and where you tell us, *Why Penalties were not necessary at first, to make Men to give Ear to the Gospel, has already been shewn*; and a little after, *the great and wonderful things which were to be done for the evidencing the Truth of the Gospel, were abundantly sufficient to procure Attention, &c.* How you come to know so undoubtedly that *Miracles* were made use of to supply the Magistrate's Authority, since God no where tells you so, you would have done well to shew. Pag. 38.

But in your Opinion Force was necessary, and that could not then be had, and so God must use *Miracles*. For, say you, *Our Saviour was no Magistrate, and therefore could not inflict political Punishments upon any Man, so much less could he empower his Apostles to do it.* Could not our Saviour empower his Apostles to denounce or inflict Punishments on careless or obstinate Unbelievers, to make them hear and consider? You pronounce very boldly methinks of Christ's Power, and set very narrow Limits to what at another time you would not deny to be infinite: But it was convenient here for your present Purpose, that it should be so limited. But, they not being Magistrates, he could not empower his Apostles to inflict political Punishments. How is it of

of a sudden, that they must be political Punishments? You tell us all that is necessary, is to lay *Briars and Thorns in Mens ways, to trouble and disease them to make them consider*. This I hope our Saviour had Power to do, if he had found it necessary, without the Assistance of the Magistrates; he could have always done by his Apostles and Ministers, if he had so thought fit, what he did once by St. Peter, have dropp'd *Thorn and Briars* into their very Minds, that should have pricked, troubled and diseased them sufficiently. But sometimes it is *Briars and Thorns* only that you want, sometimes it must be *Human Means*, and sometimes, as here, nothing will serve your turn but *political Punishments*; just as will best sute your Occasion, in the Argument you have then before you.

That the Apostles could lay on Punishments, as troublesome and as great as any political ones when they were necessary, we see in *Ananias and Sapphira*: And he that had all Power given him in Heaven and in Earth, could, if he had thought fit, have laid *Briars and Thorns* in the way of all that received not his Doctrine.

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the N.T.
Sect. 41,
and 51.

Pag. 36. You add, *But as he could not punish Men to make them hear him, so neither was there any need that he should. He came as a Prophet sent from God to reveal a new Doctrine to the World; and therefore to prove his Mission, he was to do such things as could only be done by a divine Power: And the Works which he did were abundantly sufficient both to gain him a Hearing, and to oblige the World to receive his Doctrine.* Thus the want of Force and Punishments are supplied. How far? so far as they are supposed necessary to gain a Hearing, and so far as to oblige the World to receive Christ's Doctrine; whereby, as I suppose, you mean sufficient to lay an Obligation on them to receive his Doctrine, and render them inexcusable if they did not: But that they were not sufficient to make all that saw them effectually to receive and embrace the Gospel, I think is evident, and you will not I imagine say, that all who saw Christ's Miracles believed on him: So that Miracles were not to supply the want of such Force, as was to be continued on Men to make them consider as they ought, i. e. till they embraced the Truth that must save them. For we have little reason to think that our Saviour, or his Apostles, contended with their Neglect or Refusal by a constant Train of Miracles, continued on to those who were not wrought upon by the Gospel preached to them. St. Matthew tells us, 13. 57. that he did not many mighty Works in his own Country, because of their Unbelief; much less were Miracles to supply the want of Force in that Use you make of it, where you tell us it is to punish the Fault of not being of the true Religion: For we do not find any miraculously punished to bring them in to the Gospel. So that the want of Force to either of these Purposes not being supplied by Miracles, the Gospel 'tis plain subsisted and spread it self without Force so made use of, and without Miracles to supply the want of it; and therefore it so far remains true, that the Gospel having the same Beauty, Force and Reasonableness now as it had at the beginning, it wants not Force to supply the Defect of Miracles, to that for which Miracles were no where made use of. And so far, at least, the Experiment is good, and this Assertion true, that the Gospel is able to prevail by its own Light and Truth, without the Continuance of Force on the same Person, or punishing Men for not being of the true Religion.

Pag. 36. You say, *Our Saviour being no Magistrate, could not inflict political Punishments; much less could he empower his Apostles to do it.* I know not what need there is, that it should be political; so there were so much Punishment used, as you say, is sufficient to make Men consider, it is not necessary it should come from this or that Hand: or if there be any odds in that, we should be apt to think it would come best, and most effectually, from those who preached the Gospel, and could tell them it was to make them consider, than from the Magistrate, who neither doth, nor according to your Scheme can, tell them it is to make them consider. And this Power, you will not deny, but our Saviour could have given to the Apostles.

But if there were such absolute need of political Punishments, Titus or Trajan might as well have been converted, as Constantine. For how true it is, that Miracles supplied the want of Force from those Days till Constantine's, and then ceased, we shall see by and by. I say not this to enter boldly into the Counsels of God, or to take upon me to censure the Conduct of the Almighty, or to call his Providence to an account; but to answer your saying, *Our Saviour was no Magistrate, and therefore could not inflict political Punishments.* For he could have had both Magistrates and political Punishments at his Service, if he had thought fit, and needed not to have continued Miracles longer, than there was necessity for evincing the Truth of the Christian Religion,

gion, as you imagine, to supply the want of the Magistrate's Assistance, by Force, which is necessary. Pag. 37.

But how come you to know that Force is necessary? Has God revealed it in his Word? no where. Has it been revealed to you in particular? that you will not say. What reason have you for it? none at all but this, That having set down the grounds, upon which Men take up and persist in their Religion; you conclude, *what means is there left but Force?* Force therefore you conclude necessary, because without any Authority, but from your own Imagination, you are peremptory, that other means, besides Preaching and Persuasion, is to be used; and therefore is it necessary, because you can think of no other. A. p. 6. — 12.

When I tell you there is other Means, and that by your own Confession the Grace of God is another Means, and therefore Force is not necessary: You reply, *Though the Grace of God be another Means, and you thought fit to mention it, to prevent Cavils; yet it is none of the Means of which you were speaking, in the place I refer to; which any one who reads that Paragraph will find to be only Human Means: and therefore though the Grace of God be both a proper and sufficient Means, and such as can work by itself, and without which neither Penalties nor any other Means can do any thing; yet it may be true however, that when Admonitions and Intreaties fail, there is no Human Means left, but Penalties, to bring prejudiced Persons to hear and consider, what may convince them of their Errors, and discover the Truth to them. And then Penalties will be necessary in respect to that End as an Human Means.* Pag. 39.

In which Words, if you mean any Answer to my Argument, it is this, that Force is necessary, because to bring Men into the right way there is other Human Means necessary, besides Admonitions and Persuasions. For else what have we to do with Human in the Case? But it is no small Advantage one owes to Logick, that where Sense and Reason fall short, a Distinction ready at Hand may ech it out. Force, when Persuasions will not prevail, is necessary, say you, because it is the only Means left. When you are told it is not the only Means left, and so cannot be necessary on that Account: You reply, that when Admonitions and Intreaties fail, there is no Human Means left, but Penalties, to bring prejudiced Persons to hear and consider what may convince them of their Errors, and discover the Truth to them: And then Penalties will be necessary in respect to that End, as an Human Means. Pag. 40.

Suppose it be urged to you, when your moderate lower Penalties fail, there is no Human Means left but Dragooning and such other Severities; which you say you condemn as much as I, to bring prejudiced Persons to hear and consider what may convince them of their Errors, and discover the Truth to them. And then Dragooning, Imprisonment, Scourging, Fining, &c. will be necessary in respect to that end, as an Human Means. What can you say but this? that you are impower'd to judge what Degrees of Human Means are necessary, but others are not. For without such a Confidence in your own Judgment, where God has neither said how much, nor that any Force is necessary, I think this is as good an Argument for the highest, as yours is for the lower Penalties. When Admonitions and Intreaties will not prevail, then Penalties, lower Penalties, some Degrees of Force will be necessary, say you, as an Human Means, And when your lower Penalties, your some Degrees of Force will not prevail, then higher Degrees will be necessary, say I, as an Human Means. And my reason is the same with yours, because there is no other Mens (i. e. Human Means) left. Shew me how your Argument concludes for lower Punishments being necessary, and mine not for higher, even to dragooning, & *eris mihi magnus Apollo.* Pag. 9.

But let us apply this to your Succedaneum of Miracles, and then it will be much more admirable. You tell us, Admonitions and Intreaties not prevailing to bring Men into the right way, Force is necessary, because there is no other Means left. To that 'tis said, yes, there is other Means left, the Grace of God. Ay, but, say you, that will not do; because you speak only of Human Means. So that according to your way of arguing, some other Human Means is necessary: For you your self tell us, that the Means you were speaking of, where you say, that when Admonitions and Intreaties will not do, what other Means is there left but Force? were Human Means. Your Words are, *which any one, who reads that Paragraph, will find to be only Human Means.* By this Argument then other Human Means are necessary besides Preaching and Persuasion, and those Human Means you have found out to be either Force, or Miracles: The latter are certainly notable Human Means. And your Distinction of Human Means serves you to very good purpose, having brought Miracles

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to be one of your *Human Means*. Preaching and Admonitions, say you, are not sufficient to bring Men into the right way, something else is *necessary*; Yes; the Grace of God; no, say you, that will not do; it is not *Human Means*: 'tis necessary to have other *Human Means*, therefore in the three or four first Centuries after Christianity, the Insufficiency of Preaching and Admonitions was made up with *Miracles*, and thus the Necessity of other *Human Means* is made good. But to consider a little farther your *Miracles* as supplying the want of Force.

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The Question between us here is, Whether the Christian Religion did not prevail in the first Ages of the Church, by its own Beauty, Force and Reasonableness, without the Assistance of Force? I say it did, and therefore external Force is not necessary. To this you reply, *that it cannot prevail by its own Light, and Strength, without the Assistance either of Miracles, or of Authority*; and therefore the Christian Religion not being still accompanied with *Miracles*, Force is now necessary. So that to make your equivalent of *Miracles* correspond with your *necessary Means* of Force, you seem to require an actual Application of *Miracles*, or of Force, to prevail with Men to receive the Gospel, i. e. Men could not be prevailed with to receive the

Pag. 6.

Gospel without actually seeing of *Miracles*. For when you tell us, That you are sure I cannot say the Christian Religion is still accompanied with *Miracles*, as it was at its first planting; I hope you do not mean that the Gospel is not still accompanied with an undoubted Testimony that *Miracles* were done by the first Publishers of it, which was as much of *Miracles*, as I suppose the greatest part of those had, with whom the Christian Religion prevailed, till it was supported and encouraged,

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as you tell us, *by the Laws of the Empire*: For I think you will not say, or if you should, you could not expect to be believed, that all, or the greatest part of those, that embraced the Christian Religion, before it was supported by the *Laws of the Empire*, which was not till the Fourth Century, had actually *Miracles* done before them, to work upon them. And all those, who were not Eye-Witnesses of *Miracles* done in their Presence, 'tis plain had no other *Miracles* than we have, that is upon report; and 'tis probable not so many, nor so well attested as we have. The greatest part then, of those who were converted, at least, in some of those Ages, before Christianity was supported by the *Laws of the Empire*, I think you must allow, were wrought upon by bare preaching, and such *Miracles* as we still have, *Miracles* at a distance, related *Miracles*. In others, and those the greater Number, Prejudice was not so removed, that they were prevailed on to consider, to consider as they ought, i. e. in your Language, to consider so as to embrace. If they had not so considered in our Days, what, according to your Scheme, must have been done to them, that did not consider as they ought? Force must have been applied to them. What therefore in the Primitive Church was to be done to them? Why! your succedaneum *Miracles*, actual *Miracles*, such as you deny the Christian Religion to be still accompanied with, must have been done in their Presence, to work upon them. Will you say this was so, and make a new Church-History for us, and out do those Writers who have been thought pretty liberal of *Miracles*? If you do not, you must confess *Miracles* supplied not the place of Force, and so let fall all your fine Contrivance about the Necessity either of Force or *Miracles*; and perhaps you will think it at last a more becoming Modesty, not to set the Divine Power and Providence on work, by Rules, and for the Ends of your Hypothesis, without having any thing in Authentick History, much less in Divine and unerring Revelation to justify you. But Force and Power deserve something more than ordinary and allowable Arts or Arguments, to get and keep them: *Si violandum sit jus regnandi causa violandum est*.

If the Testimony, of *Miracles* having been done, were sufficient to make the Gospel prevail, without Force, on those, who were not Eye-Witnesses of them, we have that still, and so upon that Account need not Force to supply the want of it: But if Truth must have either the Law of the Country, or actual *Miracles* to support it, what became of it after the Reign of Constantine the Great, under all those Emperors that were erroneous or heretical? It supported itself in Piedmont, and France, and Turkey, many Ages without Force or *Miracles*: And it spread itself in divers Nations and Kingdoms of the North and East, without any Force, or other *Miracles* than those that were done many Ages before. So that I think you will, upon second Thoughts, not deny, but that the true Religion is able to prevail now, as it did at first, and has done since in many Places, without Assistance from the Powers in being,

ing, by its own Beauty, Force, and Reasonableness, whereof well-attested Miracles is a part.

But the Account you give us of Miracles will deserves to be a little examined; we Pag. 37. have it in these Words, *Considering that those extraordinary Means were not withdrawn, till by their Help Christianity had prevail'd to be received for the Religion of the Empire, and to be supported and encouraged by the Laws of it, you cannot, you say, but think it highly probably, (if we may be allow'd to guess at the Counsels of infinite Wisdom) that God was pleased to continue them till then, not so much for any Necessity there was of them all that while, for the evincing the Truth of the Christian Religion, as to supply the want of the Magistrate's Assistance.* Miracles then, if what you say be true, were continued till Christianity was received for the Religion of the Empire, not so much to evince the Truth of the Christian Religion, as to supply the want of the Magistrate's Assistance. But in this the learned Author, whose Testimony you quote, fails you. For he tells you that the chief Use of Miracles, in the Church, after the Truth of the Christian Religion had been sufficiently confirm'd by them in the World, was to oppose the false and pretended Miracles of Hereticks and Heathens; and answerable hereunto Miracles ceased and returned again, as such Oppositions made them more or less necessary. Accordingly Miracles which before had abated in Trajan's and Hadrian's time, which was in the latter end of the First, or beginning of the Second Century, did again revive to confound the magical Delusions of the Hereticks of that time. And in the Third Century the Hereticks using no such Tricks, and the Faith being confirm'd, they by Degrees ceased, of which there then, he says, could be no imaginable Necessity. His Words are, "Et quidem eo minus necessaria sunt pro veterum Principiis, recentiora illa Miracula, quod Hæreticos (quos appellant) nullos adversarios habeant, qui contraria illis dogmata asruant Miraculis. Sic enim vidimus, apud veteres, dum nulli Ecclesiam exercerent Adversarii, seu Heretici, seu Gentiles; aut satis illi præteritis Miraculis fuissent refutati; aut nullas ipsi præstigas opponerent quæ veris essent Miraculis oppugnandæ; subductam deinde paulatim esse mirificam illam spiritus virtutem. Ortus sub Trajano Hadrianoque Hæreticos ostendimus præstigiis Magicis fuisse usos, & proinde Miraculorum verorum in Ecclesia usum una REVIXISSE. Ne dicam præstigiatores etiam Gentiles eodem illo seculo sane frequentissimos, Apuleium in Africa, in Asia Alexandrum Pseudomantim, multosque alios quorum meminit Aristides. Tertio seculo orto, Hæretici Hermogenes, Praxeas, Noetus, Theodotus, Sabellius, Novatianus, Artemas, Samosatenus, nulla, ut videtur, Miracula ipsi venditabant, nullis propterea Miraculis oppugnandi. Inde vidimus, apud ipsos etiam Catholicos, sensim defecisse Miracula. Et quidem, Hæreticis nulla in contrarium Miracula obstantibus, quæ tandem fingi potest miraculorum necessitas traditam ab initio fidem, miraculisque adeo jamdudum confirmatam prædicantibus? Nulla certe prorsus pro primævo miraculorum exemplo. Nulla denique consciis verè primævam esse fidem quam novis miraculis suscipiunt confirmandam." Sect. LXV.

The History therefore you have from him, of Miracles, serves for his Hypothesis, but not at all for yours. For if they were continued to supply the want of Force, which was to deal with the Corruption of depraved Human Nature, that being without any great Variation in the World, constantly the same, there could be no reason why they should abate and fail, and then return and revive again. So that there being then, as you suppose, no necessity of Miracles for any other End, but to supply the want of the Magistrate's Assistance, they must, to suite that End, be constant and regularly the same, as you would have Force to be, which is steddily and uninterruptedly to be applied, as a constantly necessary Remedy, to the corrupt Nature of Mankind.

If you allow the learned Dodwell's Reasons, for the Continuation of Miracles, till the Fourth Century, your Hypothesis, that they were continued to supply the Magistrate's Assistance, will be only precarious. For if there was need of Miracles till that time to other purposes, the Continuation of them in the Church, though you could prove them to be as frequent and certain as those of our Saviour and the Apostles, it would not advantage your Cause; since it would be no Evidence, that they were used for that End, which as long as there were other visible Uses of them, you could not, without Revelation, assure us were made use of by Divine Providence to supply the want of the Magistrate's Assistance. You must therefore confute his Hypothesis, before you can make any Advantage of what he says, concerning the Continuation

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tion of Miracles, for the establishing of yours. For till you can shew, that that which he assigns was not the end, for which they were continued in the Church; the utmost you can say, is, that it may be imagined, that one reason of their Continuation was to supply the want of the Magistrate's Assistance. But what you can without Proof imagine possible, I hope you do not expect should be received as an unquestionable Proof, that it was so. I can imagine it possible they were not continued for that End, and one Imagination will be as good a Proof as another.

To do your Modesty right therefore, I must allow, that you do faintly offer at some kind of reason, to prove that Miracles were continued to supply the want of the Magistrate's Assistance. And since God has nowhere declared, that it was for that End, you would persuade us in this Paragraph, that it was so, by two Reasons. One is, that the Truth of the Christian Religion being sufficiently evinced by the Miracles done by our Saviour and his Apostles, and perhaps their immediate Successors, there was no other need of Miracles to be continued till the Fourth Century; and therefore they were used by God to supply the want of the Magistrate's Assistance. This I take to be the meaning of these Words of yours, *I cannot but think it highly probable that God was pleased to continue them till then, not so much for any Necessity there was of them all that while for the evincing the Truth of the Christian Religion, as to supply the want of the Magistrate's Assistance.* Whereby, I suppose, you do not barely intend to tell the World what is your Opinion in the Case, but use this as an Argument, to make it probable to others, that this was the End for which Miracles were continued, which at best will be but a very doubtful Probability to build such a bold Assertion on, as this of yours is, viz. *That the Christian Religion is not able to subsist and prevail in the World, by its own Light and Strength, without the Assistance either of Force, or actual Miracles.* And therefore you must either produce a Declaration from Heaven that authorizes you to say, that Miracles were used to supply the want of Force, or shew that there was no other use of them but this. For if any other use can be assigned of them, as long as they continued in the Church, one may safely deny, that they were to supply the want of Force: and it will lie upon you to prove it by some other way than by saying you think it highly probable. For I suppose you do not expect that your thinking any thing highly probable, should be a sufficient Reason for others to acquiesce in. When perhaps, the History of Miracles considered, no Body could bring himself to say he thought it probable, but one whose Hypothesis stood in need of such a poor Support.

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The other Reason you seem to build on is this, That when Christianity was received for the Religion of the Empire, Miracles ceased; because there was then no longer any need of them: which I take to be the Argument insinuated in these Words, *Considering that those extraordinary means were not withdrawn, till by their help Christianity had prevailed to be received for the Religion of the Empire.* If then you can make it appear that Miracles lasted till Christianity was received for the Religion of the Empire, without any other Reason for their continuation, but to supply the want of the Magistrate's Assistance; and that they ceased as soon as the Magistrates became Christians; your Argument will have some kind of Probability, that within the Roman Empire this was the Method God used for the propagating the Christian Religion. But it will not serve to make good your Position, That the Christian Religion cannot subsist and prevail by its own Strength and Light, without the Assistance of Miracles or Authority, unless you can shew, that God made use of Miracles, to introduce and support it in other parts of the World, not subject to the Roman Empire, till the Magistrates there also became Christians. For the Corruption of Nature being the same without, as within the Bounds of the Roman Empire; Miracles, upon your Hypothesis, were as necessary to supply the want of the Magistrates Assistance in other Countries as in the Roman Empire. For I do not think you will find the Civil Sovereigns were the first converted in all those Countries, where the Christian Religion was planted after Constantine's Reign: And in all those it will be necessary for you to shew us the Assistance of Miracles.

But let us see how much your Hypothesis is favoured by Church-History. If the Writings of the Fathers of greatest Name and Credit are to be believed, Miracles were not withdrawn when Christianity had prevailed to be received for the Religion of the Empire. Athanasius, the great Defender of the Catholick Orthodoxy, writ the Life of his Contemporary St. Anthony, full of Miracles; which though some have question'd, yet the learned Dodwell allows to be writ by Athanasius: and the Style evinces it to be his, which is also confirmed by other Ecclesiastical Writers.

Palladius

Palladius tell us, That Ammon did many Miracles: But that particularly St. Athanasius related in the Life of Anthony, That Ammon going with some Monks, Anthony had sent to him; when they came to the River Lycus, which they were to pass, was afraid to strip for fear of seeing himself naked; and whilst he was in dispute of this Matter, he was taken up, and in an Extasy carry'd over by an Angel, the rest of the Monks swimming the River. When he came to Anthony, Anthony told him he had sent for him, because God had revealed many things to him concerning him, and particularly his Translation. And when Ammon died, in his Retirement, Anthony saw his Soul carried into Heaven by Angels. Palladius in vita Ammonis.

Socrates tells us, That Anthony saw the Soul of Ammon taken up by Angels, as Athanasius writes in the Life of Anthony. Athanasius L. 4. c. 23.

And again, says he, It seems superfluous for me to relate the many Miracles Anthony did; how he fought openly with Devils, discovering all their Tricks and Cheats: For Athanasius Bishop of Alexandria has prevented me on that Subject, having writ a Book particularly of his Life. Socrat. l. 1. c. 21.

Anthony was thought worthy of the Vision of God, and led a Life perfectly conformable to the Laws of Christ. This, whoever reads the Book, wherein is contain'd the History of his Life, will easily know; wherein he will also see Prophecy shining out: For he prophesied very clearly of those who were infected with the Arian Contagion, and foretold what Mischief from them was threaten'd to the Churches, God truly revealing all these things to him, which is certainly the principal Evidence of the Catholick Faith, no such Man being to be found amongst the Hereticks. But do not take this upon my Word, but read and study the Book it self.

This Account you have from St. Chrysostom, whom Mr. Dodwell calls the Con-temner of Fables. Chrysost. Hom. 8. in Mat. 2.

St. Hierom, in his Treatise De Viro Perfecto, speaks of the frequency of Miracles done in his time, as a thing past question: Besides those, not a few which he has left upon Record, in the Lives of Hilarion and Paul, two Monks, whose Lives he has writ. And he that has a mind to see the plenty of Miracles of this kind, need but read the Collection of the Lives of the Fathers, made by Rosweyda.

Ruffin tells us, That Athanasius lodg'd the Bones of St. John Baptist in the Wall of the Church, knowing by the Spirit of Prophecy, the good they were to do to the next Generation: And of what Efficacy and Use they were, may be concluded from the Church with the golden Roof, built to them soon after, in the place of the Temple of Serapis.

St. Austin tells us, That he knew a blind Man restor'd to sight by the Bodies of the Milan Martyrs, and some other such things; of which kind, there were so many done in that time, that many scaped his Knowledge; and those which he knew, were more than he could number. More of this you may see Epist. 137.

He farther assures us, that by the single Reliques of St. Stephen, a blind woman receiv'd her Sight: Lucullus was cured of an old Fistula; Eucharius of the Stone; Three Gouty Men recovered; A Lad kill'd with a Cart-wheel going over him, restor'd to Life safe and sound, as if he had received no Hurt: A Nun lying at the point of Death, they sent her Coat to the Shrine, but she dying before it was brought back, was restor'd to Life by its being laid on her dead Body. The like happened at Hippo to the Daughter of BASSUS, and two others, whose Names he sets down, were by the same Reliques raised from the dead.

After these and other Particulars there set down, of Miracles done in his time by those Reliques of St. Stephen, the holy Father goes on thus; What shall I do? pressed by my Promise of dispatching this work, I cannot here set down all: And without doubt many, when they shall read this, will be troubled that I have omitted so many Particulars, which they truly know as well as I. For if I should, passing by the rest, write only the miraculous Cures which have been wrought by this most glorious Martyr Stephen, in the Colony of Calama, and this of ours, I should fill many Books, and yet should not take in all of them: But only of those of which there are Collections published, which are read to the People: For this I took care should be done, when I saw that Signs of Divine Power, like those of old, were FREQUENT also in our Times. It is not now two Years since that Shrine has been at Hippo: And many of the Books (which I certainly knew to be so) not being published, those which are published concerning those miraculous Operations, amounted to near fifty when I writ this: But at Calama, where this Shrine was before, there are

Cæcum
illumina-
tum fuisse
jam nove-
ram.
Nec ea
quæ cog-
noscamus,
enumerare
possumus.
Aug. Re-
tract. l. c.
13.
Quæ utiq;
mecum
sciunt.

Libelli
dati sunt.
Cum vi-
deremus
antiquis
similia di-
vinarum
signa vir-
tutum e-
tiam no-
stris tem-
poribus
frequen-
tari.
Aug. de
Civ. Dei.
l. xxii. c.
8.

A Third Letter for Toleration.

more published, and their Number is incomparably greater. At Uzal also a Colony, and near Utica, we know many famous things to have been done by the same Martyr.

Two of those Books he mentions, are printed in the Appendix of the Xth. Tome of St. Austin's Works of Plantin Edit. One of them contains two Miracles; the other, as I remember, about seventeen. So that at Hippo alone, in two Years time, we may count, besides those omitted, there were published above 600 Miracles, and, as he says, incomparably more at Calama: Besides what were done by other Reliques of the same St. Stephen, in other parts of the World, which cannot be suppos'd to have had less virtue than those sent to this part of Africa. For the Reliques of St. Stephen, discovered by the Dream of a Monk, were divided and sent into distant Countries, and there distributed to several Churches.

These may suffice to shew, that if the Fathers of the Church of greatest Name and Authority are to be believed, Miracles were not withdrawn, but continued down to the latter end of the fourth Century, long after Christianity had prevailed to be received for the Religion of the Empire.

But if these Testimonies of Athanasius, Chrysostom, Palladius, Rufin, St. Hierom, and St. Austin, will not serve your turn, you may find much more to this purpose in the same Authors; and, if you please, you may consult also St. Basil, Gregory Nazianzen, Gregory Nyssen, St. Ambrose, St. Hilary, Theodoret, and others.

This being so, you must either deny the Authority of these Fathers, or grant that Miracles continued in the Church after Christianity was received for the Religion of the Empire, and then they could not be to supply the want of the Magistrate's Assistance, unless they were to supply the want of what was not wanting; and therefore they were continued for some other end. Which end of the Continuation of Miracles, when you are so far instructed in as to be able to assure us, that it was different from that for which God made use of them in the 2d and 3d Centuries: when you are so far admitted into the Secrets of Divine Providence, as to be able to convince the World that the Miracles between the Apostles and Constantine's Time, or any other Period you shall pitch on, were to supply the want of the Magistrate's Assistance, and those after, for some other Purpose, what you say may deserve to be considered. Till you do this, you will only shew the Liberty you take, to assert with great Confidence, though without any ground, whatever will sute your System; and that you do not stick to make bold with the Counsels of infinite Wisdom, to make them subservient to your Hypothesis.

And so I leave you to dispose of the Credit of ecclesiastical Writers, as you shall think fit; and by your Authority to establish, or invalidate theirs as you please. But this, I think, is evident, that he who will build his Faith or Reasonings upon Miracles delivered by Church-Historians, will find cause to go no farther than the Apostles time, or else not to stop at Constantine's: since the Writers after that Period, whose word we readily take as unquestionable in other things, speak of Miracles in their time with no less Assurance, than the Fathers before the fourth Century; and a great Part of the Miracles of the 2d and 3d Centuries stand upon the Credit of the Writers of the 4th. So that that sort of Argument which takes and rejects the Testimony of the Ancients at pleasure, as may best sute with it, will not have much force with those who are not disposed to imbrace the Hypothesis, without any Arguments at all.

You grant, That the true Religion has always Light and Strength of its own, i. e. without the Assistance of Force or Miracles, sufficient to prevail with all that consider it seriously, and without Prejudice: That therefore, for which the Assistance of Force is wanting, is to make Men consider seriously, and without Prejudice. Now whether the Miracles that we have still, Miracles done by Christ and his Apostles, attested, as they are, by undeniable History, be not fitter to deal with Mens Prejudices, than Force, and than Force which requires nothing but outward Conformity, I leave the World to judge. All the Assistance the true Religion needs from Authority, is only a Liberty for it, to be truly taught; but it has seldom had that, from the Powers in being, in its first Entry into their Dominions, since the withdrawing of Miracles: And yet I desire you to tell me, into what Country the Gospel, accompanied (as now it is) only with past Miracles, hath been brought by the Preaching of Men, who have labour'd in it after the Example of the Apostles, where it did not so prevail over Mens Prejudices, that as many as were ordain'd to eternal Life, consider'd and believ'd it. Which, as you may see, Acts 13. 48. was all the Advance it made, even when assisted with

with the Gift of Miracles: For neither then were all, or the majority wrought on to consider, and embrace it.

But yet the Gospel cannot prevail by its own Light and Strength; and therefore Miracles were to supply the Place of Force. How was Force used? A Law being made, there was a continued Application of Punishment to all those, whom it brought not to embrace the Doctrine proposed. Were Miracles so used till Force took place? For this, we shall want more new Church-History, and I think contrary to what we read in that part of it which is unquestionable; I mean in the *Acts of the Apostles*, where we shall find, that the then Promulgators of the Gospel, when they had preach'd, and done what Miracles the Spirit of God directed, if they prevail'd not, they often left them: *Then Paul and Barnabas waxed bold, and said it was necessary that the Word of God should first have been spoken to you: but seeing you put it from you, and judge yourselves unworthy, we turn to the Gentiles. They shook off the Dust of their Feet against them, and came unto Iconium. But when divers were hardened, and believed not, but spake Evil of that way, before the multitude departed from them, and separated the Disciples. Paul was pressed in Spirit, and testified to the Jews that Jesus was Christ; and when they opposed themselves, and blasphemed, he shook his Raiment, and said unto them, Your Blood be upon your own Heads, I am clean, from henceforth I will go unto the Gentiles.* Did the Christian Magistrates ever do so, who thought it necessary to support the Christian Religion by Laws? Did they ever, when they had a while punish'd those, whom Persuasions and Preaching had not prevail'd on, give off, and leave them to themselves, and make Trial of their Punishment upon others? Or in this your way of Force and Punishment? If it be not, yours is not what Miracles came to supply the room of, and so is not necessary. For you tell us, they are punish'd to make them consider; and they can never be suppos'd to consider as they ought, whilst they persist in rejecting; and therefore they are justly punished to make them so consider: So that not so considering, being the Fault for which they are punish'd, and the Amendment of that Fault the End which is design'd to be attain'd by punishing, the Punishment must continue. But Men were not always beat upon with Miracles. To this, perhaps you will reply, that the seeing of a Miracle or two, or half a dozen, was sufficient to procure a Hearing; but that being punish'd once or twice, or half a dozen times, is not; for you tell us, the Power of Miracles communicated to the Apostles, served altogether, as well as Punishment, to procure them a Hearing: Where, if you mean by Hearing, only Attention, who doubts but Punishment may also procure that? If you mean by Hearing, receiving and embracing, what is propos'd, that even Miracles themselves did not effect upon all Eye-witnesses. Why then, I beseech you, if one be to supply the Place of the other, is one to be continued on those who do reject, when the other was never long continued, nor, as I think we may safely say, often repeated to those, who persisted in their former Persuasions?

After all therefore, may not one justly doubt, whether Miracles supplied the place of Punishment; nay, whether you yourself, if you be true to your own Principles, can think so? You tell us, that not to join themselves to the true Church, where sufficient Evidence is offered to convince Men that it is so, is a Fault that it cannot be unjust to punish. Let me ask you now; Did the Apostles by their Preaching and Miracles, offer sufficient Evidence to convince Men that the Church of Christ was the True Church; or, which is, in this case, the same thing, that the Doctrine they preach'd was the true Religion? If they did, were not those, who persisted in Unbelief, guilty of a Fault? And if some of the Miracles done in those Days, should now be repeated, and yet Men should not embrace the Doctrine, or join themselves to the Church which those Miracles accompanied, would you not think them guilty of a Fault, which the Magistrate might justly, nay, ought to punish? If you would answer truly and sincerely to this Question, I doubt you would think your beloved Punishments necessary notwithstanding Miracles, there being no other human Means left. I do not make this Judgment of you, from any ill Opinion I have of your good Nature, but it is consonant to your Principles: For if not Professing the true Religion, where sufficient Evidence is offer'd by bare Preaching, be a Fault, and a Fault justly to be punish'd by the Magistrate, you will certainly think it much more his Duty to punish a greater Fault, as you must allow it is, to reject Truth propos'd with Arguments and Miracles, than with bare Arguments: Since you tell us, that the Magistrate is obliged to procure, as much as in him lies, that every Man take Care of his own Soul,

i. e. con-

i. e. consider as he ought; which no Man can be suppos'd to do, whilst he persists in rejecting: as you tell us, pag. 24.

Miracles, say you, supplied the want of Force, till by their Help Christianity had prevailed to be received for the Religion of the Empire. Not that the Magistrates had not as much Commission then, from the Law of Nature, to use Force, for promoting the true Religion, as since: But because the Magistrates then, not being of the true Religion, did not afford it the Assistance of their political Power. If this be so, and there be a Necessity either of Force or Miracles, will there not be the same reason for Miracles ever since, even to this Day, and so on to the end of the World, in all those Countries where the Magistrate is not of the true Religion? Unless (as you urge it) you will say (what without Impiety cannot be said) that the wise and benign Disposer of all things, has not furnished Mankind with competent means for the promoting his own Honour in the World, and the good of Souls.

Ans. p. 16.

But to put an end to your Pretence to Miracles, as supplying the Place of Force. Let me ask you, Whether since the withdrawing of Miracles, your moderate Degree of Force has been made use of, for the Support of the Christian Religion? If not, then Miracles were not made use of to supply the want of Force, unless it were for the Supply of such Force as Christianity never had, which is for the Supply of just no Force at all; or else for the Supply of the Severities which have been in use amongst Christians, which is worse than none at all. Force, you say, is necessary: what Force? not Fire and Sword, not loss of Estates, not maiming with corporal Punishments, not starving and tormenting in noisome Prisons: those you condemn. Not Compulsion: these Severities, you say, are apter to hinder, than promote the true Religion; but moderate lower Penalties, tolerable Inconveniencies, such as should a little disturb and disease Men. This Assistance not being to be had from the Magistrates, in the first Ages of Christianity, Miracles, say you, were continued till Christianity became the Religion of the Empire, not so much for any Necessity there was of them, all that while, for the evincing the Truth of the Christian Religion, as to supply the want of the Magistrate's Assistance. For the true Religion not being able to support itself by its own Light, and Strength, without the Assistance either of Miracles, or of Authority, there was a Necessity of the one or the other; and therefore, whilst the Powers in being assisted not with necessary Force, Miracles supplied that want. Miracles then being to supply necessary Force, and necessary Force being only lower moderate Penalties, some Inconveniencies, such as only disturb and disease a little; if you cannot shew that in all Countries, where the Magistrates have been Christian, they have assisted with such Force, 'tis plain that Miracles supplied not the want of necessary Force; unless to supply the want of your necessary Force, for a time, were to supply the want of an Assistance, which true Religion had not upon the withdrawing of Miracles, and I think I may say, was never thought on by any Authority, in any Age or Country, till you now, above 1300 Years after, made this happy Discovery. Nay, Sir, since the true Religion, as you tell us, cannot prevail or subsist without Miracles or Authority, i. e. your moderate Force; it must necessarily follow, that the Christian Religion has, in all Ages and Countries, been accompanied either with actual Miracles, or such Force: which, whether it be so or no, I leave you and all sober Men to consider. When you can shew, that it has been so, we shall have reason to be satisfied with your bold Assertion: That the Christian Religion, as delivered in the New Testament, cannot prevail by its own Light, and Strength, without the Assistance of your moderate Penalties, or of actual Miracles accompanying it. But if ever since the withdrawing of Miracles in all Christian Countries, where Force has been thought necessary by the Magistrate to support the national, or (as every where it is called) the true Religion, those Severities have been made use of, which you (for a good Reason) condemn, as apter to hinder, than promote the true Religion; 'tis plain that Miracles supplied the want of such an Assistance from the Magistrate, as was apter to hinder, than promote the true Religion. And your substituting of Miracles, to supply the want of moderate Force, will shew nothing, for your Cause, but the Zeal of a Man so fond of Force, that he will without any warrant from Scripture, enter into the Counsels of the Almighty; and without Authority from History, talk of Miracles, and political Administrations, as may best suite his System.

To my saying, a Religion that is from God, wants not the Assistance of human Authority to make it prevail; you answer, This is not simply nor always true. Indeed when

Pag. 8.

when God takes the matter wholly into his own Hands, as he does at his first revealing any Religion, there can be no need of any Assistance of human Authority: but when God has once sufficiently settled his Religion in the World, so that if Men from thenceforth will do what they may and ought, in their several Capacities, to preserve and propagate it, it may subsist and prevail without that extraordinary Assistance from him, which was necessary for its first Establishment. By this Rule of yours, how long was there need of Miracles to make Christianity subsist and prevail? If you will keep to it, you will find there was no need of Miracles, after the Promulgation of the Gospel by Christ and his Apostles; for I ask you, was it not then so sufficiently settled in the world, that if Men would from thenceforth have done what they might and ought, in their several Capacities, it would have subsisted and prevailed without that extraordinary Assistance of Miracles? unless you will on this Occasion retract what you say in other Places, viz. that it is a Fault not to receive the true Religion, where sufficient Evidence is offered to convince Men that it is so. If then, from the times of the Apostles, the Christian Religion has had sufficient Evidence that it is the true Religion, and Men did their Duty, i. e. receive it, it would certainly have subsisted and prevailed, even from the Apostles Times, without that extraordinary Assistance, and then Miracles after that were not necessary.

But perhaps you will say, that by Men in their several Capacities, you mean the Magistrates. A pretty way of speaking, proper to you alone: But even in that Sense; it will not serve your turn. For then there will be need of Miracles, not only in the time you propose, but in all times after. For if the Magistrate, who is as much subject as other Men to that Corruption of human Nature, by which you tell us false Religions prevail against the true, should not do what he may and ought, so as to be of the true Religion, as 'tis the odds he will not; what then will become of the true Religion, which according to you cannot subsist or prevail without either the Assistance of Miracles or Authority? Subjects cannot have the Assistance of Authority, where the Magistrate is not of the true Religion; and the Magistrate wanting the Assistance of Authority to bring him to the true Religion, that want must be still supplied with Miracles, or else, according to your Hypothesis, all must go to wrack; and the true Religion, that cannot subsist by its own Strength and Light, must be lost in the World. For, I presume, you are scarce yet such an Adorer of the Powers of the World, as to say, that Magistrates are privileged from that common Corruption of Mankind, whose Opposition to the true Religion you suppose cannot be overcome, without the Assistance of Miracles or Force. The Flock will stray, unless the Bell-weather conduct them right; the Bell-weather himself will stray, unless the Shepherd's Crook and Staff (which he has as much need of as any Sheep of the Flock) keep him right. Ergo, The whole Flock will stray, unless the Bell-weather have that assistance which is necessary to conduct him right. The Case is the same here. So that by your own Rule, either there was no need of Miracles to supply the want of Force, after the Apostles time, or there is need of them still.

But your Answer, when looked into, has something in it more excellent. I say, a Religion that is of God, wants not the assistance of human Authority to make it prevail. You answer, True, when God takes the matter into his own Hands. But when once he has sufficiently settled Religion, so that if Men will but do what they may and ought, it may subsist without that extraordinary assistance from Heaven; then he leaves it to their Care. Where you suppose, if Men will do their Duties in their several Capacities, true Religion, being once establish'd, may subsist without Miracles. And is it not as true, that if they will, in their several Capacities, do what they may and ought, true Religion will also subsist without Force? But you are sure Magistrates will do what they may and ought, to preserve and propagate the true Religion, but Subjects will not. If you are not, you must bethink your self how to answer that old Question.

—Sed quis custodiet ipsas
Custodes?—

To my having said, that prevailing without the assistance of Force, I thought was made use of as an Argument for the Truth of Christian Religion. You reply, that you hope I am mistaken, for sure this is a very bad Argument, That the Christian Religion, so contrary in the Nature of it, as well to Flesh and Blood, as to the Powers of

Darkness, should prevail as it did, and that not only without any assistance from Authority, but even in spite of all the Opposition which Authority and a wicked World, joyned with those infernal Powers, could make against it. This, I acknowledge, has deservedly been insisted upon by Christians as a very good Proof of their Religion. But to argue the Truth of the Christian Religion, from its mere prevailing in the World, without any Aid from Force, or the assistance of the Powers in being; as if whatever Religion should so prevail, must needs be the true Religion, (whatever may be intended) is really not to defend the Christian Religion, but to betray it. How you have mended the Argument by putting in mere, which is not any where used by me, I will not examine. The Question is, whether the Christian Religion, such as it was then, (for I know not any other Christian Religion) and is still contrary to the Flesh and Blood, and to the Powers of Darkness, prevail'd not without the assistance of human Force, by those aids it has still? This, I think, you will not deny to be an Argument used for its Truth by Christians, and some of our Church. How far any one in the use of this Argument pleases or displeases you, I am not concern'd. All the use I made of it was to shew, that it is confessed that the Christian Religion did prevail, without that human means of the coactive Power of the Magistrate, which you affirmed to be necessary; and this, I think, makes good the Experiment I brought. Nor will your seeking, your way, a Refuge, in Miracles, help you to evade it; as I have already shewn.

Pag. 6.

But you give a Reason for what you say, in these following Words; *For neither does the true Religion always prevail without the Assistance of the Powers in being; nor is that always the true Religion, which does so spread and prevail.* Those who use the Argument of its prevailing without Force, for the Truth of the Christian Religion, 'tis like will tell you, that, if it be true, as you say, that the Christian Religion (which at other times does) sometimes does not prevail without the Assistance of the Powers in being, it is, because when it fails, it wants the due Assistance and Diligence of the Ministers of it. *How shall they hear without a Preacher? How shall the Gospel be spread and prevail, if those who take on them to be the Ministers and Preachers of it, either neglect to teach it others as they ought, or confirm it not by their Lives? If therefore you will make this Argument of any use to you, you must shew, where it was, that the Ministers of the Gospel, doing their Duty by the Purity of their Lives, and their uninterrupted Labour, in being instant in season, and out of season, have not been able to make it prevail. An Instance of this, 'tis believed you will scarce find: And if this be the Case, that it fails not to prevail where those, whose Charge it is, neglect not to teach and spread it with that Care, Assiduity, and Application which they ought, you may hereafter know where to lay the blame; Not on the want of sufficient Light and Strength in the Gospel to prevail, (wherein methinks, you make very bold with it) but on the want of what the Apostle requires in the Ministers of it; some part whereof you may read in these words to Timothy; But thou, O Man of God, follow after Righteousness, Godliness, Faith, Love, Patience, Meekness: Give Attendance to Reading, to Exhortation, to Doctrine, preach the Word, be instant in season and out of season; reprove, rebuke, exhort, with all Long-suffering and Doctrine: And more to this purpose in his Epistles to Timothy and Titus.*

That the Christian Religion has prevail'd, and supported it self in the World now above these 1600 Years, you must grant, and that it has not been by Force is Demonstration. For wherever the Christian Religion prevail'd, it did it, as far as we know any thing of the means of its Propagation and Support, without the Help of that Force, moderate Force, which you say, is alone useful and necessary. So that if the Severities you condemn, be, as you confess, *apter to hinder than promote the Gospel*, and it has no where had the assistance of your moderate Penalties, it must follow, that it prevail'd without Force, only by its own Strength and Light, display'd and brought home to the Understandings and Hearts of the People, by the Preaching, Intreaties, and Exhortations of its Ministers. This at least you must grant, that Force can be by no means necessary to make the Gospel prevail any where, till the utmost has been tried that can be done by Argument and Exhortations, Prayers and Intreaties, and all the friendly ways of Persuasion.

As to the other part of your Assertion, *Nor is that always the true Religion that does so spread and prevail.* 'Tis like they will demand Instances of you, where false Religions ever prevail'd against the Gospel, without the assistance of Force on the one side; or the betraying of it by the Negligence and Carelessness of its Teachers,

on the other ? So that if the Gospel any where wants the Magistrate's Assistance, it is only to make the Ministers of it do their Duty. I have heard of those, and possibly there are Instances of it now not wanting, who by their pious Lives, peaceable and friendly Carriage, and diligent Application to the several Conditions and Capacities of their Parishioners, and screening them as much as they could from the Penalties of the Law, have in a short time scarce left a Dissenter in a Parish, where, notwithstanding the Force had been before used, they scarce found any other. But how far this has recommended such Ministers to those who ought to encourage or follow the Example, I with you would inform your self, and then tell me. But who sees not that a Justice of Peace's Warrant is a shorter, and much easier way for the Minister, than all this ado of Instruction, Debates, and particular Application. Whether it be also more Christian, or more effectual to make real Converts, others may be apt to enquire. This, I am sure, it is not justifiable (even by your very Principles) to be used till the other has been thoroughly tried.

How far our Saviour is like to approve of this Method in those whom he sends: what Reward he is like to bestow on Ministers of his Word, who are forward to bring their Brethren under such Correction; those who call themselves Successors of the Apostles, will do well to consider from what he himself says to them, *Luke 12. 42.* For that That was spoken particularly to the Apostles and Preachers of the Gospel, is evident not only from the Words themselves, but from *St. Peter's* Question. Our Saviour having in the foregoing Verses declared in a Parable, the Necessity of being watchful, *St. Peter*, ver. 41. asks him, *Lord, speakest thou this Parable unto us, or even to all?* To this Demand, our Saviour replies in these Words. *Who then is that faithful and wise Steward whom his Lord shall make Ruler over his Household, to give them their Portion of Meat in due Season? Blessed is that Servant whom the Lord, when he cometh, shall find so doing. Of a Truth, I say unto you, he will make him Ruler over all that he hath. But, and if that Servant say in his Heart, my Lord delayeth his coming; and shall begin to beat the Men-Servants, and Maidens, and to eat and drink, and to be drunken. The Lord of that Servant will come in a Day when he looketh not for him, and at an Hour when he is not aware; and will cut him in sunder, and will appoint him his Portion with Unbelievers, or with Hypocrites, as it is, Mat. 24. 51.*

But if there be any thing in the Argument for the Truth of Christianity, (as God forbid there should not) that it has, and consequently can prevail without Force, I think it can scarce be true in matter of Fact, that False Religions do also prevail against the Christian Religion, when they come upon equal Terms in Competition; and as much Diligence and Industry is used by the Teachers of it, as by Seducers to False Religions, the Magistrate using his Force on neither side. For if in this Case, which is the fair Trial, Christianity can prevail, and False Religions too, 'tis possible Contrarieties may prevail against one another both together. To make good therefore your Assertion, you must shew us, where ever any other Religion so spread and prevail'd, as to drive Christianity out of any Country without Force, where the Ministers of it did their Duty to teach, adorn and support it.

As to the following Words, *Nor is that always the true Religion which does so spread and prevail; as I doubt not but you will acknowledge with me, when you have but consider'd within how few Generations after the Flood, the Worship of False Gods prevail'd against that which Noah professed and taught his Children, which was undoubtedly the true Religion, almost to the utter Exclusion of it, (though that at first was the only Religion in the World) without any Aid from Force, or Assistance from the Powers in being.* This will need something more than a negative Proof, as we shall see by and by.

Where I say, "The Inventions of Men need the Force and Help of Men: A Religion that is from God, wants not the Assistance of human Authority. The first part of those Words you take no notice of; neither grant nor deny it to be so, though perhaps it will prove a great part of the Controversy between us.

To my Question, "Whether if such a Toleration as is propos'd by the Author of the First Letter, were establish'd in France, Spain, Italy, Portugal, &c. the true Religion would not be a gainer by it? You answer, That the true Religion would be a loser by it in those few Places where it is now establish'd as the National Religion; and particularly, you name England. It is then, it seems, by your way of moderate Force and lower Penalties, that in all Countries where it is National, the true Religion hath prevail'd and subsists. For the Controversy is between the Author's universal Toleration, and your new way of Force; for greater Degrees of Force, you condemn as

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hurtful. Say then that in *England*, and wherever the true Religion is National, it has been beholden to your Force for the Advantages and Support it has had, and I will yield you the Cause. But of National Religions, and particularly that of *England*, I have occasion to speak more in another place.

Pag. 9. In the next Place you answer, That you *suppose I do not hope I shall persuade the World to consent to my Toleration*. I think by your Logick, a Proposition is not less true or false, because the World will or will not be persuaded to consent to it. And therefore, though it will not consent to a general Toleration, it may nevertheless be true that it would be advantageous to the true Religion: and if no body must speak Truth till he thinks all the World will be persuaded by it, you must have a very good Opinion of your Oratory, or else you will have a very good Excuse to turn your Parsonage, when you have one, into a fine Cure. But though I have not so good an Opinion of my Gift of Persuasion, as perhaps you have of yours; yet I think I may without any great Presumption hope, that I may as soon persuade *England*, the *World*, or any Government in it, to consent to my Toleration, as you persuade it to content it self with moderate Penalties.

You farther answer, If such a Toleration, establish'd there, would permit the Doctrine of the Church of *England* to be truly preach'd, and its Worship set up in any Popish, Mahometan or Pagan Country, you think true Religion would be a Gainer by it for a time; but you think withal, that an universal Toleration would ruine it both there and every where else, in the end. You grant it then possible, notwithstanding the Corruption of human Nature, that the true Religion may gain some where, and for some time, by Toleration: It will gain under a new Toleration you think, but decay under an old one; Would you had told us the Reason why you think so. But you think there is great Reason to fear, that without God's extraordinary Providence, it would in a much shorter time, than any one, who does not well consider the Matter, will imagine, be most effectually extirpated by it throughout the World. If you have considered right, and the Matter be really so, it is Demonstration, that the Christian Religion, since Constantine's time, as well as the true Religion before Moses's time, must needs have been totally extinguish'd out of the World, and have so continued, unless by Miracle and immediate Revelation restor'd. For those Men, i. e. the Magistrates, upon whose being of the true Religion, the Preservation of it, according to you, depends, living all of them under a free Toleration, must needs lose the true Religion effectually and speedily, from among them; and they quitting the true Religion, the Assistance of Force, which should support it against a general Defection, be utterly lost.

Pag. 5. The Princes of the World are, I suppose, as well infected with the depraved Nature of Man, as the rest of their Brethren. These, whether 100 or 1000, suppose they lived together in one Society, wherein, with the true Religion, there were a free Toleration, and no Coactive Power of the Magistrate employed about Matters of Religion, would the true Religion be soon extirpated amongst them? If you say it would not, you must grant Toleration not to be so destructive of the true Religion, as you say; or you must think them of another Race, than the rest of corrupt Men, and free from that general Taint. If you grant that the true Religion would be quickly extirpated amongst them, by Toleration, living together in one Society, the same will happen to them, living as Princes, where they are free from all coactive Power of the Magistrate in Matters of Religion, and have as large a Toleration as can be imagin'd. Unless you will say, that depraved human Nature works less in a Prince than a Subject; and is most tame, most mortified, where it has most Liberty and Temptation. Must not then, if your Maxim be true, Toleration quickly deprive the few Orthodox Princes that are in the World (take it when you will) of the true Religion; and with them, take away the Assistance of Authority, which is necessary to support it amongst their Subjects? Toleration then does not, whatever your Fears are, make that woful wrack on true Religion which you talk of.

I shall give you another Evidence of it, and then come to examine your great Reason taken from the Corruption of human Nature, and the Instance you so often repeat, and build so much on, the Apostacy after the Flood. Toleration, you say, would quickly, and effectually extirpate the true Religion throughout the World. What now is the Means to preserve true Religion in the World? If you may be believed, 'tis Force, but not all Force, great Severities, Fire, Faggot, Imprisonment, Loss of Estate, &c. These will do more harm than good; 'tis only lower and moderate Penalties, some tolerable Inconveniences, can do the Business. If then moderate Force hath not been all along,

along, no, nor any where, made use of for the Preservation of the true Religion, the Maintenance and Support of the true Religion in the World, has not been owing to what you oppose to Toleration: And so your Argument against Toleration is out of Doors.

You give us in this and the foregoing Pages, the Grounds of your Fear, It is the Corruption of human Nature which opposes the true Religion. You express it thus, *Idolatry prevailing against it [the true Religion] not by its own Light and Strength, for it could have nothing of either, but merely by the Advantage it had in the Corruption and Pravity of human Nature, finding out to it self more agreeable Religions than the true.* For, say you, whatever Hardships some False Religions may impose, it will however, always be easier to carnal and worldly-minded Men, to give even their First-born for their Transgressions, than to mortify their Lusts from which they spring, which no Religion but the true, requires of them. I wonder, saying this, how you could any longer mistake the Magistrate's Duty, in reference to Religion, and not see wherein Force truly can and ought to be serviceable to it. What you have said, plainly shews you, that the Assistance the Magistrate's Authority can give to the true Religion, is in the subduing of Lusts, and its being directed against Pride, Injustice, Rapine, Luxury and Debauchery, and those other Immoralities which come properly under his Cognisance, and may be corrected by Punishments; and not by the imposing of Creeds and Ceremonies, as you tell us. Sound and Decent, you might have left out, whereof their Fancies, and not the Law of God, will always be Judge, and consequently the Rule. Pag. 7.

The Case between the true and false Religions, as you have stated it, in short, sounds thus, *True Religion has always Light and Strength of its own, sufficient to prevail with all that seriously consider it, and without Prejudice.* Idolatry, or False Religions have nothing of Light or Strength to prevail with. Why then does not the true Religion prevail against the false, having so much the Advantage in Light and Strength? The Counter-balance of Prejudice hinders. And wherein does that consist? The Drunkard must part with his Cups and Companions, and the voluptuous Man with his Pleasures. The Proud and Vain must lay by all Excess in Apparel, Furniture and Attendance; and Money, the support of all these, must be got only by the ways of Justice, Honesty, and fair Industry: And every one must live peaceably, uprightly, and friendly with his Neighbour. Here then the Magistrate's Assistance is wanting: Here they may and ought to interpose their Power, and by Severities, against Drunkenness, Lasciviousness, and all sorts of Debauchery; by a steady and unrelaxed Punishment of all the ways of Fraud and Injustice; and by their Administration, Countenance, and Example, reduce the Irregularities of Mens Manners into Order, and bring Sobriety, Peaceableness, Industry and Honesty into Fashion. This is their proper Business every where; and for this they have a Commission from God, both by the Light of Nature and Revelation; and by this, removing the great Counterpoise, which lies in strictness of Life, and is so strong a Bias, with the greatest part, against the true Religion, they would cast the Balance on that side. For if Men were forced by the Magistrate to live sober, honest and strict Lives, whatever their Religion were, would not the Advantage be on the side of Truth, when the gratifying of their Lusts were not to be obtained by forsaking her? In Mens Lives lies the main Obstacle to right Opinions in Religion: and if you will not believe me, yet what a very rational Man of the Church of England says in the Case, will deserve to be remembered. *Did Religion bestow Heaven, without any Forms and Conditions, indifferently upon all; If the Crown of Life was Hereditary, and free to good and bad, and not settled by Covenant upon the Elect of God only, such as live soberly, righteously and godly in this present World; I believe there would be no such thing as an Infidel among us.* And without Controversy 'tis the way and means of attaining to Heaven, that makes profane Scoffers so willing to let go the Expectation of it. 'Tis not the Articles of the Creed, but their Duty to God and their Neighbour, that is such an inconsistent incredible Legend. They will not practise the Rules of Religion, and therefore they cannot believe the Doctrines of it. The ingenious Author will pardon me the change of one Word, which I doubt not but suits his Opinion, though it did not so well that Argument he was then on. *You grant the true Religion has always Light, and Strength to prevail; false Religions have neither.* Take away the Satisfaction of Mens Lusts, and which then, I pray, hath the Advantage? Will Men, against the Light of their Reason, do Violence to their Understandings, and forsake Truth, and Salvation too, gratis? You tell us here,

Bentley's
Sermon of
the Folly of
Atheism.
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here, *No Religion but the true requires of Men the difficult Task of mortifying their Lusts.* This being granted you, what Service will this do you to prove a necessity of Force to punish all Dissenters in *England*? Do none of their Religions require the mortifying of Lusts as well as yours?

Pag. 7.
Pag. 10.
Pag. 6.
And now, let us consider your Instance whereon you build so much, that we hear of it over and over again. For you tell us. *Idolatry prevail'd, but yet not by the Help of Force, as has been sufficiently shewn.* And again, *That Truth left to shift for her self, will not do well enough, has been sufficiently shewn.* What you have done to shew this, is to be seen, where you tell us, *Within how few Generations after the Flood, the Worship of false Gods prevail'd against the Religion which Noah professed, and taught his Children, (which was undoubtedly the true Religion) almost to the utter Exclusion of it, (though that at first was the only Religion in the World) without any Aid from Force, or the Assistance of the Powers in being, for any thing we find in the History of those Times, as we may reasonably believe, considering that it found an Entrance into the World, and Entertainment in it, when it could have no such Aid, or Assistance.* Of which (besides the Corruption of Human Nature) you suppose there can no other Cause be assigned, or none more probable than this, that the Powers then in being, did not do what they might and ought to have done, towards the preventing or checking that horrible Apostacy. Here you tell us, that the *Worship of false Gods, within a very few Generations after the Flood, prevail'd against the true Religion, almost to the utter Exclusion of it.* This you say indeed, but without any Proofs; and unless that be shewing, you have not, as you pretend, any way shewn it. Out of what Records, I beseech you, have you it, that the true Religion was almost wholly extirpated out of the World, within a few Generations after the Flood? The Scripture, the largest History we have of those Times, says nothing of it; nor does, as I remember, mention any as guilty of Idolatry, within 2 or 300 Years after the Flood. In *Canaan* it self, I do not think that you can out of any credible History shew, that there was any Idolatry within ten or twelve Generations after *Noah*; much less that it had so overspread the World, and extirpated the true Religion, out of that part of it, where the Scene lay of those Actions recorded in the History of the Bible. In *Abraham's* time, *Melchisedeck* who was King of *Salem*, was also the Priest of the most High God. We read that God, with an immediate Hand, punish'd miraculously, first Mankind, at the Confusion of *Babel*, and afterward *Sodom*, and four other Cities; but in neither of these Places is there any the least mention of Idolatry, by which they provoked God, and drew down Vengeance on themselves. So that truly you have shewn nothing at all, and what the Scripture shews is against you. For besides, that it is plain by *Melchisedeck* the King of *Salem*, and Priest of the most High God, to whom *Abraham* paid Tithes, that all the Land of *Canaan* was not yet overspread with Idolatry, though afterwards in the time of *Joshua*, by the Forfeiture was therefore made of it to the *Israelites*, one may have reason to suspect it were more defiled with it, than any part of the World. Besides *Salem*, I say, he that reads the Story of *Abimelech*, will have reason to think, that he also and his Kingdom, though *Philistines*, were not then infected with Idolatry.

Gcn. 20,
21, 26.

You think they, and almost all Mankind were Idolaters, but you may be mistaken; and that which may serve to shew it, is the Example of *Elijah* the Prophet, who was at least as infallible a Gueffer as you, and was as well instructed in the State and History of his own Country, and Time, as you can be in the State of the whole World three or four thousand Years ago. *Elijah* thought that Idolatry had wholly extirpated the true Religion out of *Israel*, and complains thus to God. *The Children of Israel have forsaken thy Covenant, thrown down thy Altars, and slain thy Prophets with the Sword: and I, even I alone, am left, and they seek my Life to take it away.* And he is so fully persuaded of it, that he repeats it again: And yet God tells him, that he had there yet 7000 Knees that had not bowed to *Baal*, 7000 that were not Idolaters: though this was in the Reign of *Ahab*, a King zealous for Idolatry; and in a Kingdom set up in an idolatrous Worship, which had continued the national Religion, established and promoted by the continued Succession of several idolatrous Princes. And though the national Religions soon after the Flood were false, which you are far enough from proving; how does it thence follow, that the true Religion was near extirpated? which it must needs quite have been, before *St. Peter's* time; if there were so great reason to fear, as you tell us, That the true Religion, without the Assistance of Force, would in a much shorter time, than any one that does not well consider the matter would imagine, be most effectually extirpated

1 Kings
19. 10.
Ver. 14.

Pag. 9.

pated throughout the World. For about 2000 Years after Noah's time, St. Peter tells us, *That in every Nation, he that feareth God, and worketh Righteousness, is accepted by Acts 10. him.* By which words, and by the occasion on which they were spoken, it is manifest, 35. that in Countries where for 2000 Years together no Force had been used for the support of Noah's true Religion, it was not yet wholly extirpated. But that you may not think it was so near, that there was but one left, only *Cornelius*, if you will look into *Acts 17. 4.* you will find a great Multitude of them at *Thessalonica*, And of the Ver. 17. devout Greeks a great Multitude believed, and consorted with Paul and Silas. And again, more of them in *Athens*, a City wholly given to Idolatry. For that those *σεβεινοι* which we translate *devout*, and whereof many are mentioned in the *Acts*, were Gentiles, who worshipped the true God, and kept the Precepts of Noah, Mr. Mede has abundantly proved. So that whatsoever you, who have well considered the Matter, may imagine of the shortness of time, wherein Noah's Religion would be effectually extirpated throughout the World, without the Assistance of Force, we find it at *Athens*, at *Philippi*, at *Corinth*, amongst the *Romans*, in *Antioch of Pisidia*, in *Thessalonica*, above 2000 Years after, and that not so near being extinguish'd, but that in some of those Places the Professors of it were numerous: at *Thessalonica* they are call'd a great Multitude: at *Antioch* many: and how many of them there were in other parts of the World, whereof there was no occasion to make mention in that short History of the *Acts of the Apostles*, who knows? If they answered, in other Places, to what were found in these, as what Reason is there to suppose they should not? I think we may imagine them to be as many, as there were effectually of the true Religion Christians in *Europe*, a little before the Reformation, notwithstanding the Assistance the Christian Religion had from Authority, after the withdrawing of Miracles.

But you have a *Salvo*, for you write warily, and endeavour to save your self on all Hands; you say, *There is great Reason to fear, that without God's EXTRAORDINARY* Pag. 9. *PROVIDENCE, it would in a much shorter time, than any one, who does not well consider the Matter, would imagine, be most effectually extirpated by it, throughout the World.* 'Tis without doubt, the Providence of God which governs the Affairs both of the World and his Church; and to that, whether you call it Ordinary or Extraordinary, you may trust the Preservation of his Church, without the use of such Means, as he has no where appointed or authorized. You fancy Force necessary to preserve the true Religion, and hence you conclude the Magistrate authorized, without any farther Commission from God, to use it, if there be no other Means left; and therefore that must be used: If Religion should be preserved without it, it is by the Extraordinary Providence of God; where Extraordinary signifies nothing, but begging the thing in question. The true Religion has been preserved many Ages, in the Church, without Force. Ay, say you, that was by the Extraordinary Providence of God. His Providence which over-rules all Events, we easily grant it: But why Extraordinary Providence? because Force was necessary to preserve it. And why was Force necessary? because otherwise, without Extraordinary Providence, it cannot be preserv'd. In such Circles covered under good Words, but misapplied, one might shew you taking many a Turn in your Answer, if it were fit to waste others Time to trace your Wanderings. God has appointed Preaching, Teaching, Persuasion, Instruction, as a means to continue and propagate his true Religion in the World; and if it were any where preserved and propagated without that, we might call it his Extraordinary Providence; but the Means he has appointed being used, we may conclude, that Men have done their Duties, and so may leave it to his Providence, however we will call it, to preserve the little Flock (which he bids not to fear) to the end of the World.

But let us return again to what you say, to make good this Hypothesis of yours, That Idolatry entred first into the World by the Contrivance, and spread it self by the Endeavours of private Men, without the Assistance of the Magistrates, and those in Power. To prove this, you tell us, *That it found Entrance into the World, and Enter-* Pag. 6. *tainment in it, when it could have no such Aid or Assistance.* When was this, I beseech you, that Idolatry found this Entrance into the World? Under what King's Reign was it, that you are so positive it could have no such Aid or Assistance? If you had named the Time, the thing (though of no great Moment to you) had been sure. But now we may very justly question this bare Assertion of yours. For since we find, as far back as we have any History of it, that the great Men of the World were always forward to set up and promote Idolatry and false Religions, you ought to have given us some Reason why, without Authority from History, you affirm that Idolatry, at its entrance into the

the World, had not that Assistance from Men in Power, which it never fail'd of afterwards. Who they were that made *Israel* to sin, the Scripture tells us. Their Kings were so zealous Promoters of Idolatry, that there is scarce any one of them, that has not that Brand left upon him in Holy Writ.

One of the first false Religions, whose rise and way of propagating we have an account of in Sacred History, was by an ambitious Usurper, who, having rebell'd against his Master, with a false Title set up a false Religion, to secure his Power and Dominion. Why this might not have been done before *Jeroboam's* Days, and Idols set up at other Places, as well as at *Dan* and *Bethel*, to serve politick Ends, will need some other Proof, than barely saying, it *could not* be so at first. The Devil, unless much more ignorant, was not less busy in those Days to engage Princes in his Favour, and to weave Religion into Affairs of State, the better to introduce his Worship, and support Idolatry, by accommodating it to the Ambition, Vanity, or Superstition, of Men in Power: and therefore, you may as well say, that the *Corruption of human Nature*, as that the *assistance of the Powers in being*, did not, in those Days, help forward false Religions; because your Reading has furnish'd you with no particular mention of it out of History. But you need but say, that the *Worship of false Gods prevail'd without any Aid from Force, or the Assistance of the Powers in being, for any thing we find in the History of those times*, and then you have sufficiently shewn, what? even that you have just nothing to shew for your Assertion.

Pag. 6.

But whatever that *any thing* is, which you *find in History*, you may meet with Men (whose reading yet I will not compare with yours) who think they have found in History, that Princes, and those in Power, first corrupted the true Religion, by setting up the Images and Symbols of their Predecessors in their Temples; which, by their Influence, and the ready Obedience of the Priests they appointed, were in Succession of Time propos'd to the People as Objects of their Worship. Thus they think they *find in History* that *Isis*, Queen of *Egypt*, with her Counsellor *Thoth*, instituted the Funeral-Rites of King *Osiris*, by the Honour done to the sacred Ox. They think they *find also in History*, that the same *Thoth*, who was also King of *Egypt* in his turn, invented the Figures of the first *Egyptian* Gods, *Saturn*, *Dagon*, *Jupiter Hammon*, and the rest: that is, the Figures of their Statues or Idols; and that he instituted the Worship and Sacrifices of these Gods: And his Institutions were so well assisted by those in Authority, and observed by the Priests they set up, that the Worship of those Gods soon became the Religion of that, and a Pattern to other Nations. And here we may perhaps, with good reason, place the rise and original of Idolatry after the Flood, there being nothing of this kind more ancient. So ready was the Ambition, Vanity, or Superstition of Princes, to introduce their Predecessors into the Divine Worship of the People, to secure to themselves the greater Veneration from their Subjects, as descended from the Gods; or to erect such a Worship, and such a Priesthood, as might awe the blinded and seduced People into that Obedience they desired. Thus *Ham*, by the Authority of his Successors, the Rulers of *Egypt*, is first brought for the Honour of his Name and Memory into their Temples, and never left, till he is erected into a God, and made *Jupiter Hammon*, &c. which Fashion took afterwards with the Princes of other Countries.

Was not the great God of the Eastern Nations, *Baal*, or *Jupiter Belus*, one of the first Kings of *Assyria*? And which, I pray, is the more likely, that Courts, by their Instruments the Priests, should thus advance the Honour of Kings amongst the People for the Ends of Ambition and Power; or the People find out these refined ways of doing it, and introduce them into Courts for the enslaving themselves? What Idolatry does your History tell you of among the Greeks, before *Phoroneus* and *Danaus*, Kings of the *Argives*, and *Cecrops* and *Theseus* Kings of *Attica*, and *Cadmus* King of *Thebes* introduced it? An Art of Rule 'tis probable they borrowed from the *Egyptians*. So that if you had not vouch'd the Silence of History, without consulting it, you would possibly have found, that in the first Ages, Princes, by their Influence and Aid, by the Help and Artifice of the Priests they employ'd, their Fables of their Gods, their Mysteries and Oracles, and all the Assistance they could give it by their Authority, did so much against the Truth, before direct Force was grown into Fashion, and appear'd openly, that there would be little reason of putting the Guard and Propagation of the true Religion into their Hands now, and arming them with Force to promote it.

That

That this was the Original of Idolatry in the World, and that it was borrowed by other Magistrates from the *Egyptians*, is farther evident in that this Worship was settled in *Egypt*, and grown the national Religion there, before the Gods of *Greece*, and several other idolatrous Countries were born. For though they took their Pattern of deifying their deceased Princes, from the *Egyptians*, and kept, as near as they could, to the Number and Genealogies of the *Egyptian* Gods; yet they took the Names still of some great Men of their own, which they accommodated to the Mythology of the *Egyptians*. Thus, by the assistance of the Powers in being, Idolatry entred into the World after the Flood. Whereof, if there were not so clear Footsteps in History, why yet should you not imagine Princes and Magistrates, engaged in false Religions, as ready to employ their Power for the maintaining and promoting their false Religions in those Days, as we find them now? And therefore, what you say in the next Words, of the Entrance of Idolatry into the World, and the Entertainment it found in it, will not pass for so very evident, without Proof, though you tell us never so confidently, that you suppose, besides the Corruption of human Nature, there can no other Cause be assigned of it, or none more probable than this, That the Powers then in being, did not what they might and ought to have done, (i. e. if you mean it to your purpose, use Force your way, to make Men consider, or to impose Creeds and ways of Worship) towards the preventing or checking that horrible Apostacy. Pag. 6.

I grant that the entrance and growth of Idolatry, might be owing to the Negligence of the Powers in being, in that they did not do what they might and ought to have done, in using their Authority to suppress the Enormities of Mens Manners, and correct the Irregularity of their Lives. But this was not all the assistance they gave to that horrible Apostacy: They were, as far as History gives us any Light, the Promoters of it, and Leaders in it, and did what they ought not to have done, by setting up false Religions, and using their Authority to establish them, to serve their corrupt and ambitious Designs.

National Religions, establish'd by Authority, and enforced by the Powers in being, we hear of every where, as far back as we have any account of the rise and growth of the Religions of the World. Shew me any Place, within those few Generations, wherein you say the Apostacy prevail'd after the Flood, where the Magistrates, being of the true Religion, the Subjects by the Liberty of a Toleration, were led into false Religions, and then you will produce something against Liberty of Conscience. But to talk of that great Apostacy, as wholly owing to Toleration, when you cannot produce one Instance of Toleration then in the World, is to say what you please.

That the majority of Mankind were then, and always have been, by the Corruption and Pravity of human Nature, led away, and kept from embracing the true Religion, is past doubt. But whether this be owing to Toleration, in matters of Religion, is the Question. David describes an horrible Corruption and Apostacy in his time, so as to say, *There is none that doth good, no not one*; and yet I do not think Psal. 14. you will say, a Toleration then in that Kingdom was the Cause of it. If the greatest part cannot be ill without a Toleration, I am afraid you must be fain to find out a Toleration in every Country, and in all Ages of the World. For I think it is true, of all Times and Places, that the broad way, that leadeth to Destruction, has had most Travellers. I would be glad to know where it was that Force, your way apply'd, i. e. with Punishments only upon Non-conformists, ever prevail'd to bring the greater Number into the narrow way, that leads unto Life; which our Saviour tells us, there are few that find.

The Corruption of human Nature, you say, opposes the true Religion. I grant it you. There was also, say you, an horrible Apostacy after the Flood; let this also be granted you: and yet from hence it will not follow, that the true Religion cannot subsist and prevail in the World without the assistance of Force, your way apply'd, till you have shewn, that the false Religions, which were the Inventions of Men, grew up under Toleration, and not by the Encouragement and Assistance of the Powers in being.

How near soever therefore, the true Religion was to be extinguish'd within a few Generations after the Flood, (which whether more in Danger then, than in most Ages since, is more than you can shew.) This will be still the Question, whether the Liberty of Toleration, or the Authority of the Powers in being, contributed most to it? And whether there can be no other, nor more probable Cause assigned, than the

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want of Force; your way apply'd, I shall leave the Reader to judge. This I am sure, whatever Causes any one else shall assign, are as well proved as yours, if they offer them only as their Conjectures.

Not but that I think Men could run into false and foolish ways of Worship, without the Instigation or Assistance of human Authority; but the Powers of the World, as far as we have any History, having been always forward enough (*true Religion* as little serving Princes as private Mens *Lusts*) to take up wrong Religions, and as forward to employ their Authority to impose the Religion, good or bad, which they had once taken up; I can see no reason why the not using of Force, by the Princes of the World, should be assigned as the sole, or so much as the most *probable Cause* of propagating the false Religions of the World, or extirpating the true; or how you can so positively say, *Idolatry prevail'd without any assistance from the Powers in being.*

Since therefore History leads us to the Magistrates, as the Authors and Promoters of Idolatry in the World, to which we may suppose their not suppressing of Vice, joined as another Cause of the spreading of false Religions, you were best consider, whether you can still suppose there can no other Cause be assigned, of the prevailing of the Worship of false Gods, but the Magistrate's not interposing his Authority in matters of Religion. For that that cannot with any Probability at all be assigned as any Cause, I shall give you this farther reason. You impute the prevailing of false Religions to the *Corruption and Pravity of human Nature, left to itself, unbridled by Authority.* Now if Force, your way applied, does not at all *bridle the Corruption and Pravity of human Nature*, the Magistrate's not so interposing his Authority, cannot be assigned as any Cause at all of that Apostacy. So that let that Apostacy have what rise, and spread as far as you please, it will not make one jot for Force, your way applied, or shew that that can receive any assistance your way from Authority. For your use of Authority and Force, being only to bring Men to an outward Conformity to the national Religion, it leaves the *Corruption and Pravity of human Nature* as unbridled as before; as I have shewn elsewhere.

Pag. 7.

You tell us, *That it is not true, that the true Religion will prevail by its own Light and Strength, without Miracles, or the assistance of the Powers in being,* because of the *Corruption of human Nature.* And for this you give us an Instance in the *Apostacy* presently after the Flood. And you tell us, That without the assistance of Force it would presently be *extirpated* out of the World. If the Corruption of human Nature be so universal, and so strong, that, without the help of Force, the true Religion is too weak to stand it, and cannot at all prevail, without *Miracles or Force*; How come Men ever to be converted, in Countries where the national Religion is false? If you say by *extraordinary Providence*, what that amounts to, has been shewn. If you say this Corruption is so potent in all Men, as to oppose and prevail against the Gospel, not assisted by *Force or Miracles*, that is not true. If in most Men, so it is still, even where Force is used. For I desire you to name me a Country, where the greatest part are really and truly Christians, such as you confidently believe Christ, at the last Day, will own to be so. In *England* having, as you do, excluded all the Dissenters, (or else why would you have them punish'd, to bring them to embrace the true Religion?) you must, I fear, allow your self a great Latitude in thinking, if you think that the Corruption of human Nature, does not so far prevail, even amongst Conformists, as to make the Ignorance, and Lives, of great Numbers amongst them, such as sutes not at all with the *Spirit of true Christianity.* How great their Ignorance may be, in the more spiritual and elevated parts of the Christian Religion, may be guessed, by what the Reverend Bishop, before cited, says of it, in reference to a Rite of the Church; the most easy and obvious to be instructed in, and understood. His Words are, *In the common Management of that Holy Right [Confirmation] it is but too visible, that of those Multitudes that croud to it, the far greater part come merely as if they were to receive the Bishop's Blessing, without any Sense of the Vow made by them, and of their renewing their baptismal Engagements in it.* And if Origen were now alive, might he not find many in our Church, to whom these Words of his might be apply'd, *whose Faith signifies only thus much, and goes no farther than this, viz. that they come duly to the Church, and bow their Heads to the Priests, &c.* For it seems it was then the Fashion to bow to the Priest as it is now to the Altar. If therefore you say Force is necessary, because without it no Men will so consider as to embrace the true Religion, for the Salvation of their Souls, that I think it manifestly false.

Pastoral
Care, pag.
189.Orig.
Hom. in
Joh. IX.

false. If you say it is *necessary* to use such Means as will make the greatest part so embrace it, you must use some other means than Force, your way applied, for that does not so far work on the Majority. If you say it is *necessary*, because possibly it may work on some, which bare Preaching, and Persuasion, will not; I answer, If possibly your *moderate Punishments* may work on some, and therefore *they* are *necessary*, 'tis as possible, that greater Punishments may work on others, and therefore they are necessary, and so on to the utmost Severities.

That the Corruption of human Nature is every where spread, and that it works, Pag. 25. powerfully in the Children of Disobedience, who *received not the Love of the Truth, but had Pleasure in Unrighteousness*; and therefore God gives them up to believe a Lie, no Body, I think, will deny. But that this Corruption of human Nature works equally in all Men, or in all Ages; and so, that God will, or ever did, give up all Men, not restrained by Force, your way modified and applied, to believe a Lie, (as all false Religions are) that I yet see no reason to grant. Nor will this Instance of *Noah's Religion*, you so much rely on, ever persuade, till you have proved, that from those eight Men which brought the *true Religion* with them into the new World there were not eight thousand, or eighty thousand, which retain'd it in the World in the worst Times of the Apostacy. And Secondly, till you have proved, that the false Religions of the World prevail'd, without any Aid from Force, or the Assistance of the Powers in being. And Thirdly, That the decay of the true Religion was for want of Force, your *moderate Force*, neither of which you have at all proved, as, I think it manifest.

One Consideration more touching *Noah*, and his Religion, give me leave to suggest, and that is; if Force were so necessary for the support of the true Religion, as you make it, 'tis strange God, who gave him Precepts about other things, should never reveal this to him, nor any Body else, that I know. To this, you, who have confessed the *Scripture not to have given the Magistrate this Commission*, must say, that it is plain enough in the Commission that he has from the *Law of Nature*, and so needed not any Revelation, to instruct the Magistrate in the Right he has to use Force. I confess the Magistrates have used Force in Matters of Religion, and have been as confidently and constantly put upon it by their Priests, as if they had as clear a Commission from Heaven, as *St. Peter* had to preach the Gospel to the *Gentiles*. But yet 'tis plain, notwithstanding that Commission from the *Law of Nature*, there needs some farther Instruction from Revelation, since it does not appear, that they have found out the right use of Force, such as the true Religion requires for its Preservation; and though you have after several thousands of Years, at last, discovered it, yet it is very imperfectly, you not being able to tell, if a Law were now to be made against those who have not *consider'd as they ought*, what are those *moderate Penalties* which are to be employ'd against them, though yet without that all the rest signifies nothing. But however doubtful you are in this, I am glad to find you so direct, in putting Mens rejecting the true Religion, upon the Difficulty Pag. 7. they have to *mortify their Lusts, which the true Religion requires of them*, and I desire you to remember it in other places, where I have occasion to mind you of it.

To conclude, That we may see the great Advantage your Cause will receive from that Instance, you so much rely on, of the *Apostacy* after the Flood; I shall oppose another to it. You say, That *Idolatry prevail'd in the World, in a few Generations*, Pag. 6. *almost to the utter Exclusion of the true Religion, without any Aid from Force, or Assistance of the Powers in being*, by reason of Toleration. And therefore, you think there is great Pag. 9. reason to fear, that the true Religion would, by Toleration, quickly be most effectually extirpated throughout the World. And I say, that after *Christianity was received for the Religion of the Empire*, and whilst Political Laws, and Force, interposed in it, an horrible Apostacy prevail'd, to almost the utter Exclusion of true Religion, and a general introducing of Idolatry. And therefore I think there is great reason to fear more harm than good, from the use of Force in Religion. Medes Disc: 30. p. 194. of the late Times.

This I think as good an Argument against, as yours for Force, and something better; since what you build on is only presum'd by you, not proved from History: whereas the matter of Fact here is well known, not will you deny it, when you consider the State of Religion in Christendom under the Assistance of that Force, which you tell us, succeeded and supplied the place of withdrawn Miracles, which in your Opinion, are so necessary in the absence of Force, that you make that the reason of their continuance; and tell us, they were continued till Force could be had; not so Pag. 37. much for evincing the Truth of Christian Religion, as to supply the want of the Magistrate's Assistance.

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Assistance. So that whenever Force fail'd, there, according to your Hypothesis, are Miracles to supply it want; for without one of them, the true Religion (if we may believe you) will soon be *utterly extirpated*; and what Force, in the absence of Miracles, produced in Christendom several Ages before the Reformation, is so well known, that it will be hard to find what Service your way of arguing will do any but the Romish Religion.

But to take your Argument in its full Latitude, you say, but you say it without Book, that there was once a Toleration in the World to the *almost utter Extirpation* of the true Religion; and I say to you, that as far as Records authorize either Opinion, we may say Force has been always used in Matters of Religion, to the great Prejudice of the true Religion, and the Professors of it. And there not being an Age wherein you can shew me, upon a fair Trial of an establish'd National Toleration, that the true Religion was *extirpated*, or endangered, so much as you pretend by it: Whereas there is no Age (whereof we have sufficient History to judge of this Matter) wherein it will not be easy to find that the true Religion, and its Followers, suffered by Force, you will in vain endeavour, by Instances, to prove the ill Effects, or usefulness of Toleration, such as the Author proposed, which I challenge you to shew me was ever set up in the World, or that the true Religion suffer'd by it; and 'tis to the want of it, the Restraints and Disadvantages the true Religion has laboured under, and its so little spreading in the World will justly be imputed; until, from better Experiments, you have something to say against it.

1 Cor. 1.
26.

Our Saviour has promised that he will build his Church on this fundamental Truth, That he is *Christ the Son of God*; so that *the Gates of Hell shall not prevail against it*: And this I believe, though you tell us the true Religion is not able to subsist without the Assistance of Force, when Miracles cease. I do not remember that our Saviour any where promises any other Assistance but that of his Spirit, or gives his little Flock any Encouragement to expect much Countenance or Help from the great Men of the World, or the Coercive Power of the Magistrates, nor any where authorizes them to use it for the support of his Church; *Not many wise Men after the Flesh; not many mighty, not many noble*, is the Style of the Gospel; and I believe will be found to belong to all Ages of the Church Militant, past and to come, as well as to the first: For God, as St. Paul tells us, has chosen the *foolish things of the World to confound the wise, and the weak things of the World to confound the Mighty*; and this not only till Miracles ceased, but ever since. To be *hated for Christ's Name Sake*, and by much *Tribulation to enter into the Kingdom of Heaven*, has been the general and constant Lot of the People of God, as well as it seems to be the current Strain of the New Testament; which promises nothing of secular Power or Greatness; says nothing of *Kings being nursing Fathers, or Queens nursing Mothers*: which Prophecy, whatever Meaning it have, 'tis like our Saviour would not have omitted to support his Church with some Hopes and Assurance of such Assistance, if it were to have any Accomplishment before his second Coming; when *Israel shall come in again, and with the Gentiles make up the fulness of his glorious Kingdom*. But the Tenor of the New Testament is, *All that will live Godly in Jesus Christ, shall suffer Persecution*, 2 Tim. 3.

A. P. 7.

In your Argument consider'd, you tell us, *That no Man can fail of finding the way of Salvation that seeks it as he ought*. In my Answer, I take notice to you, that the places of Scripture you cite to prove it, point out this way of *seeking as we ought*, to be a good Life; as particularly that of St. John, *If any one will do his Will, he shall know of the Doctrine whether it be of God*: upon which I use these Words. "So that these

L. 2. p. 261.

"places, if they prove what you cite them for, *That no Man can fail of finding the way of Salvation, who seeks it as he ought*; they do also prove, that a good Life is the only way to seek as we ought; and that therefore, the Magistrates, if they would put Men upon *seeking the way of Salvation as they ought*, should by their Laws and Penalties force them to a good Life; a good Conversation being the surest and readiest way to a right Understanding. And that if Magistrates will severely and impartially set themselves against Vice, in whomsoever it is found, True Religion will be spread wider — than ever hitherto it has been by the Imposition of *Creeds and Ceremonies*. To this you reply, *Whether the Magistrates setting themselves severely and impartially against what you suppose I call Vice, or the Imposition of sound Creeds and decent Ceremonies, does more conduce to the spreading the true Religion, and rendering it fruitful in the Lives of its professors, we need not examine*; you confess, you think, both together do best; and this, you think, is as much as needs be said to that Paragraph. If it

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it had been put to you, Whether a good Living, or a good Prebend would more conduce to the enlarging your Fortune, I think it would be allow'd you as no improper or unlikely Answer, what you say here, *I think both together would do best*; but here the Case is otherwise, your Thinking determines not the Point: and other People of equal Authority, may, and I will answer for it, do think otherwise: but because I pretend to no Authority, I will give you a Reason, why your Thinking is insufficient. You tell us, That *Force is not a fit Means, where it is not necessary as well as useful*; and you prove it to be *necessary*, because there is *no other Means left*. Now if the Severity of the Magistrate, against what I call *Vice*, will, as you will not deny, promote a good Life, and that be the right way to seek the Truths of Religion, here is another Means besides imposing of *Creeds* and *Ceremonies*, to promote true Religion; and therefore your Argument for its Necessity, because of *no other Means left*, being gone, you cannot say *both together are best*, when one of them being not necessary, is therefore, by your own Confession, not to be used.

I having said, That if such an *indirect* and *at a distance* Usefulness were sufficient to justify the Use of Force, the Magistrate might make his Subjects Eunuchs for the Kingdom of Heaven: You reply, That you suppose I will not say *Castration is necessary*, because you hope I acknowledge, that *Marriage*, and that *Grace which God denies to none, who seriously ask it, are sufficient for that Purpose*. And I hope you acknowledge, that *Preaching*, *Admonitions* and *Instructions*, and that *Grace which God denies to none who seriously ask it, are sufficient for Salvation*. So that by this Answer of yours, there being no more necessity of Force to make Men of the true Religion, than there is of Castration to make Men chaste; it will still remain that the Magistrate, when he thinks fit, may, upon your Principles, as well castrate Men to make them chaste, as use Force to make them embrace the Truth that must save them.

If Castration be not necessary, because *Marriage* and the *Grace of God is sufficient*, without it; nor will Force be necessary, because *Preaching*, and the *Grace of God is sufficient* without it; and this I think, by your own Rule, where you tell us, *where there are many useful Means, and some of them are sufficient without the rest, there is no necessity of using them all*. So that you must either quit your necessity of Force, or take in Castration too; which however, it might not go down with the untractable and desperately perverse and obstinate People in these Western Countries, yet is a Doctrine, you may hope, may meet with a better Reception in the Ottoman Empire, and recommend you to some of my Mahometans.

To my saying, "If what we are apt to think useful, were thence to be concluded so, we might be in danger to be obliged to believe the pretended Miracles of the Church of Rome, by your way of Reasoning; Unless we will say (that which without Impiety cannot be said) that the wise and benign Disposer and Governour of all things, does not use all useful Means for promoting his own Honour in the World, and the good of Souls. This, I think, will conclude as much for Miracles as for Force: You reply, You think it will not; For in the place I intend, you speak not of useful, but of competent, i. e. sufficient Means. Now competent, or sufficient Means are necessary; but you think no Man will say that all useful Means are so: And therefore though, as you affirm, it cannot be said without Impiety, that the wise and benign Disposer and Governor of all things has not furnish'd Mankind with competent Means for the promoting his own Honour in the World, and the Good of Souls; yet it is very agreeable with Piety, and with Truth too, to say that he does not now use all useful Means: Because as none of his Attributes obliges him to use more than sufficient Means; so he may use sufficient Means, without using all useful Means. For where there are many useful Means, and some of them are sufficient without the rest, there is no Necessity of using them all. So that from God's not using Miracles now, to promote the true Religion, I cannot conclude that he does not think them useful now, but only that he does not think them necessary. And therefore, though what we are apt to think useful, were thence to be concluded so; yet if whatever is useful, be not likewise to be concluded necessary, there is no reason to fear that we should be obliged to believe the Miracles pretended to by the Church of Rome. For if Miracles be not now necessary, there is no Inconvenience in thinking the Miracles pretended to by the Church of Rome, to be but pretended Miracles. To which I answer, Put it how you will, for competent Means, or useful Means, it will conclude for Miracles still as much as for Force. Your Words are these, If such a degree of outward Force, as has been mentioned, be really of great and necessary use for the advancing these Ends, as taking the World as we find it, you say, you think it appears to be; then it must be acknowledg'd there is a Right somewhere to use it for

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for the advancing those Ends; unless we will say (what without Impiety cannot be said) that the wise and benign Disposer of all things, has not furnish'd Mankind with competent Means for the promoting his own Honour in the World, and the Good of Souls. What, I beseech you, now is the Sum of this Argument, but this, Force is of great and necessary Use; therefore, the wise and benign Disposer of all things, who will not leave Mankind unfurnish'd (which it would be Impiety to say) of competent Means for the promoting his Honour in the World, and the Good of Souls, has given somewhere a Right to use it?

Let us try it now, whether it will not do as well for Miracles. Miracles are of great and necessary use, (as great and necessary at least as Force) therefore, the wise and benign Disposer of all things, who will not leave Mankind unfurnish'd (which it would be Impiety to say) of competent Means for the promoting his Honour in the World, and the good of Souls, has given somewhere a Power of Miracles. I ask you, when I in the Second Letter used your own Words, apply'd to Miracles instead of Force, would they not conclude then as well for Miracles as for Force. For you must remember there was not then in all your Scheme one Word of Miracles to supply the place of Force. Force alone was mention'd, Force alone was necessary, all was laid on Force. Nor was it easy to divine, that Miracles should be taken in, to mend the Defects of your Hypothesis, which in your Answer to me, you now have done, and I easily allow it, without holding you to any thing you have said, and shall always do so. For seeking Truth, and not Triumph, as you frequently suggest, I shall always take your Hypothesis as you please to reform it, and either embrace it, or shew you why I do not.

Let us see therefore, whether this Argument will do any better now your Scheme is mended, and you make Force or Miracles necessary. If Force or Miracles are of great and necessary use for the promoting true Religion, and the Salvation of Souls, then it must be acknowledg'd, that there is somewhere a right to use the one, or a Power to do the other, for the advancing those Ends; unless we will say (what without Impiety cannot be said) that the wise and benign Disposer and Governor of all things has not furnish'd Mankind with competent Means for the promoting his own Honour, and the Good of Souls. From whence it will follow, if your Argument be good, that where Men have not a right to use Force, there still we are to expect Miracles, unless we will say, &c. Now where the Magistrates are not of the true Religion, there by this part of your Scheme, there is a Right in no body to use Force; for if there were, what need of Miracles (as you tell us there was) in the first Ages of Christianity, to supply that Want? Since the Magistrates, who were of false Religions then, were furnish'd with as much Right, if that were enough, as they are now. So that where the Magistrates are of false Religions, there you must, upon your Principles, affirm Miracles are still to supply the want of Force; unless you will say (what without Impiety cannot be said) that the wise and benign Disposer and Governor of all things, hath not furnish'd Mankind with competent Means for the promoting his own Honour in the World, and the Good of Souls. Now how far this will favour the Pretences of the Church of Rome to Miracles in the East and West-Indies, and other parts not under Popish Governments, you were best consider. This is evident, that in all Countries where the true Religion is not received for the Religion of the State, and supported and encouraged by the Laws of it, you must allow Miracles to be as necessary now, as ever they were any where in the World, for the supply of the want of Force, before the Magistrates were Christians. And then what Advantage your Doctrine gives to the Church of Rome, is very visible. For they, like you, supposing theirs the one only true Religion, are supply'd by you with this Argument for it, viz. That the true Religion will not prevail by its own Light and Strength, without the assistance of Miracles or Authority. Which are the competent Means, which, without Impiety, it cannot be said, that the wise and benign Disposer and Governor of all things, has not furnish'd Mankind with. From whence they will not think it hard to draw this Consequence; that therefore the wise and benign Governor of all things, has continued in their Church the Power of Miracles (which yours does not so much as pretend to) to supply the want of the Magistrate's assistance, where that cannot be had to make the true Religion prevail. And if a Papist should press you with this Argument, I would gladly know what you would reply to him.

Though this be enough to make good what I said, yet since I seek Truth, more than my own Justification, let us examine a little, what 'tis you here say of competent

tent Means. Competent Means, you say, are necessary; but you think no Man will say, all useful Means are so. If you think you speak plain, clear determin'd Sense, when you used this good English Word *competent*, I pity you: If you did it with Skill, I send you to my Pagans and Mahometans. But this safe way of Talking, though it be not altogether so clear, yet it so often occurs in you, that 'tis hard to judge, whether it be Art or Nature. Now pray what do you mean by *Mankind's being furnish'd with competent Means*? If it be such Means as any are prevail'd on by to embrace the Truth that must save them, Preaching is a *competent Means*; for by Preaching alone, without Force, many are prevail'd on, and become truly Christians; and then your Force, by your own Confession, is not necessary. If by *competent*, you understand such Means by which all Men are prevail'd on, or the majority, to become truly Christians, I fear your Force is no *competent Means*. Pag. 25.

Which way ever you put it, you must acknowledge Mankind to be destitute of *competent Means*, or your moderate Force not to be that necessary *competent Means*: Since whatever Right the Magistrates may have had any where to use it, wherever it has not been used, (let the Cause be what it will that kept this Means from being used) there the People have been destitute of that Means.

But you will think there is little reason to complain of Obscurity, you having abundantly explain'd what you mean by *competent*, in saying, *competent*, i. e. *sufficient Means*. So that we have nothing to do but to find out what you mean by *sufficient*: and the meaning of that Word, in your use of it, you happily give us in these following, *What does any Man mean by sufficient Evidence, but such as will certainly win Assent wherever it is duly consider'd?* Apply this to your Means, and then tell me, whether your Force be such *competent*, i. e. *sufficient Means*, that it certainly produced embracing the Truth, wherever it was duly, i. e. your way apply'd; if it did not, 'tis plain it is not your *competent sufficient Means*, and so the World, without any such Imputation to the Divine Wisdom and Benignity, might be without it. If you will say it was *sufficient*, and did produce that End wherever it was apply'd, I desire you then to tell me whether Mankind hath been always furnish'd with *competent Means*. You have it now in your Choice, either to talk *impiously*, or renounce Force, and disown it to be *competent Means*; one of the two I do not see how, by your own Argument, you can avoid. Pag. 51.

But to lay by your *competent and sufficient Means*, and to ease you of the Uncertainty and Difficulty you will be in to determine what is so, in respect of Mankind; I suppose it will be little less *impious* to say, that the wise and benign Disposer and Governor hath not furnish'd Mankind with necessary Means, as to say he hath not furnish'd them with *competent Means*. Now, Sir, if your moderate Penalties, and nothing else, be, since the withdrawing of Miracles, this necessary Means, what will be left you to say, by your Argument, of the Wisdom and Benignity of God in all those Countries, where moderate Penalties are not made use of? where Men are not furnish'd with this Means to bring them to the true Religion? For unless you say, that your moderate Penalties have been constantly made use of in the World for the Support and Encouragement of the true Religion, and to bring Men to it, ever since the withdrawing of Miracles, you must confess, that not only some Countries, (which yet were enough against you) but Mankind in general, have been unfurnish'd of the necessary Means for the promoting the Honour of God in the World, and the Salvation of Mens Souls. This Argument out of your own Mouth (were there no other) is sufficient to shew the Weakness and Unreasonableness of your Scheme; and I hope the due Consideration of it will make you cautious another time, how you entitle the Wisdom and Benignity of God to the Support of what you once fancy to be of great and necessary Use.

I having thereupon said, "Let us not therefore be more wise than our Maker in L. 2. p. 268.
"that stupendous and supernatural Work of our Salvation, the Scripture, &c.

You reply, *Though the Work of our Salvation be, as I justly call it, stupendous and supernatural; yet you suppose no sober Man doubts, but it both admits, and ordinarily requires the Use of natural and human Means, in Subordination to that Grace which works it.* Pag. 35.

If you had taken notice of these immediately following Words of mine, "The Scripture that reveals it to us, contains all that we can know or do, in order to it; and where that is silent, 'tis Presumption in us to direct; You would not have thought what you here say a sufficient Answer: For though God does make use of

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of *natural and human Means* in *Subordination to Grace*, yet it is not for Man to make use of any Means, in *Subordination to his Grace*, which God has not appointed, out of a Conceit it may do *some Service indirectly and at a distance*.

The whole Covenant and Work of Grace, is the Contrivance of God's infinite Wisdom. What it is, and by what Means he will dispense his Grace, is known to us by Revelation only; which is so little suited to human *Wisdom*, that the Apostle calls it the *Foolishness of Preaching*. In the Scripture, is contain'd all that Revelation, and all things necessary for that Work, all the Means of *Grace*: There God has declared all what he would have done for the Salvation of Souls; and if he had thought Force necessary to be join'd with the *foolishness of Preaching*, no doubt but he would somewhere or other have reveal'd it, and not left it to the *Wisdom of Man*: which how disproportion'd and opposite it is to the Ways and Wisdom of God in the Gospel, and how unfit to be trusted in the Business of Salvation, you may see, 1 Cor. i. from v. 17, to the end.

The Work of Grace admits, and ordinarily requires the use of natural and human Means.
 Pag. 35. I deny it not: Let us now hear your Inference; *Therefore till I have shewn that no Penal Laws, that can be made, can do any Service towards the Salvation of Mens Souls in Subordination to God's Grace, or that God has forbidden the Magistrate to use Force*, (for so you ought to put it) but you rather chuse (according to your ordinary way) to use general and doubtful Words; and therefore you say, *To serve him in that great Work with the Authority which he has given him, there will be no occasion for the Caution I have given*, not to be wiser than our Maker in that stupendous Work of our Salvation. By which way of arguing, any thing that I cannot shew, cannot possibly, cannot *indirectly and at a distance*, or by Accident, do any Service, or God has not forbidden, may be made use of for the Salvation of Souls. I suppose you mean expressly *forbidden*, for else I might think these Words, [*who has required this at your Hands?*] a sufficient Prohibition of it. The Sum of your Argument is, what cannot be shew'd not to do any Service, may be used as an *human Means in Subordination to Grace*, in the Work of Salvation. To which I reply, That what may, through the Grace of God, sometimes do some Service, cannot, without a farther warrant from Revelation, than Usefulness, be *requir'd*, or made use of as a subordinate Means to Grace. For if so, then auricular Confession, Penance, Pilgrimages, Processions, &c. which no body can shew do not ever do any Service, at least, *indirectly and at a distance*, towards the Salvation of Souls, may all be justify'd.

'Tis not enough that it cannot be shewn that it cannot do any Service to justify its Usefulness; For what is there that may not, *indirectly and at a distance*, or by Accident, do some Service? To shew that it is an *human Means*, that God has no where appointed, in *Subordination to Grace*, in the supernatural Work of Salvation, is enough to prove it an unwarrantable Boldness to use it: And much more so in the present Case of Force, which, if put into the Magistrate's Hands with Power to use it in Matters of Religion, will do more harm than good; as I think I have sufficiently shewn.

And therefore, since according to you, the Magistrate's Commission, to use Force for the Salvation of Souls, is from the Law of Nature; which Commission reaches to none, since the Revelation of the Gospel, but Christian Magistrates; 'tis more natural to conclude, (were there nothing else in the Case but the Silence of Scripture) that the Christian Magistrate has no so such Power, because he has no such Commission any where in the Gospel, wherein all things are appointed necessary to Salvation; than that there was so clear a Commission given to all Magistrates by the Law of Nature, that it is necessary to shew a Prohibition from Revelation, if one will deny Christian Magistrates to have that Power. Since the Commission of the Law of Nature to Magistrates, being only that general one, of doing Good according to the best of their Judgments: if that extends to the use of Force in Matters of Religion, it will abundantly more oppose than promote the true Religion, if Force in the Case has any Efficacy at all, and so do more harm than good: Which though it shews not, (what you here demand) that it can not do any Service towards the Salvation of Mens Souls, for that cannot be shewn of any thing; yet it shews the Disservice it does, is so much more, than any Service can be expected from it, that it can never be proved, that God has given Power to Magistrates to use it by the Commission they have of doing Good, from the Law of Nature.

But whilst you tell me, *Till I have shewn that Force and Penalties cannot do any Service towards the Salvation of Souls, there will be no occasion for the Caution I gave you*,
 not

not to be wiser than our Maker in that stupendous and supernatural Work, you have forgot your own Confession, That it is not enough to authorize the use of Force, that it may be *useful*, if it be not also *necessary*. And when you can prove such Means necessary, which though it cannot be shewn, never upon any occasion, to do any Service; yet may be, and is abundantly shewn to do so little Service, and so uncertainly, that if it be used, it will, if it has any Efficacy, do more Harm than Good: If you can, I say, prove such a Means as that *necessary*, I think I may yield you the Cause. But the use of it has so much certain Harm, and so little and uncertain Good in it, that it can never be suppos'd included or intended in the general Commission to the Magistrates, of doing good: Which may serve for an Answer to your next Paragraph.

Only let me take notice, that you here make this Commission of the Law of Nature to extend the Use of Force, only to induce those, who would not otherwise, to hear what may and ought to move them to embrace the Truth. They have heard all that is offered to move them to embrace, i. e. believe, but are not moved: Is the Magistrate by the Law of Nature commission'd to punish them for what is not in their Power? for Faith is the Gift of God, and not in a Man's Power: Or is the Magistrate commission'd by the Law of Nature, which impowers him in general, only to do them good? Is he, I say, commission'd to make them lie, and profess that which they do not believe? And is this for their good? If he punish them till they embrace, i. e. believe, he punishes them for what is not in their Power; if till they embrace, i. e. barely profess, he punishes them for what is not for their good: To neither of which, can he be commission'd by the Law of Nature.

To my saying, Till you can shew us a Commission in Scripture, it will be fit for us to obey that Precept of the Gospel, *Mark 4. 24.* which bids us *take heed what we hear*. You reply, That this you suppose is only intended for the vulgar Reader; For it ought to be render'd, *Attend to what you hear*; which you prove out of *Grotius*. What if I or my Readers are not so learned, as to understand either the Greek Original, or *Grotius's* Latin Comment? Or if we did, are we to be blamed for understanding the Scripture in that Sense, which the National, i. e. (as you say) the true Religion authorizes, and which you tell us, would be a Fault in us if we did not believe?

For if, as you suppose, there be sufficient Provision made in *England* for instructing all Men in the Truth, we cannot then but take the Words in this Sense, it being that which the Publick Authority has given them; for if we are not to follow the Sense as it is given us in the Translation authorized by our Governors, and used by our Worship establish'd by Law, but most seek it elsewhere, 'twill be hard to find, how there is any other Provision made for instructing Men in the Sense of the Scripture, which is the Truth that must save them, but to leave them to their own Enquiry and Judgment, and to themselves, to take whom they think best for Interpreters and Expounders of Scripture, and to quit that of the true Church, which she has given in her Translation. This is the Liberty you take to differ from the true Church, when you think fit, and it will serve your Purpose. She says, *take heed what you hear*; but you say, *the true Sense is, Attend to what you hear*. Methinks you should not be at such variance with Dissenters; for after all, nothing is so like a Nonconformist as a Conformist. Though it be certainly every one's Right to understand the Scripture in that Sense which appears truest to him, yet I do not see how you, upon your Principles, can depart from that which the Church of *England* has given it: But you, I find, when you think fit, take that Liberty; and so much Liberty as that, would, I think, satisfy all the Dissenters in *England*.

As to your other place of Scripture; if *St. Paul*, as it seems to me in that 10th to the *Romans*, were shewing that the Gentiles were provided with all things necessary to Salvation, as well as the Jews; and that by having Men sent to them to preach the Gospel, that Provision was made, what you say in the two next Paragraphs will shew us, that you understand, that the Greek Word *ἀκούω*, signifies both *Hearing* and *Report*, but does no more answer the Force of those two Verses, against you, than if you had spared all you said with your Greek Criticism. The Words of *St. Paul* are *Rom. 10.* these; *How then shall they call on him on whom they have not believed? And how shall they believe in him of whom they have not heard? And how shall they hear without a Preacher? And how shall they preach, except they be sent? So then Faith cometh by Hearing, and Hearing by the Word of God.* In this Deduction of the means of propagating the Gospel, we may well suppose *St. Paul* would have put in *Miracles* or *Penalties*, if, as you say, one of them had been necessary. But whether or no every

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Reader will think St. Paul set down in that place all necessary Means, I know not; but this, I am confident, he will think, that the New Testament does; and then I ask, Whether there be in it one Word of Force to be used to bring Men to be Christians, or to hearken to the good Tidings of Salvation, offer'd in the Gospel?

Pag. 38. To my asking, "What if God, for Reasons best known to himself, would not have Men compell'd? You answer, *If he would not have them compell'd now Miracles are ceased, as far as moderate Penalties compel, (otherwise you are not concern'd in the Demand) he would have told us so.* Concerning Miracles supplying the want of Force, I shall need to say nothing more here but to your Answer, That God would have told us so. I shall in few Words state the Matter to you. You first suppose Force necessary to compel Men to hear, and thereupon suppose the Magistrate invested with a Power to compel them to hear, and from thence peremptorily declare, that if God would not have Force used, he would have told us so. You suppose also, that it must be only moderate Force. Now may we not ask one, that is so far of the Council of the Almighty, that he can positively say what he would or would not have, to tell us, whether it be not as probable that God, who knows the Temper of Man that he has made, who knows how apt he is not to spare any Degree of Force when he believes he has a Commission to compel Men to do any thing in their Power, and who knows also how prone Man is to think it reasonable to do so: whether, I say, it is not as probable that God, if he would have the Magistrate to use none but moderate Force to compel Men to hear, would also have told us so? Fathers are not more apt than Magistrates to strain their Power beyond what is convenient for the Education of their Children; and yet it has pleased God to tell them in the New-Testament, of this Moderation, by a Precept more than once repeated.

Pag. 38. To my demanding, "What if God would have Men left to their Freedom in this Point; if they will hear, or if they will forbear, will you constrain them? Thus we are sure he did with his own People, &c. You answer, *But those words, whether they will hear, or whether they will forbear, which we find thrice used in the Prophet Ezekiel, are nothing at all to my Purpose.* For by Hearing there, no Man understands the bare giving an Ear to what was to be preach'd, nor yet the considering it only; but the complying with it, and obeying it, according to the Paraphrase which Grotius gives of the words. Methinks, for this once, you might have allow'd me to have hit upon something to the Purpose, you have deny'd me it in so many other Places: If it were but for Pity, and one other Reason; which is, that all you have to say against it, is, that by Hearing there, no Man understands the bare giving an Ear to what was to be preach'd, nor yet the considering it, but the complying with it, and obeying it. If I misremember not, your Hypothesis pretends the use of Force to be not barely to make Men give an Ear, nor yet to consider, but to make them consider as they ought, i. e. so as not to reject; and therefore, though this Text out of Ezekiel, be nothing to the purpose against bare giving an Ear, yet if you please, let it stand as if it were to the Purpose against your Hypothesis, till you can find some other Answer to it.

If you will give your self the Pains to turn to Acts 28. 24,---28. you will read these Words, *And some believed the things that were spoken, and some believed not. And when they agreed not among themselves they departed, after that Paul had spoken one word; Well spake the Holy Ghost by Esaias the Prophet, unto our Fathers, saying, Go unto this People, and say, Hearing, ye shall hear, and shall not understand; and Seeing, ye shall see, and not perceive. For the Heart of this People is waxed gross, and their Ears are dull of hearing, and their Eyes have they closed; lest they should see with their Eyes, and hear with their Ears, and understand with their Heart, and should be converted, and I should heal them. Be it known therefore unto you, that the Salvation of God is sent unto the Gentiles, and that they will hear it.*

A. p. 7, &c. If one should come now, and out of your Treatise, call'd *The Argument of the Letter concerning Toleration* consider'd and answer'd, reason thus, It is evident that these Jews have not sought the Truth in this Matter, with that Application of Mind, and Freedom of Judgment which was requisite, whilst they suffer'd their Lusts and Passions to sit in Judgment, and manage the Enquiry. The Impressions of Education, the Reverence and Admiration of Persons, worldly Respects, and the like incompetent Motives, have determin'd them. Now if this be the Case; if these Men are averse to a due Consideration of things, where they are most concern'd to use it, WHAT MEANS IS THERE LEFT (besides the Grace of God) to reduce them out of the wrong way they are in, but to lay Thorns and Briars in it? Would you not think this a good Argument to shew

shew the Necessity of using Force and Penalties upon these Men in the *Acts*, who refused to be brought to embrace the true Religion upon the Preaching of St. Paul? For what other Means was left, what human Method could be used to bring them to make a wiser and more rational Choice, but laying such Penalties upon them as might balance the weight of such Prejudices, which inclin'd them to prefer a false way before the true? Tell me, I beseech you, would you not (had you been a Christian Magistrate in those Days) have thought your self obliged to try, by Force, to over-balance the weight of those Prejudices which inclin'd them to prefer a false way to the true? For there was no other human Means left; and if that be not enough to prove the Necessity of using it, you have no Proof of any Necessity of Force at all. Pag. 11.

If you would have laid Penalties upon them, I ask you, what if God, for Reasons best known to himself, thought it not necessary to use any other human Means but Preaching and Persuasion? You have a ready Answer, There is no other human Means but Force, and some other human Means besides Preaching, is necessary, i. e. in your Opinion: and is it not fit your Authority should carry it? For as to Miracles, whether you think fit to rank them amongst human Means or no; or whether or no there were any shew'd to these unbelieving Jews, to supply the want of Force, I guess, in this Case, you will not be much help'd, which ever you suppose: Tho' to one unbiass'd, who reads that Chapter, it will, I imagine, appear most probable that St. Paul, when he thus parted with them, had done no Miracles amongst them.

But you have, at the Close of the Paragraph before us, provided a *Salvo* for all, in telling us, *However the Penalties you defend, are not such as can any way be pretended to take away Mens Freedom in this Point.* The Question is, Whether there be a Necessity of using other human Means but Preaching, for the bringing Men to embrace the Truth that must save them; and whether Force be it? God himself seems, in the Places quoted, and others, to teach us that he would have Men left to their Freedom from any Constraint of Force in that Point; and you answer, *The Penalties you defend are not such as can any ways be pretended to take away Mens Freedom in this Point.* Tell us what you mean by these Words of yours, *take away Mens Freedom in this Point*; and then apply it. I think it pretty hard to use Penalties and Force to any Man, without taking away his Freedom from Penalties and Force. Farther, the Penalties you think necessary, if we may believe you your self, are to be such as may balance the weight of those Prejudices, which incline Men to prefer a false way before a true: Whether these be such as you will defend, is another Question. This, I think, is to be made plain, that you must go beyond the lower Degrees of Force, and moderate Penalties, to balance these Prejudices. A. p. 11.

To my saying, "That the Method of the Gospel is to pray and beseech, and that if God had thought it necessary to have Men punish'd to make them give Ear, he could have called Magistrates to be Spreaders of the Gospel, as well as poor Fishermen, or Paul a Persecutor, who yet wanted not Power to punish Ananias and Saphira, and the incestuous Corinthian. You reply, *Though it be the Method of the Gospel, for the Ministers of it to pray and beseech Men; yet it appears from my own Words here, both that Punishments may be sometimes necessary; and that Punishing, and that even by those who are to pray and beseech, is consistent with that Method.* I fear, Sir, you so greedily lay hold upon any Examples of Punishment, when on any Account they come in your way, that you give your self not Liberty to consider whether they are for your Purpose or no; or else you would scarce infer, as you do from my Words, that, in your Case, *Punishments may be sometimes necessary.* Ananias and Saphira were punished; therefore it appears, say you, that *Punishments may be sometimes necessary.* For what, I beseech you? For the only End, you say, Punishments are useful in Religion, i. e. to make Men consider. So that Ananias and Saphira were struck dead: For what End? To make them consider. If you had given your self the leisure to have reflected on this, and the other Instance of the incestuous Corinthian, 'tis possible you would have found neither of them to have served very well to shew Punishment necessary to bring Men to embrace the true Religion; for both these were Punishments laid on those who had already embraced the true Religion, and were in the Communion of the true Church; and so can only shew (if you will infer any thing concerning the Necessity of Punishments from them) that Punishments may be sometimes necessary for those who are in the Communion of the true Church. And of that you may make your advantage. L. 2. p. 269. Pag. 38. L. 2. p. 268.

As to your other Inferences from my Words, viz. *That Punishing, and that even by those who are, as Ambassadors, to pray and beseech, is consistent with that Method:* When they can do it as the Apostles did, by the immediate Direction and Assistance of the Spirit of God, I shall easily allow it to be *consistent with the Method of the Gospel.* If that will not content you, 'tis plain you have an itch to be handling the secular Sword; and since Christ has not given you the Power you desire, you would be executing the Magistrate's pretended *Commission* from the *Law of Nature.* One thing more let me mind you of, and that is, that if, from the Punishments of *Ananias and Sapphira*, and the incestuous *Corinthian*, you can infer a *Necessity* of Punishment to make Men *consider*, it will follow that there was a *Necessity* of Punishment to make Men *consider*, notwithstanding Miracles; which cannot therefore be suppos'd, to supply the want of Punishments.

L. 2. p. 269. To my asking, "What if God, foreseeing this Force would be in the Hands of
 " Men, as passionate, as humourfome, as liable to Prejudice and Error, as the rest
 " of their Brethren, did not think it a proper Means to bring Men into the right
 Pag. 39. " way? You reply, *But if there be anything of an Argument in this, it proves that there ought to be no Civil Government in the World; and so proving too much, proves nothing at all.* This you say; but you being one of those Mortals which is liable to Error as well as your Brethren, you cannot expect it should be received for infallible Truth, till you have proved it; and that you will never do, till you can shew, that there is as absolute a *Necessity* of Force in the Magistrate's Hand for the Salvation of Souls, as there is of Force in the Magistrate's Hands for the Preservation of Civil Society, and next, till you have proved that Force, in the Hands of Men, as passionate, and humourfome, or liable to Prejudice and Error as their Brethren, would contribute as much to the bringing Men, and keeping them in the right way to Salvation, as it does to the Support of Civil Society, and the keeping Men at Peace in it.

Where Men cannot live together without mutual Injuries, not to be avoided without Force, Reason has taught them to seek a Remedy in Government, which always places Power somewhere in the Society to restrain and punish such Injuries; which Power, whether placed in the Community itself, or some chosen by the Community to govern it, must still be in the Hands of Men; and where (as in the Societies of civiliz'd and settled Nations) the Form of the Government places this Power out of the Community itself, it is unavoidable, that out of Men (such as they are) some should be made Magistrates, and have coercive Power or Force put into their Hands, to govern and direct the Society for the Publick Good; without which Force, so placed in the Hands of Men, there could be no Civil Society, nor the Ends for which it is instituted, to any Degree attain'd. And thus Government is the Will of God.

'Tis the Will of God also, that Men should be saved; but to this, it is not necessary that Force or *coactive Power* should be put into Mens Hands; because God can, and hath provided other Means to bring Men to Salvation: To which, you indeed suppose, but can never prove Force necessary.

The *Passions, Humours, Liableness to Prejudices and Errors*, common to Magistrates with other Men, do not render Force in their Hands so dangerous and unuseful, to the Ends of Society, which is the Publick Peace, as to the Ends of Religion, which is the Salvation of Mens Souls. For though Men of all Ranks could be content to have their own *Humours, Passions* and *Prejudices* satisfied, yet when they come to make Laws, which are to direct their Force in Civil Matters, they are driven to oppose their Laws to the *Humours, Passions* and *Prejudices* of Men in general, whereby their own come to be restrain'd: For if Law-makers, in making of Laws, did not direct them against the irregular *Humours, Prejudices* and *Passions* of Men, which are apt to mislead them: If they did not endeavour with their best Judgment, to bring Men from their *Humours* and *Passions*, to the Obedience and Practice of right Reason, the Society could not subsist, and so they themselves would be in danger to lose their Station in it, and be expos'd to the unrestrain'd *Humours, Passions*, and Violence of others. And hence it comes, that be Men as humourfome, passionate, and prejudic'd as they will, they are still by their own Interest oblig'd to make use of their best Skill, and with their most unprejudic'd and sedate Thoughts, take Care of the Government, and endeavour to preserve the Commonwealth; and therefore, notwithstanding their *Humours* and *Passions*, their liableness to *Error and Prejudice*, they do pro-

provide pretty well for the Support of Society, and the Power in their Hands is of Use to the Maintenance of it.

But in Matters of Religion it is quite otherwise; you had told us, about the latter end of your *Argument C.* how liable Men were in *chusing their Religion*, to be misled by *Humour, Passion and Prejudice*; and therefore, it was not fit that in a Business of such Concernment they should be left to themselves: and hence, in this matter of Religion, you would have them subjected to the *coactive Power* of the Magistrate. But this Contrivance is visibly of no Advantage to the true Religion, nor can serve at all to secure Men from a wrong Choice. For the Magistrates, by their *Humours, Prejudices and Passions*, (which they are born to like other Men) being as liable, and likely to be misled in the Choice of their Religion, as any of their Brethren, as constant Experience hath always shewn, what Advantage could it be to Mankind, for the Salvation of their Souls, that the Magistrates of the World should have Power to use Force to bring Men to that Religion which they, each of them, by whatsoever *Humour, Passion or Prejudice* influenc'd, had chosen to themselves as the true? For whatsoever you did, I think with Reverence we may say, that God foresaw, that whatever Commission one Magistrate had by the Law of Nature, all Magistrates had: And that Commission, if there were any such, could be only to use their *coactive Power* to bring Men to the Religion they believ'd to be true, whether it were really the true or no: And therefore I shall, without taking away Government out of the World, or so much as question it, still think this a reasonable Question; "What if God, foreseeing this Force would be in the Hands of Men, as *passionate*, as *humour*, as liable to *Prejudice and Error*, as the rest of their Brethren, did not think it a proper means, in such Hands, to bring Men into the right way? And that it needs a better Answer than you have given to it: And therefore, you might have spared the Pains you have taken in this Paragraph, to prove that the Magistrates, being liable as much as other Men to *Humour, Prejudice, Passion and Error*, makes not Force, in his Hand, wholly unserviceable to the Administration of Civil Government. Which is what no body denies: And you would have better employ'd it to prove, that if the Magistrate's being as liable to *Passion, Humour, Prejudice and Error*, as other Men, made Force, in his Hands, improper to bring Men to the true Religion, this would take away Government out of the World: which is a Consequence, I think, I may deny.

To which let me now add, What if God foresaw, that if Force, of any kind or degree whatsoever, were allow'd in behalf of Truth, it would be us'd by *erring, passionate, prejudiced* Men, to the restraint and ruin of Truth, as constant Experience in all Ages has shewn, and therefore commanded that the Tares should be suffer'd to grow with the Wheat till the Harvest, when the infallible Judge shall sever them. That Parable of our Saviour's plainly tells us, If Force were once permitted, even in favour of the true Religion, what Mischief it was like to do in the misapplication of it, by forward busy mistaken Men, and therefore he wholly forbid it; and yet, I hope, this does not take away Civil Government out of the World?

To my demanding, "What if there be other means? and saying, "Then yours ceases to be necessary upon that Account, that *there is no other means left*; for the "Grace of God is another means. You answer, That though the Grace of God Pag. 396 be another means, yet it is none of the means of which you were speaking in the Place I refer to, which anyone, who reads that Paragraph, will find to be only human means. In that Place, you were endeavouring to prove Force necessary to bring Men to the true Religion, as appears; and there having dilated for four or five Pages together upon the Carelessness, *Prejudices, Passions, Lusts, Impressions of Education, worldly Respects*, A. p. 62 and other the like Causes, which you think mislead and keep Men from the true Religion, you at last, conclude Force necessary to bring Men to it, because *Admonitions and Intreaties* not prevailing, there is no other means left. To this, Grace being insinuated in as another means, you tell us here you mean no other human means left. So that to prove Force necessary, you must prove that God would have other human means used besides Praying, Preaching, Persuasion and Instruction; and for this, you will need to bring a plain Direction from Revelation for your moderate Punishments; unless you will pretend to know, by your own natural Wisdom, what means God has made necessary, without which, those whom he hath foreknown and predestinated, and will in his good time call by such means as he thinks fit, according Rom. 8. 29. to his Purpose, cannot be brought into the way of Salvation. Perhaps you have some

Warrant

Warrant we know not of, to enter thus boldly into the Counsel of God ; without which, in another Man, a modest Christian would be apt to think it Presumption.

A. p. 16. You say, there are many who are not prevail'd on by Prayers, Intreaties and Exhortations, to imbrace the true Religion. What then is to be done? *Some Degrees of Force are necessary* to be used. Why? Because there is no other *human Means* left. Many are not prevail'd on by your moderate Force ; What then is to be done? Greater Degrees of Force are necessary, because *there is no other human Means* left. No, say you, God has made moderate Force necessary, because *there is no other human Means* left, where Preaching and Intreaties will not prevail : But he has not made greater Degrees of Force necessary, because *there is no other human Means* left where moderate Force will not prevail. So that your Rule changing, where the Reason continues the same, we must conclude you have some way of Judging concerning the Purposes and Ways of the Almighty in the Work of Salvation, which every one understands not. You would not else, upon so slight Ground as you have yet produced for it, which is nothing but your own Imagination, make Force, your moderate Force so necessary, that you bring in question the Wisdom and Bounty of the Disposer and Governour of all things, as if he had not furnish'd Mankind with competent Means for the promoting his own Honour in the World, and the good of Souls, if your moderate Force were wanting to bring them to the true Religion ; whereas you know, that most of the Nations of the World always were destitute of this *human Means* to bring them to the true Religion. And I imagine you would be put to it, to name me one now that is furnish'd with it.

Pag. 39. Besides, if you please to remember what you say in the next Words. *And therefore, though the Grace of God be both a proper and sufficient Means, and such as can work by it self, and without which, neither Penalties nor any other Means can do any thing ; and by Consequence, can make any Means effectual :* How can you say any *human Means*, in this supernatural Work, unless what God has declar'd to be so, is necessary ? Preaching and Instruction, and Exhortation, are *human Means* that he has appointed : These, therefore, Men may and ought to use ; they have a Commission from God, and may expect his Blessing and the Assistance of his Grace ; but to suppose, when they are used and prevail not, that Force is necessary, because these are not sufficient, is to exclude Grace, and ascribe this Work to *human Means* ; as in effect you do, when you call Force *competent and sufficient Means*, as you have done. For if bare Preaching, by the Assistance of Grace, can and will certainly prevail ; and moderate Penalties, as you confess, or any kind of Force, without the Assistance of Grace, can do nothing, How can you say, that Force is in any Case a more necessary, or a more competent, or sufficient Means, than bare Preaching and Instruction ? unless you can shew us, that God hath promised the Co-operation and Assistance of his Grace to Force, and not to Preaching ? The contrary whereof, has more of Appearance. Preaching and Persuasion are not *competent Means*, you say ; Why ? because, without the Co-operation of Grace, they can do nothing : But by the Assistance of Grace, they can prevail even without Force. Force too, without Grace, you acknowledge can do nothing ; but join'd with Preaching and Grace, it can prevail. Why then, I pray, is it a more competent Means than Preaching, or why necessary, where Preaching prevails not ? since it can do nothing without that, which, if join'd to Preaching, can make Preaching effectual without it.

Pag. 40. You go on, *Yet it may be true however, that when Admonitions and Intreaties fail, there is no HUMAN Means left but Penalties, to bring prejudiced Persons to hear and consider what may convince them of their Errors, and discover the Truth to them : And then Penalties will be necessary in respect to that End, as an HUMAN Means.* Let it be true or not true, that when Intreaties, &c. fail, there is no HUMAN Means left but Penalties : Your Inference I deny, that then Penalties will be necessary as an HUMAN Means. For I ask you, since you lay so much Strefs to so little purpose on HUMAN Means, is some human Means necessary ? if that be your Meaning, you have human Means in the case, viz. Admonitions, Intreaties, being instant in Season and out of season. I ask you again, Are Penalties necessary because the End could not be obtain'd by Preaching, without them ? that you cannot say, for Grace co-operating with Preaching will prevail : Are Penalties then necessary as sure to produce that End ? nor so are they necessary ; for without the Assistance of Grace, you confess, they can do nothing. So that Penalties, neither as human Means, nor as any Means, are at all necessary. And now you may understand what I intend, by saying that the Grace of God

God is the only Means; which is the Enquiry of your next Paragraph, viz. this I intend, that it is the only efficacious Means, without which all *human Means* is ineffectual. You tell me, If by it I intend that it does either always, or ordinarily exclude all other Means: you see no ground I have to say it. And I see no ground you have to think I intended, that it excludes any other Means that God in his Goodness will be pleased to make use of: But this I intend by it, and this, I think, I have ground to say, that it excludes all the *human Means* of Force from being necessary, or so much as lawful to be used, unless God hath required it by some more authentick Declaration than your bare saying or imagining it is necessary. And you must have more than *human Confidence*, if you continue to mix this poor and *human Contrivance* of yours, with the Wisdom and Counsel of God in the Work of Salvation; since he having declar'd the Means and Methods to be used for the saving Mens Souls, has in the Revelation of the Gospel, by your own Confession, prescribed no such *human Means*.

Pag. 40.

Ibid.

To my saying, God alone can open the Ear that it may hear, and open the Heart that it may understand. You reply, *But by your Favour, this does not prove that he makes use of no Means in doing of it.* Nor needs it: it is enough for me, if it proves, that if Preaching and Instruction doth not open the Ear, or the Heart; 'tis not necessary any one should try his Strength with an Hammer or an Auger. Man is not in this Business, (where no Means can be effectual, without the assistance and co-operation of his Grace) to make use of any Means which God hath not prescribed. You here set up a way of propagating Christianity according to your Fancy, and tell us how you would have the Work of the Gospel carried on: You commission the Magistrate by Arguments of Congruity; you shall find an Efficacy in Punishment towards the converting of Men: you limit the Force, to be used to low and moderate Degrees; and to Countries where sufficient Means of Instruction are provided by the Law. And where the Magistrate's Religion is the true, i. e. where it pleases you; and all this without any Direction from God, or any Authority so much as pretended from the Gospel; and without its being truly for the Propagation of Christianity, but only so much of it as you think fit, and what else you are pleas'd to join to it. Why else, in the Religion you are content to have establish'd by Law, and promoted by Penalties, is any thing more or less requir'd, than is expressly contain'd in the New Testament.

Ibid.

This indeed is well suited to any one, who would have a Power of punishing those who differ from his Opinion, and would have Men compell'd to Conformity in England. But in this your fair Contrivance, what becomes of the rest of Mankind, left to wander in Darkness out of this *Goshen*, who neither have, nor (according to your Scheme) can have your necessary Means of Force and Penalties to bring them to embrace the Truth that must save them: For if that be necessary, they cannot without a Miracle, either Prince or People, be wrought on without it. If a Papist at Rome, a Lutheran at Stockholm, or a Calvinist at Geneva, should argue thus for his Church, would you not say, that such as these look'd like the Thoughts of a poor prejudiced narrow Mind? But they may mistake, and you cannot; they may be prejudiced, but you cannot. Say too, if you please, you are confident you are in the Right, but they cannot be confident that they are so. This I am sure, God's Thoughts are not as Man's Thoughts, nor his Ways as Man's Ways, *Isa.* 55. 8. And it may abate any one's Confidence of the Necessity or use of Punishments, for not receiving our Saviour, or his Religion, when those who had the Power of Miracles were told, that they knew not what manner of Spirit they were of, when they would have commanded down Fire from Heaven. *John* 9. 35. But you do well to take care to have the Church you are of, supported by Force and Penalties, whatever becomes of the Propagation of the Gospel, or the Salvation of Mens Souls, in other parts of the World, as not coming within your Hypothesis.

John 9. 35.

In your next Paragraph, to prove that God does bless the use of Force, you say you suppose I mean, by the Words you there cite, that the Magistrate has no ground to hope that God will bless any Penalties that he may use to bring Men to hear and consider the Doctrine of Salvation; or (which is the same thing) that God does not (at least not ordinarily) afford his Grace and Assistance to them who are brought by such Penalties to hear and consider that Doctrine, to enable them to hear and consider it as they ought, i. e. so as to be moved heartily to embrace it. You tell me, If this be my Meaning; then to let me see that it is not true, you shall only desire me to tell you, whether they that are so brought to hear and consider, are bound to believe the Gospel or not? If I say they are; (and you suppose I dare not say otherwise;) then it evidently follows, that God does afford them that Grace which is requisite to enable them to believe the Gospel: Because, without that Grace,

Pag. 40.

A Third Letter for Toleration.

Grace, it is impossible for them to believe it; and they cannot be bound to believe what it is impossible for them to believe. To which, I shall only answer, That by this irrefragable Argument, it is evident, that wherever due Penalties have been used (for those you tell us are sufficient and competent Means) to make Men hear and consider as they ought, there all Men were brought to believe the Gospel; which, whether you will resolve with your self to be true or false, will be to me indifferent, and on either hand equally advantage your Cause. Had you appeal'd to Experience for the Success of the use of Force by the Magistrate, your Argument had not shewn half so much depth of Theological Learning: But the Mischief is, that if you will not make it all of a piece Scholastick, and by arguing that all whom the Magistrates use Force upon, are brought to consider as they ought, and to all that are so wrought upon, God does afford that Grace which is requisite; and so roundly conclude for a greater Success of Force, to make Men believe the Gospel, than ever our Saviour and the Apostles had by their Preaching and Miracles, (for that wrought not on all) your unanswerable Argument comes to nothing. And in truth, as you have in this Paragraph ordered the matter, by being too sparing of your abstract Metaphysical Reasoning, and employing it but by halves, we are fain, after all, to come to the dull way of Experience; and must be forced to count, as the Parson does his Communicants, by his Easter-Book, how many those are that are so brought to hear and consider, to know how far God blesses Penalties. Indeed, were it to be measur'd by conforming, the Easter Book would be a good Register to determine it. But since you put it upon Believing, that will be of somewhat a harder Disquisition.

To my saying, (upon that place out of *Isaiah 6. 10. Make the Heart of this People fat, lest they understand, and convert, and be healed*) "Will all the Force you can use be a means to make such People hear and understand, and be converted? You reply, No, Sir, it will not. But what then? What if God declares that he will not heal those who have long resisted all his ordinary Methods, and made themselves, morally speaking, incurable by them? (Which is the utmost, you say, I can make of the Words I quote.) Will it follow from thence, that no good can be done by Penalties upon others, who are not so far gone in Wickedness and Obstinacy? If it will not, as it is evident it will not, to what purpose is this said? It is said to this purpose, viz. to shew that Force ought not to be used at all. Those ordinary Methods which, resisted, are punished with a Reprobate Sense, are the ordinary Methods of Instruction, without Force; as is evident by this place and many others, particularly *Rom. 1.* From whence I argue; That what State soever you will suppose Men in, either as past, or not yet come to the Day of Grace, no Body can be justified in using Force to work upon them. For till the ordinary Methods of Instruction and Persuasion can do no more, Force is not necessary, (for you cannot say what other Means is there left) and so by your own Rule not lawful. For till God hath pronounced this Sentence here, on any one, *Make his Heart fat, &c.* the ordinary Means of Instruction and Persuasion, may, by the Assistance of God's Grace prevail. And when this Sentence is once passed upon them, and God will not afford them his Grace to heal them; (I take it, you confess in this place) I am sure you must confess your Force to be wholly useless, and so utterly impertinent, unless that can be pertinent to be used, which you own can do nothing. So that whether it will follow, or no, from Mens being given up to a Reprobate Mind, for having resisted the preaching of Salvation, That no good can be done by Penalties upon others; this will follow, that not knowing whether Preaching may not, by the Grace of God, yet work upon them; or whether the Day of Grace be past with them; neither you nor any Body else can say that Force is necessary; and if it be not necessary, you your self tell us it is not to be used.

In your next Paragraph, you complain of me, as representing your Argument, as you say, I commonly do, as if you allow'd any Magistrate, of what Religion soever, to lay Penalties upon all that dissent from him. Unhappy Magistrates that have not your Allowance! But to console them, I imagine they will find that they are all under the same Obligation, one as another, to propagate the Religion they believe to be the true, whether you allow it them or no. For to go no farther than the first Words of your Argument, which you complain I have misrepresented, and which you tell me run thus, *When Men fly from the Means of right Information*; I ask you here, who shall be Judge of those Means of right Information, the Magistrate who joins Force with them to make them be hearkned to, or no? When you have answer'd that, you will have resolv'd a great part of the Question, What Magistrates are to use Force.

But

But that you may not complain again of my misrepresenting, I must beg my Readers leave to set down your Argument at large in your own Words, and all you say upon it. *When Men fly from the Means of a right Information, and will not so much as consider how reasonable it is, thoroughly and impartially to examine a Religion, which they embraced upon such Inducements, as ought to have no sway at all in the matter, and therefore with little or no Examination of the proper grounds of it; What human Method can be used to bring them to act like Men, in an Affair of such Consequence, and to make a wiser and more rational Choice, but that of laying such Penalties upon them, as may balance the weight of those Prejudices, which inclined them to prefer a false Way before the true, &c.* Now this Argument, you tell me, I pretend to retort in this manner: "And, I say, Pag. 41.
" I see no other Means left (taking the World as we now find it, wherein the
" Magistrate never lays Penalties, for Matters of Religion, upon those of his own
" Church, nor is it to be expected they ever should) to make Men of the national
" Church, any where, thoroughly and impartially examine a Religion, which they
" embraced upon such Inducements as ought to have no Sway at all in the Matter, and
" therefore with little or no Examination of the proper Grounds of it: And there-
" fore, I conclude the use of Force by Dissenters upon Conformists necessary. I appeal
" to all the World, whether this be not as just and natural a Conclusion as yours? And
you say, you are well content the World should judge. And when it determines, that
there is the same Reason to say, That to bring those who conform to the national Church, to
examine their Religion, it is necessary for Dissenters (who cannot possibly have the coercive
Power, because the national Church has that on its side, and cannot be national without it)
to use Force upon Conformists, As there is to say, That where the national Church is the true
Church, there to bring Dissenters (as I call them) to examine their Religion, it is necessary
for the Magistrate (who has the coercive Power) to lay moderate Penalties upon them
for dissenting: You say, when the World determines thus, you will never pretend any more
to judge what is reasonable, in any Case whatsoever. For you doubt not but you may safely
presume, that the World will easily admit these two things. 1. That though it be very fit
and desirable, that all that are of the true Religion, should understand the true Grounds of
it; that so they may be the better able, both to defend themselves against the Assaults of Se-
ducers, and to reduce such as are out of the Way; yet this is not strictly necessary to their
Salvation: Because Experience shews (as far as Men are capable to judge of such Mat-
ters) that many do heartily believe and profess the true Religion, and conscientiously practise
the Duties of it, who yet do not understand the true Grounds upon which it challenges their
Belief: And no Man doubts, but whosoever does so believe, profess, and practise the true
Religion, if he perseveres to the end, shall certainly attain Salvation by it. 2. That how
much soever it concerns those who reject the true Religion (whom I may call Dissenters if I
please) to examine and consider why they do so; and how needful soever Penalties may be to
bring them to this; it is, however, utterly unreasonable, that such as have not the co-
ercive Power, should take upon them to inflict Penalties for that purpose: Because, as that
is not consistent with Order and Government, which cannot stand, where private Persons
are permitted to usurp the coercive Power; So there is nothing more manifest, than that
the Prejudice which is done to Religion, and to the Interest of Mens Souls, by destroying
Government, does infinitely outweigh any good that can possibly be done by that which de-
stroys it. And whoever admits and considers these things, you say, you are very secure
will be far enough from admitting, that there is any Parity of Reason in the Cases we here
speak of, or that mine is as just and natural a Conclusion as yours. A. p. 61.

The sum of what you say, amounts to thus much. Men being apt to take up their Religion, upon Inducements that ought to have no sway at all in the Matter, and so, with little or no Examination of the Grounds of it; therefore Penalties are necessary to be laid on them, to make them thoroughly and impartially examine. But yet Penalties need not be laid on Conformists, in England, to make them examine; because they, and you, believe yours to be the true Religion: Though it must be laid on Presbyterians and Independents, &c. to make them examine, though they believe theirs to be the true Religion; because you believe it not to be so. But you give another very substantial Reason, why Penalties cannot be laid on Conformists, to make them examine; and that is, because the national Church has the coercive Power on its side, and therefore they have no need of Penalties to make them examine. The national Church of France too, has the coercive Power on its side; and therefore, they who are of it have no need of Penalties, any of them, to make them examine.

A. p. 11. If your Argument be good, that Men take up their Religions upon wrong Inducements, and *without* due Examination of the proper grounds of it; and that therefore they have need of Penalties to be laid on them to make them *examine*, as they ought, the grounds of their Religion; You must confess there are some in the Church of England, to whom Penalties are necessary: Unless you will affirm, that all, who are in the Communion of the Church of England, have so *examin'd*: But that I think you will not do, however you endeavour to palliate their Ignorance and Negligence in this matter. There being therefore a need of Penalties, I say, 'tis as necessary that Presbyterians should lay Penalties on the Conformists of the Church of England, to make them *examine*, as for the Church of England to lay Penalties on the Presbyterians to make them do so: For they each equally believe their Religion to be true; and we suppose, on both sides, there are those who have not duly *examin'd*. But here you think you have a sure Advantage, by saying it is *not consistent with the Order of Government*, and so is *impracticable*. I easily grant it. But is yours more practicable? When you can make your way practicable, for the End for which you pretend it necessary, (*viz.*) to make *all*, who have taken up their Religion upon such Inducements, as ought to have no sway at all in the matter, to *examine* thoroughly and impartially the proper grounds of it; When, I say, you can shew your way practicable, to this End, you will have clear'd it of one main Objection, and convinc'd the World that yours is a more just and natural Conclusion than mine.

If your Cause were capable of any other Defence, I suppose we should not have had so long and elaborate an Answer as you have given us in this Paragraph, which at last bottoms only on these two things: 1. That there is in you, or those of your Church, some Approaches towards Infallibility, in your Belief that your Religion is true, which is not to be allow'd those of other Churches, in the Belief of theirs. 2. That it is enough if any one does but conform to it, and remain in the Communion of your Church: Or else one would think there should be as much need for Conformists too of your Church, to *examine the Grounds of their Religion*, as for any others.

Page 42. To understand the true Grounds of the true Religion, is not, you say, *strictly necessary to Salvation*. Yet, I think, you will not deny, but it is as *strictly necessary to Salvation*, as it is to conform to a national Church in all those things it imposes: Some whereof, are not necessary to Salvation; some whereof, are acknowledg'd by all to be indifferent; and some whereof, to some conscientious Men, who thereupon decline Communion, appear unsound or unlawful. If not being *strictly necessary to Salvation*, will excuse from Penalties in the one Case, why will it not in the other? And now I shall excuse the World from determining my Conclusion to be as natural as yours: For 'tis pity so reasonable a Disputant as you are, should take so desperate a Resolution as *never to pretend any more to judge what is reasonable in any Case whatsoever*.

Whether you have proved that Force, used by the Magistrate, be a means prescrib'd by God to procure the Gift of Faith from him, (which is all you say in the next Paragraph,) others must judge.

In that following; you quote these Words of mine. "If all the means God has appointed to make Men hear and consider, be Exhortation in Season and out of Season, &c. together with Prayer for them, and the Example of Meekness, and a good Life; this is all ought to be done, whether they will hear, or whether they will forbear. To which you thus reply, *But if these be not all the means God has appointed, then these things are not all that ought to be done*. But if I ask you, How do you know that this is not all God has appointed; you have nothing to answer (to bring it to your present purpose) but that you know it by the Light of Nature. For all you say is but this; That by the Light of Nature you know Force to be useful and necessary to bring Men into the way of Salvation; by the Light of Nature you know the Magistrate has a Commission to use Force to that purpose; and by the same Light of Nature, you know that Miracles were appointed to supply the want of Force till the Magistrates were Christians. I imagine, Sir, you would scarce have thought this a reasonable Answer, if you had taken notice of my Words in the same Paragraph immediately preceding those you have cited; which (that you may see the Scope of my Argument) I will here trouble you with again; and they are these: "It is not for you and me, out of an Imagination that they may be useful, or are necessary, to prescribe means in the great mysterious Work of Sal-

Page 43. vation,

Page 44. L. 2. p. 269.

“ vation, other than what God himself has directed. God has appointed Force as
 “ useful and necessary, and therefore it is to be used, is a way of Arguing becoming
 “ the Ignorance and Humility of poor Creatures. But I think Force useful or neces-
 “ sary, and therefore it is to be used, has methinks a little too much Presumption in
 “ it. You ask what means is there left? None, say I, to be used by Man, but what
 “ God himself has directed in the Scriptures, wherein are contained all the means
 “ and methods of Salvation. Faith is the Gift of God. And we are not to use
 “ any other means to procure this Gift to any one, but what God himself has pre-
 “ scribed. If he has there appointed, that any should be forced to hear those *who*
 “ *tell them they have mistaken their way, and offer to shew them the right*; and that
 “ they should be punish’d by the Magistrate, if they did not; ’twill be past doubt, it
 “ is to be made use of. But till that can be done, ’twill be in vain to say, *what other*
 “ *means is there left.*

My Argument here lies plainly in this; That all the means and methods of Sal-
 vation are contain’d in the Scripture: which either you were to have deny’d, or else
 have shewn where it was, in Scripture; that Force was appointed. But instead of
 that, you tell us, that God appointed Miracles in the beginning of the Gospel. And
 though, when these ceased, the means I mention were all the Ministers had left, yet
 this proves not that the Magistrate was not to use Force. Your Words are, *As to the* Pag. 43.
first Spreaders of the Gospel, it has already been shewn, that God appointed other means besides
these for them to use, to induce Men to hear and consider: And though, when those ex-
traordinary means ceased, these means which I mention (viz. Preaching, &c.) were
the only means left to the Ministers of the Gospel; yet that is no Proof that the Magi-
strate, when he became Christian, could not lawfully use such means as his Station ena-
bled him to use, when they became needful. I said, in express Words, “ No means was to
 “ be used by *Man*, but what God himself has directed in the Scripture. And you an-
 swer, This is *no Proof that the Christian Magistrate may not use Force.* Perhaps
 when they so peremptorily interpose their decisive Decrees in the Business of Salva-
 tion, establish Religions by Laws and Penalties, with what Articles, Creeds, Cere-
 monies and Discipline they think fit; (for this we see done almost in all Countries)
 when they force Men to hear those, and those only, who by their Authority are cho-
 sen and allow’d to tell Men *they have mistaken their way, and offer to shew them*
the right; it may be thought necessary to prove Magistrates to be *Men*. If that
 needs no Proof, what I said needs some other Answer.

But let us examine a little the Parts of what you here say. *As to the first Sprea-*
ders of the Gospel, say you, it has already been shewn, that God appointed other means
besides Exhortation in season and out of season, Prayer, and the Example of a good
Life, for them to use to induce Men to hear and consider. What were those other
 means? To that you answer readily, *Miracles.* Ergo, Men are directed now by
 Scripture to use Miracles. Or else what Answer do you make to my Argument,
 which I gave you in these Words, “ No means is to be used by Man, but what God
 “ himself has directed in the Scriptures, wherein are contain’d all the means and
 “ methods of Salvation. No, they cannot use Miracles now as a means, say you,
 for they have them not. What then? Therefore the Magistrate, who has it, must
 use Force to supply the want of those *extraordinary means which are now ceased.*
 This indeed is an Inference of yours, but not of the Scripture’s. Does the Scripture
 say any thing of this? Not a Word; not so much as the least Intimation towards it
 in all the New Testament. Be it then true or false, that Force is a means to be used
 by Men in the absence of Miracles, this is yet no Answer to my Argument; this
 is no Proof that ’tis appointed in Scripture; which is the thing my Argument
 turns on.

Revelation then fails you. Let us see now how Reason and common Sense, that
 common Light of Nature, will help you out.

You then reason thus: Bare Preaching, &c. will not prevail on Men to hear and
 consider; and therefore some other means is necessary to make them do so. Pray what
 do you mean by *Men*, or any other of those indefinite Terms, you have always used
 in this Case? Is it that bare Preaching will prevail on *no Men*? Does Reason (un-
 der which I comprehend Experience too, and all the ways of Knowledge, contra-
 distinguish’d to Revelation) discover any such thing to you? I imagine you will not
 say that; or pretend that no body was ever brought, by Preaching and Persuasion,
 to hear and consider the Truths of the Gospel, (mean by considering what you will)

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without other means used by those who applied themselves to the Care of converting them. To such therefore as may be brought to *hear and consider*, without other means, you will not say that other means are necessary.

In the next Place, therefore, When you say bare Preaching will not prevail on Men, do you mean that 'twill not prevail on all Men, and therefore 'tis necessary that Men should use other means? Neither, I think, will Reason authorize you to draw such a Consequence: Because neither will Preaching alone, nor Preaching assisted with Force, or any other means Man can use, prevail on all Men. And therefore no other means can be pretended to be necessary to be used by Man, to do what Men by those means never did, nor never can do.

That some Men shall be saved, and not all, is, I think, past question to all that are Christians: And those that shall be saved, 'tis plain, are the *Elect*. If you think not this plain enough in Scripture, I desire you to turn to the seventeenth of the 29 Articles of the Church of England, where you will read these Words: *Predestination to Life is the everlasting Purpose of God, whereby (before the Foundations of the World were laid) he hath constantly decreed by his Counsel secret to us, to deliver from Curse and Damnation those whom he has Chosen in Christ out of Mankind, and to bring them by Christ to everlasting Salvation, as Vessels made to honour. Wherefore they which be endued with so excellent a Benefit of God, be called according to God's Purpose by his Spirit working in due season: They through Grace obey the Calling; they be justified freely; they be made Sons of God by Adoption; they be made like the Image of his only begotten Son Jesus Christ; they walk religiously in good Works; and at length, by God's Mercy, they attain to everlasting Felicity.* Now pray tell me whether bare Preaching will not prevail on all the *Elect* to *hear and consider*, without other means to be used by Men. If you say it will; the Necessity of your other means, I think, is out of Doors. If you say it will not; I desire you to tell me how you do know it without Revelation? And whether by your own Reason you can tell us, whether any, and what means God has made necessary, besides what he has appointed in Scripture for the calling his *Elect*? When you can do this, we shall think you no ordinary Divine, nor a Stranger to the secret Counsels of the infinitely wise God. But till then, your mixing your Opinion with the Divine Wisdom in the great Work of Salvation, and from Arguments of Congruity, taking upon you to declare the Necessity or Usefulness of means, which God has not expressly directed, for the gathering in of his *Elect*, will scarce authorize the Magistrate to use his *coactive Power* for the edifying and compleating the Body of Christ, which is his Church. *Those whom God hath chosen in Christ out of Mankind, before the Foundations of the World, are called, according to God's Purpose, by his Spirit, working in due season, and through Grace obey the Calling; say you in your Article. The outward means that God has appointed for this, is Preaching. Ay, but Preaching is not enough; that is not sufficient means, say you. And I ask you how you know it; since the Scripture, which declares all that we can know in this matter, says nothing of the Insufficiency of it, or of the Necessity of any other? Nor can there be a Necessity of any other means than what God expressly appoints, in a matter wherein no means can operate effectually, without the Assistance of his Grace; and where the Assistance of his Grace can make any outward means, he appoints, effectual.*

I must desire you here to take notice, that by Preaching, which I use for Shortness, I mean Exhortation, Instruction, Intreaty, Praying for, and in fine, any outward means of Persuasion in the Power of Man, separate from Force.

Pag. 43.

You tell us here, *As to the first Spreaders of the Gospel, God appointed other means, viz. Miracles, for them to use to induce Men to hear and consider.* If by the *first Spreaders of the Gospel*, you mean the twelve Apostles and seventy Disciples, whom Christ himself sent to preach the Gospel; they indeed were appointed by his immediate Command, to shew Miracles by the Power which he had bestowed upon them. But will you say, all the Ministers and Preachers of the Gospel had such a Commission, and such a Power, all along from the Apostles time; and that they, every one, did actually shew Miracles to induce Men to *hear and consider*, quite down, till *Christianity was supported by the Law of the Empire*? Unless you could shew this, though you could produce some well-attested Miracles, done by some Men in every Age till that time, yet it would not be sufficient to prove that Miracles were appointed to be constantly used to induce Men to *hear and consider*; and so by your Reasoning, to supply the want of Force, till that necessary Assistance could be had from the Authority of the

the Magistrate become Christian. For since it is what you build upon, that Men will not *hear and consider* upon bare Preaching, (and I think you will forwardly enough agree, that till *Christianity was made the Religion of the Empire*, there were those every where that *heard* the Preachers of it so little, or so little *consider'd* what they said, that they rejected the Gospel;) and that therefore Miracles or Force are necessary means to make Men *hear and consider*; you must own that those who preach'd without the Power of Miracles, or the coercive Power of the Magistrate accompanying them, were unfurnish'd of *competent and sufficient means to make Men hear and consider*; and so to bring them to the true Religion, If you will say the Miracles done by others were enough to accompany their Preaching, to make it be *heard and consider'd*; the Preaching of the Ministers at this Day is so accompanied, and so will need no Assistance of Force from the Magistrate. If the Report of Miracles done by one Minister of the Gospel some time before, and in another place, were sufficient to make the Preaching of ten or a thousand others, be *heard and consider'd*, why is it not so now? For the Credibility and Attestation of the Report is all that is of moment; when Miracles done by others, in other places, are the Argument that prevails. But this, I fear, will not serve your turn in the Business of Penalties; and whatever might satisfy you in the Case of Miracles, I doubt you would not think the Salvation of Souls sufficiently provided for, if the Report of the Force of Penalties, used some time since on one side of the *Tweed*, were all that should assist the Preachers of the true Religion on the other, to make Men *hear and consider*.

St. Paul, in his Epistle to *Titus*, instructs him what he, and the Presbyters he should ordain in the Cities of *Crete*, were to do for the propagating of the Gospel, and bringing Men heartily to embrace it. His Directions are, that they should be *blameless*, not Rioters, not *self-willed*, not soon angry, not given to Wine nor filthy Lucre, not Srikers, not unruly; Lovers of Hospitality, and of good Men; sober, just, holy, temperate; To be able by sound Doctrine, both to exhort and convince Gain-sayers; In all things to be a Pattern of good Works; In Doctrine, shewing Uncorruptedness, Gravity, Sincerity, sound Speech that cannot be condemned, that he that is of the contrary part may be ashamed, having no Evil to say of you. These things speak, and exhort, and rebuke, with all Authority. Avoid foolish Questions, and Genealogies, and Contentions. A Man that is an Heretick after the first and second Admonition, reject. To repay you the Favour of your Greek, it is *μαρτυρεω*; which, if I may take your Liberty of receding from our Translation, I would read *avoid*.

The *Cretans*, by the Account St. Paul gives of them, were a People that would require all the means that were needful to prevail with any Strangers to the Gospel, to *hear and consider*. But yet we find nothing directed for the Support and Propagation of the Gospel in this Island, but Preaching, Exhortation, Reproof, &c. with the Example of a good Life. In all this Epistle, writ on purpose to instruct the Preachers of the Gospel, in the means they were to use among the *Cretans*, for their Conversion, not a Word about Miracles, their Power or Use: Which one would think strange, if they were the means appointed, and necessary to make Men *hear and consider*, and without which they would not do it. Preaching, Admonition, Exhortation, Intreaties, Instruction, by the common Light of Reason, were known, and natural to be used, to persuade Men. There needed not be much said to convince Men of it. But if Miracles were a necessary means, it was a means wholly new, unexpected, and out of the Power of other Teachers. And therefore one would think, if they were appointed for the Ends you propose, one should hear something of that Appointment: Since that they were to be used; or how; and when; was farther from common Apprehension, and seems to need some particular Direction.

If you say the same Spirit that gave them the Power of Miracles, would also give them the Knowledge both that they had it, and how to use it; I am far enough from limiting the Operations of that infinitely wise Spirit, who will not fail to bring all the Elect of God into the Obedience of Truth, by those means, and in that manner he shall think necessary. But yet our Saviour, when he sent abroad his Disciples, with the Power of Miracles, not only put it in their Commission, whereby they were informed that they had that extraordinary Gift, but added Instructions to them in the use of it. *Freely you have received, freely give*; a Caution as necessary to the *Cretan* Elders, in the Use of Miracles, if they had that Power; there being nothing more liable to be turn'd to the Advantage of filthy Lucre.

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I do not question but the Spirit of God might give the Power, and stir up the Mind of the first Spreaders of the Gospel to do *Miracles* on some extraordinary occasion. But if they were a necessary Means to make Men hear and consider what was preached to them, till Force supplied their place, and so were ordinarily to accompany the preaching of the Gospel, (unless it should be preached without the Means appointed and necessary to make it prevail) I think, in that case, we may expect it should expressly have made a Part of the Preacher's Commission; it making a necessary part of the effectual Execution of his Function.

But the Apostle, it seems, thought fit to lay the Stress upon instructing others, and living well themselves; upon being *instant in season, and out of season*; and therefore directs all his Advices for the ordering the *Cretan Church*, and the propagating the Gospel there, to make them attend to those necessary things of Life and Doctrine, without so much as mentioning the Appointment, Need, or Use of *Miracles*.

L. 2. p. 270. I said, " But whatever Neglect or Aversion there is in some Men, impartially and
 " thoroughly to be instructed; there will, upon a due Examination (I fear) be found
 " no less a Neglect and Aversion in others, impartially and thoroughly to instruct them.
 " 'Tis not the talking even general Truths in plain and clear Language; much less a
 " Man's own Fancies in Scholastical or uncommon ways of speaking, an Hour or two,
 " once a Week, in publick; that is enough to instruct even willing Hearers in the
 " way of Salvation, and the Grounds of their Religion: And that politick Discourses
 and Investives from the Pulpit, instead of friendly and Christian Debates with People
 at their Houses, were not the proper Means to inform Men in the Foundations of
 Religion; and that if there were not a Neglect in this part, I thought there would
 be little need of any other Means. To this you tell me, in the next Paragraph, You
 do not see how pertinent my Discourse, about this Matter, is to the present Question.
 Pag. 43. If the shewing the Neglects, observable in the Use of what is agreed to be necessary
 Means, will not be allow'd by you to be pertinent, in a Debate about necessary Means;
 when possibly those very Neglects may serve to make other Means seem requisite, which
 really are not so; Yet if you are not of those who will never think any such Discourse
 pertinent, you will allow me to mind you of it again, as not impertinent in answer to
 your last Letter, wherein you so often tell us of the sufficient Provision made for Instru-
 ction. For wherever the Neglect be, it can scarce be said there is sufficient Provision
 made for Instruction in a Christian Country, where great Numbers of those, who are
 in the Communion of the national Church, are grossly ignorant of the Grounds of the
 Christian Religion. And I ask you whether it be in respect of such Conformists you
 say, as you do in the same Paragraph, That when the best Provision is made that can
 be, for the Instruction of the People, you fear a great part of them will still need some
 moderate Penalties to bring them to hear and receive Instruction?

Ibid. But what if all the Means that can, be not used for their Instruction; That there
 are Neglects of this kind, you will, I suppose take the word of a reverend Prelate of
 our Church, who thought he could not better shew his Good-will to the Clergy, than by
 a seasonable Discourse of the Pastoral Care, to cure that Neglect for the future. There he
 tells you, that Ministers should watch over and feed their Flock, and not enjoy their Benefices
 as Farms, &c. which Reproach, says he, (whatever we may be) our Church is free of;
 which he proves by the Stipulation and Covenant they make with Christ, that they will
 never cease their Labour, Care and Diligence, till they have done all that lieth in them,
 according to their bounden Duty, towards all such as are, or should be committed to their
 Care, to bring them to a Ripeness of Age in Christ. And a Page or two after, having
 repeated part of the Promise made by those who take Orders, he adds, In this is ex-
 pressed the so much NEGLECTED, but so necessary Duty, which Incumbents owe their
 Flock in a private way; visiting, instructing, and admonishing; which is one of the most
 useful and important Parts of their Duty, how generally soever it may be disused or forgot-
 ten. P. 187. He says, Every Priest that minds his Duty will find, that no Part of it is so
 useful as Catechistical Discourses; by means whereof, his People will understand all his Ser-
 mons the better, when they had once a clear Notion of all those Terms that must run through
 them; for those not being understood, renders them all unintelligible. Another Part of the
 Pastoral Care, pag. 115, 118. Priest's Duty, he tells you, is with relation to them that are without, who are of the side
 of the Church of Rome, or among the Dissenters. Other Churches and Bodies are noted
 for their Zeal in making Profelytes; for their restless Endeavours, as well as their un-
 lawful Methods in it: They reckoning perhaps that all will be sanctified by the increasing
 their PARTY; which is the true Name of making Converts, except they become at the same
 time

time good Men, as well as Votaries to a Side or Cause. We are certainly very REMISS in this of both Hands. Little Pains is taken to gain either upon Papists or Nonconformists: The LAW HAS BEEN SO MUCH TRUSTED TO, that that Method only was thought sure; it was much valued, and others at the same time as much NEGLECTED. And whereas, at first, WITHOUT FORCE OR VIOLENCE, in forty Years time, Popery, from being the prevailing Religion, was reduced to a handful, we have now in above twice that number of Years, made very little Progress, &c.

Perhaps here again you will tell me, you do not see how this is pertinent to the present Question; Which, that you may see, give me leave to put you in mind, that neither you, nor any body else, can pretend Force necessary, till all the Means of Persuasion have been used, and nothing neglected that can be done by all the softer Ways of Application. And since it is your own Doctrine, that Force is not lawful, unless where it is necessary; the Magistrate, upon your Principles, can neither lawfully use Force, nor the Ministers of any national Church plead for it any where, but where they themselves have first done their Duties: A Draught whereof, adapted to our present Circumstances, we have in the newly publish'd *Discourse of the Pastoral Care*. And he that shall press the use of Force as necessary, before he can answer it to himself and the World, that those who have taken on them the Care of Souls have performed their Duties, were best consider, whether he does not draw up an Accusation against the Men of that Holy Order, or against the Magistrate who suffers them to neglect any part of their Duty. For whilst what that learned Bishop, in the Passages above-cited, and in other places, mentions, is neglected, it cannot be said, that no other Means but Force is left; those, which are on all hands acknowledg'd necessary and useful Means, not having yet been made use of.

To vindicate your Method from Novelty, you tell me, 'tis as old as St. Austin. Whatever he says in the place you quote, it shews only his Opinion, but not that it was ever used. Therefore, to shew it not to be new in Practice, you add, that you think it has been made use of by all those Magistrates, who having made all requisite Provisions for the instructing their People in the Truth, have likewise requir'd them under convenient Penalties to embrace it. Which is as much as to say, that those Magistrates who used your Method, did use your Method. And that certainly you may think safely, and without fear of being gainsaid. Pag. 43.

But now I will tell you what I think, in my turn: And that is, if you could have found any Magistrates who had made use of your Method, as well as you think you have found a Divine that approves of it, you would have named those Magistrates as forwardly as you do St. Austin. If I think amiss, pray correct me yet, and name them.

That which makes me imagine you will hardly find any Examples of it, is what I there said in these Words: "All other Law-makers have constantly taken this Method; that where any thing was to be amended, the Fault was first declared, and then Penalties denounced against all those, who after a time set, should be found guilty of it. This the common Sense of Mankind, and the very Reason of Laws (which are intended not for Punishment, but Correction) has made so plain, that the subtlest and most refined Law-makers have not gone out of this Course, nor have the most ignorant and barbarous Nations miss'd it. But you have outdone Solon and Lycurgus, Moses and our Saviour, and are resolved to be a Law-maker of a Way by your self. 'Tis an old and obsolete Way, and will not serve your turn, to begin with Warnings and Threats of Penalties, to be inflicted on those who do not reform, but continue to do that which you think they fail in. To allow of Impunity to the Innocent, or the Opportunity of Amendment to those who would avoid the Penalties, are Formalities not worth your Notice. You are for a shorter and surer Way. Take a whole Tribe, and punish them at all Adventures, whether guilty or no of the Mischance which you would have amended; or without so much as telling them what it is you would have them do, but leaving them to find it out if they can. All these Absurdities are contained in your way of proceeding, and are impossible to be avoided by any one, who will punish Dissenters, and only Dissenters, to make them consider and weigh the Grounds of their Religion, and impartially examine whether it be true or no, and upon what Grounds they took it up; that so they may find and embrace the Truth that must save them. These Absurdities, I fear, must be remov'd, before any Magistrates will find your Method practicable." L. 2. p. 270.

I having said, " your Method is not altogether unlike the Plea made use of to excuse the late barbarous usage of the Protestants in *France*, from being a Persecution for Religion, viz. That it was not a Punishment for Religion but for disobeying the King's Laws, which requir'd them to come to Mass : So by your Rule, Dissenters must be punish'd, not for the Religion they have embraced, and the Religion, they have rejected. In answer to this, in the next Paragraph, you take abundance of Pains to prove, that the King of *France's* Laws, that require going to Mass, are no Laws. You were best to say so on the other side of the Water. 'Tis sure the Punishments were Punishments, and the Dragooning was Dragooning. And if you think that Plea excus'd them not, I am of your Mind. But nevertheless am of Opinion, as I was, that it will prove as good a Plea as yours. Which is what you argue against in your next Paragraph, in the Words following, wherein you examine the likeness of your new Method to this Plea. You tell me, I say, by your Rule, the Dissenters (from the true Religion, for you speak of no other) must be punish'd (or if I please, subjected to moderate Penalties, such as shall make them uneasy, but neither destroy or undo them) : For what ? Indeed I thought by your first Book, you meant not for their Religion, but to make them consider ; but here you ask me where it is you say that Dissenters from the true Religion, are not to be punish'd for their Religion ? " So then, it seems, in your Opinion now, Dissenters from the true Religion are to be punish'd, or (as you are pleas'd to mollify the Expression, for the thing is the same) subjected to moderate Penalties for their Religion. I think I shall not need to prove, to any one but one of your nice Stile, that the Execution of Penal Laws, let the Penalties be great or small, are Punishments.

If therefore the Religion of Dissenters from the true, be a Fault to be punish'd by the Magistrate ; Who is to judge who are guilty of that Fault ? Must it be the Magistrate every where, or the Magistrate in some Countries, and not in others, or the Magistrate no where ? If the Magistrate no where is to be Judge who are Dissenters from the true Religion, he can no where punish them. If he be to be every where Judge, then the King of *France*, or the Great Turk, must punish those whom they judge Dissenters from the true Religion, as well as other Potentates. If some Magistrates have a right to judge, and others not ; That yet, I fear, (how absurd soever it be) should I grant it, will not do your Business. For besides that, they will hardly agree to make you their infallible Umpire in the Case, to determine who of them have, and who have not this right to judge which is the true Religion ; or if they should, and you should declare the King of *England* had that Right, (viz. whilst he complied to support the Orthodoxy, Ecclesiastical Polity, and those Ceremonies which you approve of ;) But that the King of *France*, and the Great Turk, had it not, and so could have no Right to use Force on those they judg'd Dissenters from the true Religion ; You ought to be-
 think your self what you will reply to one that should use your own Words ; If such a degree of outward Force, as has been mentioned, be really of great and even necessary use, for the advancing of the true Religion, and Salvation of Souls, then it must be acknowledged, that in *France* and *Turky*, &c. there is a Right somewhere to use it, for the advancing those Ends ; unless we will say (what without Impiety cannot be said) that the wise and benign Disposer and Governour of all things, has not in *France* and *Turky* furnish'd Mankind with competent Means for the promoting his own Honour, and the good of Souls.

You go on, and tell us, they are to be punish'd, not for following the Light of their own Reason, nor for obeying the Dictates of their own Consciences, but rather for the contrary. For the Light of their own Reason, and the Dictates of their own Conscience (if their Reason and their Consciences were not perverted and abused) would undoubtedly lead them to the same thing, to which the Method you speak of is designed to bring them ; i. e. to the same thing to which your Reason and your Conscience leads you. For if you were to argue with a Papist, or a Presbyterian, in the Case, What Privilege have you to tell him, that his Reason and Conscience is perverted, more than he has to tell you that yours is so ? Unless it be this insupportable Presumption, that your Reason and Conscience ought to be the Measure of all Reason and Conscience in all others, which how you can claim, without pretending to Infallibility, is not easy to discern.

The Diversion you give your self about the likeness and unlikeness of those two Pleas, I shall not trouble my self with ; since, when your Fit of Mirth was over, you were forced to confess, That as I have made your Plea for you, you think there is no considerable difference, as to the Fairness of them, excepting what arises from the different degrees

degrees of Punishment, in the French Discipline, and your Method. But if the French Plea be not true; and that which I make to be yours, be not yours; — I must beg your Pardon, Sir, I did not think it was your Opinion, (nor do I yet remember that you any where said in your *A. &c.*) that Men were to be punish'd for their Religion; but that it was purely to make Men *examine the Religion they had embraced, and the Religion that they had rejected*. And if that were of moment, I should think my self sufficiently justified for this my Mistake, by what you say in your *Argument, &c.* from p. 6. to 12. But since you explain your self otherwise here, I am not unwilling to take your Hypothesis, as you from time to time shall please to reform it. You answer then, That to make them *examine*, is indeed the next End for which they are to be punish'd. Pag. 45.
But what is that to my Question? which, if it be pertinent, demands for what Fault, not for what End, they are to be punish'd: As appears even by my next words. "So that they are punish'd, not for having offended against a Law, (*i. e.* not for any Fault;) for there is no Law in England that requires them to examine. This, I must confess, was to shew, that here, as in France, whatever was pretended, yet the true Reason why People were punish'd, was their Religion. And it was for this Agreement, that in both Places Religion was meant, though something else was talked of, that I said your Plea was like that made use of in France. But I see I might have spared my Pains to prove that you punish Dissenters for their Religion, since you here own it.

You tell me, in the same place, I was impertinent in my Question, (which was this, For what then are they to be punish'd?) that I demanded for what End, and not for what Fault they are to be punish'd. In good earnest, Sir, I was not so subtle as to distinguish them. I always thought that the End of all Laws was to amend those Faults which were forbidden; and that when any one was punish'd, the Fault for which he was punish'd, was the Transgression of the Law, in that particular which was by the Law commanded or forbidden; and the End of the Punishment, was the Amendment of that Fault for the future. For Example; if the Law commanded to *hear*, not *Hearing* was the Fault punish'd; and the End of that punishment, was to make the Offenders *hear*. If the Law commanded to *examine*, the Fault punish'd, when that Law was put in Execution, was not *Examining*; and the End of the Punishment, to make the Offenders *examine*. If the Law commanded Conformity, the Fault was Non-conformity, and the End of it to make Men conform.

This was my Apprehension concerning Laws, and Ends of Punishments. And I must own my self still so dull as not to distinguish otherwise between the Fault for which Men are to be punish'd, and the End for which they are to be punish'd; but only as the one is past, the other future. The Transgression, or Fault, is an Omission or Action that a Man is already guilty of; the End of the Punishment, that it be not again repeated. So that if a Man be punish'd for the Religion he professes, I can see no other End for which he is punish'd, but to make him quit that Religion. No other immediate End I mean; for other remote Ends, to which this is subordinate, it may have. So that if *not examining* the Religion which Men have embraced, and the Religion they have rejected, be not the Fault for which Men are punish'd; I would be glad you would shew me how it can be the next End, as you say it is, of their being punish'd. And that you may not think my Dullness gives you a Labour without ground, I will tell you the Reason why I cannot find any other next End of Punishment, but the Amendment of the Fault forbidden; and that is, Because that seems to me to be the End, the next End, of any Action; which, when obtain'd, the Action is to cease, and not cease till it be attain'd. And thus, I think, it is, in Punishments ordain'd by the Law. When the Fault forbidden is amended, the Punishment is to cease, and not till then. This is the only way I have to know the End, or final Cause for which any Action is done. If you have any other, you will do me a Kindness to instruct me. This 'tis which makes me conclude, (and I think with me all those who have not had the Leisure and Happiness to attain the utmost refining of the Schools) that if their Religion be the Fault for which Dissenters are punish'd, Examining is not the End for which they are punish'd, but the Change of their Religion: Though Examining may, perhaps, in some Men, precede their Change, and help to it. But that is not necessary. A Man may change his Religion without it: And when he has chang'd, let the Motive be what it will, the End the Law aims at is obtain'd, and the Punishment ceases. So on the other side, If *not Hearing*, *not Examining*, be the Fault for which Men are punish'd, Conformity is not the next

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End for which they are punish'd, though it may perhaps, in some, be a Consequence of it; but *Hearing* and *Examining* must be understood to be the *Ends* for which they are punish'd. If they are not the *Ends*, why does the Punishment cease, when those *Ends* are attain'd? And thus you have my Thoughts concerning this matter, which perhaps will not be very pertinent (as mine have not the good luck always to be to you) to a Man of nicer Distinctions.

But let us consider your Hypothesis as it now stands, and see what Advantage you have got to your Cause by this new Explication. *Dissenters from the true Religion are to be punish'd*, say you, *for their Religion*. Why? Because 'tis a *Fault*. Against whom? Against God. Thence it follows indeed, that God, if he pleases, may punish it. But how will you prove that God has given the Magistrates of the Earth a Power to punish all Faults against himself? Covetousness, or not loving our Neighbour as our selves, are Faults or Sins against God. Ought the Magistrate to punish these? But I shall not need to trouble you much with that Question. This matter, I think, will be decided between us without going so far.

If the Magistrate may punish any one for not being of the true Religion, must the Magistrate judge what is that true Religion, or no? If he must not, what must guide him in the punishing of some, and not of others? For so it is in all places where there is a national Religion establish'd by penal Laws. If the Magistrate be commission'd by the same Law of Nature (for that is all the Commission you pretend to) to judge what is the true Religion, by which he is authorized to punish those who dissent from it; must not all Magistrates judge, and accordingly punish those who dissent from that, which they judge the true Religion, *i. e.* in effect, those who dissent from theirs? And if all Magistrates have a Power to punish those who are not of their Religion, I ask you, Whether it be of more Use or Disadvantage to the promoting *true Religion*, and *Salvation of Souls*? And when you have resolv'd that Question, you will then be able to tell me, whether the Usefulness of it (which must be determin'd by the greater Good or Harm it is like to do) is such as to justify your Doctrine about it, or the Magistrate's Use of it.

Besides, your making the dissenting from the true Religion a *Fault* to be punish'd by the Magistrate, puts an end to your Pretence to *moderate* Punishments; which, in this Place, you make use of to distinguish yours from the *French Method*; saying, That your *Method* punishes Men with Punishments which do not deserve to be called so, when compared with those of the *French Discipline*. But if the dissenting from the true Religion, be a *Fault* that the Magistrate is to punish, and a *Fault* of that Consequence, that it draws with it the loss of a Man's Soul; I do not see how other Magistrates, whose Duty it is, to punish Faults under their Cognizance, and by punishing to amend them, can be more remiss than the King of *France* has been, and forbear declaring that they will have all their People saved, and endeavour by such ways as he has done to effect it: Especially since you tell us, That God now leaves Religion to the Care of Men, under his ordinary Providence, to try whether they will do their Duties in their several Capacities or not, leaving them answerable for all that may follow from their Neglect. In the correcting of Faults, *malo nudo malus cuneus*, is not only what is justifiable, but what is requisite. But of this more fully in another Place.

In the next Place; I do not see how, by your Method, as you explain it here, the Magistrate can punish any one for not being of the true Religion, (though we should grant him to have a Power to do it) whilst you tell us, That your *Method* punishes Men for rejecting the true Religion, propos'd to them with sufficient Evidence, which certainly is a *Fault*. By this part of your Scheme it is plain, that you allow the Magistrate to punish none but those to whom the true Religion is propos'd with sufficient Evidence; and sufficient Evidence, you tell us, is such as will certainly win Assent wherever it is duly consider'd. Now by this Rule, there will be very few that the Magistrate will have right to punish; since he cannot know whether those who dissent, do it for want of due Consideration in them, or want of sufficient Evidence in what is propos'd; unless you mean by *due Consideration*, such Consideration that always does bring Men actually to assent; which is in effect to say nothing at all. For then your Rule amounts to thus much, That sufficient Evidence is such as will certainly win Assent wherever it is consider'd duly, *i. e.* so as to win Assent. This being like some of those other Rules we have met with, and ending in a Circle, which after you have traced, you at last find your self just where you were at setting out; I leave

I leave it to you to own as you think fit: And tell you, if by *duly considering*, you mean considering to his utmost; that then, that which is propos'd to one with *sufficient Evidence to win Assent*, may not be so to another.

There are Propositions extant in Geometry, with their Demonstrations annexed, and that with such sufficient Evidence to some Men of deep Thought and Penetration, as to make them see the Demonstration, and give Assent to the Truth: Whilst there are many others, and those no Novices in Mathematicks, who with all the Consideration and Attention they can use, are never able to attain unto it. 'Tis so in other Parts of Truth. That which hath Evidence enough to make one Man certain, has not enough to make another so much as guess it to be true, though he has spared no Endeavour or Application in examining it. And therefore, if the Magistrate be to punish none but those who *reject the true Religion*, when it has been offer'd with *sufficient Evidence*, I imagine he will not have many to punish, if he will, as he ought, distinguish between the innocent and the guilty.

Upon your Forwardness to encourage the Magistrate's use of Force in matters of Religion, by its Usefulness, even so far as to pretend Advantages from what your self acknowledge the misapplication of it, I say that 'So instead of disheartning from, L. 2. p. 271. " you give Encouragement to the Mischief; which, upon your Principle, join'd to " the natural Thirst in Man after arbitrary Power, may be carried to all manner of " Exorbitancy, with some Pretence of Right. To which your Reply is, That you Pag. 73. *speaks no where but of the Use and Necessity of Force*. What think you in the place mention'd, of the *Gain* that you tell the Sufferers they shall make by the Magistrate's punishing them to bring them to a wrong Religion? You do not, as I remember, there say, that Force is *necessary* in that case; though they *gaining*, as you say, by it this Advantage, that *they know better than they did before, where the Truth does lie*, you cannot but allow, that such a Misapplication of Force *may do some Service indirectly and at a distance, towards the Salvation of Souls*.

But that you may not think, whilst I had under Consideration the dangerous Encouragement you gave to Men in Power, to be very busy with their Force in matters of Religion, by all the sorts of Usefulness you could imagine of it, however apply'd, right or wrong, that I declin'd mentioning the *Necessity* you pretend of Force, because it would not as well serve to the purpose for which I mention its Usefulness; I shall here take it so, that the Reader may see what reason you had to complain of my not doing it before.

Thus then stands your System. *The procuring and advancing any way of the spiritual and eternal Interests of Men, is one of the Ends of civil Society*. And Force is put into the Magistrate's Hands, as necessary for the attaining those Ends, where *no other Means are left*, " Who then upon your Grounds may quickly find Reason, where it " suits his Inclination, or serves his Turn, to punish Men directly to bring them to " his Religion. For if he may use Force because it is *necessary*, as being the only Means left to make Men consider those Reasons and Arguments, which otherwise they would not consider, Why may he not by the same Rule of Force, as the only means left to procure Men degrees of Glory, which otherwise they would not attain, and so to advance their eternal Interests? For St. Paul assures us, that *the Afflictions of this Life work for us a far more exceeding weight of Glory*. So that whether the Magistrate may not, when it may serve his turn, argu'd thus from your Principles, judge you: Dissenters from my Religion must be punish'd, if in the wrong, to bring them into the right way; if in the right, to make them by their Sufferings *Gainers* of a far more exceeding weight of Glory.

But you say, *Unless it be as necessary for Men to attain any greater degree of Glory, as it is to attain Glory, it will not follow, that if the Magistrate may use Force, because it may be indirectly, &c. useful towards the procuring any degree of Glory, he may by the same Rule use it where it may be in that manner useful towards the procuring a greater degree of Glory*. But that there is the same necessity of Mens attaining a greater degree of Glory, as there is of their attaining Glory, no Man will affirm. For without attaining Glory, they cannot escape the Damnation of Hell, which yet they may escape, without any greater degree of Glory. One of the Ends of a Commonwealth is, say you, the *advancing Mens eternal Interests*. The procuring greater degrees of Glory, is the advancing a Man's eternal Interest. The use of Force to make Men suffer for the Truth, what otherwise they would not suffer, is as *necessary* for the attaining an higher degree of Glory, as using Force to make Men consider, what otherwise they would not consider, is *necessary* for the attaining any degree of Glory. But you will say, *Attaining*

Ibid.

Ibid.

A Third Letter for Toleration.

Glory is absolutely necessary, but the attaining any greater degree of Glory, however desirable, is not so necessary. Now if there be not the same necessity of the one of these, as there is of the other, there can be no pretence to say, that whatever is lawful in respect of one of them, is likewise so in respect of the other. But there will always be a just Pretence to say, if advancing the eternal Interests of Men be one of the Ends of a Commonwealth, and that the Force in the Magistrate's Hands be necessary to the attaining that End; that then the Magistrate is obliged to use it; whether you will think that End absolutely necessary, or as necessary as another, or no; I shall not here trouble you again with your Mistake about what is absolutely necessary, having taken notice of it in another Place. Only I shall desire you to shew me, that the attaining of Glory is absolutely necessary, when next time you have occasion to affirm it. Attaining of Glory is necessary in order to Happiness: And attaining a greater Degree of Glory, is necessary in order to greater Happiness: But neither of them is absolutely necessary, but in order to their respective Ends.

And now, though, as you say, you do not think your self bound to take notice of all that may be done with some Pretence of Right: Yet, I suppose, upon cooler Thoughts, when you have consider'd of what dangerous Consequence an Argument, manag'd as yours is, may be to the true Religion, and the sincere Professors of it; and what Occasion or Encouragement it may give to Men in Power warm'd with Zeal, and excited by the proper Ministers of their own Religion, to make a wrong and exorbitant Use of Force in matters of Religion, you will another time think your self bound not to let it go abroad again without some Caution to the Magistrate in the Use of it; without one Word of Advice at least, that since it is given him, as you say, only for promoting the true Religion, he should take Care, and examine impartially whether what he employs it for, be the one only true Religion. It being your Opinion, whenever he makes use of Force in matters of Religion, for the promoting any thing but that, he goes beyond his Commission, injures his Subjects, and endangers his own Soul.

By this time, Sir, I suppose you see upon what Grounds I think you have not clear'd those Difficulties which were charg'd by me on your Method: And my Reader will see what Reason there was for those Imputations, which, with so loud an Outcry, you laid upon me of unfair Dealing; since there is not one of them which cannot be made good to be contain'd either in your Book, or in your Hypothesis; and that so clearly, that I could not imagine that a Man who had so far consider'd Government, as to engage in Print, in such a Controversy as this, could miss seeing it as soon as mention'd to him. One of them which very much offends you, and makes you so often tell me what I say is *impertinent*, and *nothing to the purpose*; and sometimes to use warmer Expressions, is, that I argue against a Power in the Magistrate to bring Men to his own Religion: For I could not imagine that, to a Man of any thought, it could need proving; that if there were a Commission given to all Magistrates by the Law of Nature, which obliged them to use Force to bring Men to the true Religion, it was not possible for them to put this Commission in Execution, without being Judges what was the true Religion; and then there needed no great quickness to perceive, that every Magistrate, when your Commission came to be put in Execution, would, one as well as another, find himself obliged to use Force to bring Men to that which he believed to be the true Religion. But since this was so hard for you to see, I now have been at the Pains to prove it, and thereby to clear all those Imputations. I shall not instance in any other: They are all of a like kind. Only where you complain I have not cited your Words fairly, if you can shew that I have done it any where in this or the *Second Letter*, to the Advantage of my Cause; or to avoid any Argument in them, not answered; if you please to shew it me, I shall either let you see your Mistake, or acknowledge mine.

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And now whether you shall think what I have said worth that Consideration you promise, or take it all for *Cavils and Impertinencies*, to me is very indifferent. Enjoy, if you please, that short and easy way of answering. But if the Party you write for, be, as you say, *God, and the Souls of Men*, it will require you seriously to weigh your Scheme, examine and put together the Parts of it, observe its Tendency and Consequences; and in a Word, consider Things, and not Words. For the Party of *God and Souls* needs not any Help from Obscurity or Uncertainty of general and equivocal Terms, but may be spoke out clearly and distinctly; needs no retreat in the round of equivalent, or the uncertainty of misapply'd Expressions, that may serve to amuse and

and deceive the unwary, but instruct no body; and lastly, needs no leave nor allowance from *Men of Art*, to direct both Subjects and Magistrates to the Examination of the *Scriptures*, wherein God has reveal'd to the World the ways and means of Salvation. In doing of this, in a Treatise where you profess the *Subject of your Enquiry is* Pag. 68.
only what Method is to be used to bring Men to the true Religion; the *Party* you profess to write for, would have justified you against the Rules of any lawful *Art*; and no Christian Man, of what *Art* soever, would have denied you that Liberty: And if I mistake not, the *Party*, you say you write for, demands it of you.

If you find upon a Review of the whole, that you have manag'd your Cause for *God and the Souls of Men*, with that Sincerity and Clearness that satisfies your own Reason, and you think may satisfy that of other Men, I shall congratulate to you so happy a Constitution. But if all your magnified and *necessary* means of Force, in the way you contend for, reaches no farther than to bring Men to a bare outward Conformity to the Church of *England*, wherein you can sedately affirm, that it is *presumable* that all that are of it are so upon Reason and Conviction; I suppose there needs no more to be said to convince the World what *Party* you write for.

The *Party* you write for is *God*, you say. But if all you have said aims or amounts to nothing more, than that the Church of *England*, as now establish'd by Law, in its Doctrines, Ceremonies and Discipline, should be supported by the Power of the *Magistrate*, and Men by Force be driven into it; I fear the World will think you have very narrow Thoughts of *God*; or that that is not the *Party* you write for. 'Tis true, you all along speak of bringing Men to the true Religion. But to evidence to you, that by the *only true Religion*, you mean only that of the Church of *England*, I tell you, that upon your Principles, you cannot name any other Church now in the World, (and I again demand of you to do it) for the promoting whereof, or punishing Dissenters from it, the *Magistrate* has the same Right to use Force, as you pretend he has here in *England*. Till you therefore name some such other true Church and true Religion; besides that of *England*, your saying, that *God is the Party* you write for, will rather shew that you make bold with his Name, than that you do not write for another *Party*.

You say too, you write not for any *Party*, but the *Souls of Men*. You write indeed, and contend earnestly, that Men should be brought into an outward Conformity to the Church of *England*. But that they embrace that Profession upon Reason and Conviction, you are content to have it *presumable*, without any farther Enquiry or Examination. And those who are once in the outward Communion of the national Church, however ignorant or irreligious they are, you leave there unassisted by your only competent means, *Force*; without which, you tell us, the *true Religion*, by its own Light and Strength, is not able to prevail against Mens Lusts, and the Corruption of Nature, so as to be consider'd as it ought, and heartily embraced. And this dropp'd not from your Pen by chance; but you professedly make Excuses for those of the national Religion, who are ignorant of the grounds of it, and give us Reasons why Force cannot be used to those who outwardly conform, to make them consider so as sincerely to embrace; believe and obey the Truth that must save them. But the Reverend Author of the *Pastoral Care* tells you, *PARTY is the true Name* Pag. 201.
of making Converts, except they become at the same time good Men.

If the use of Force be necessary for the Salvation of Souls, and Mens Souls be the *Party* you write for; you will be suspected to have betrayed your *Party*, if your Method and necessary Means of Salvation reach no farther, than to bring Men to outward Conformity, though to the true Church; and after that abandons them to their Lusts and depraved Natures, destitute of the help of Force, your *necessary* and *competent* means of Salvation.

This way of managing the matter, whatever you intend, seems rather, in the Fiteness of it, to be for another *Party*. But since you assure us, you write for nothing but *God and Mens Souls*, it can only be said you had a good Intention, but ill Luck; since your Scheme, put into the Language of the Country, will fit any national Church and Clergy in the World, that can but suppose it self the true; and that I presume none of them will fail to do.

You were more than ordinary reserv'd and gracious, when you tell me, That *what Party I write for*, you will not undertake to say. But having told me, that my Letter tends to the promoting of Scepticism in Religion, you thought ('tis like) that was sufficient to shew the *Party I write for*; and so you might safely end your Letter
Pag. 79.

A Third Letter for Toleration.

Letter with Words that looked like civil. But that you may another time be a little better informed what *Party* I write for, I will tell you. They are those who in every Nation *fear God, work Righteousness, and are accepted with him*; and not those who in every Nation are zealous for human Constitutions, cry up nothing so much as outward Conformity to the national Religion, and are accepted by those who are the Promoters of it. Those that I write for are those, who, according to the Light of their own Consciences, are every where in earnest in matters of their own Salvation, without any desire to impose on others; a *Party* so seldom favour'd by any of the Powers or Sects of the World; a *Party* that has so few Preferments to bestow; so few Benefices to reward the Endeavour of any one who appears for it, that I conclude I shall easily be believ'd when I say, that neither Hopes of Preferment, nor a Design to recommend my self to those I live amongst, has bias'd my Understanding, or mislead me in my Undertaking. So much Truth as serves the turn of any particular Church, and can be accommodated to the narrow Interest of some human Constitution, is indeed often received with Applause, and the Publisher finds his account in it. But I think I may say, Truth (in its full Latitude of those generous Principles of the Gospel, which so much recommend and inculcate universal Charity, and a Freedom from the Inventions and Impositions of Men in the things of God,) has so seldom had a fair and favourable Hearing any where, that he must be very ignorant of the History and Nature of Man; however dignify'd and distinguish'd, who proposes to himself any secular Advantage by writing for her at that rate.

As to your Request in the Close of your Letter, I hope this will satisfy you, that you might have spar'd it; and you, with the rest of the World, will see that all I writ in my former was so *true*, that you need not have given me any Caution for the future. As to the *Pertinence* of what I say, I doubt whether I shall please you: Because I find by your last Letter, that what is brought by me to shew the Weakness, Absurdities, or Insignificancy of what you write, you are very apt to call *impertinent*, and *nothing to the purpose*. You must pardon me therefore, if I have endeavour'd more to please other Readers than you in that Point. I hope they will find, in what I have said, not much besides the matter. But to a Man who, supposing himself in the right, builds all upon that Supposition, and takes it for an Injury to have that Privilege deny'd him; to a Man who would sovereignly decide for all the World, what is the *true Religion*, and thereby empower what Magistrates he thinks fit, and what not, to use Force; to such a Man, not to seem *impertinent*, would be really to be so. This makes me pleas'd with your Reply to so many Passages of my Letter, that they were *nothing to the purpose*: And 'tis in your Choice whether in your Opinion any thing in this shall be so.

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But since this depends upon your keeping steadily to clear and settled Notions of things, separate from Words and Expressions used in a doubtful and undetermin'd Signification, wherewith *Men of Art* often amuse themselves and others; I shall not be so unreasonable as to expect, whatever you promise, that you should lay by your Learning to embrace Truth, and own what will not perhaps suite very well with your Circumstances and Interest.

I see, my Design, not to omit any thing that you might think looks like an Argument in yours, has made mine grow beyond the size of a Letter. But an Answer to any one being very little different from a Letter, I shall let it go under that Title. I have in it also endeavour'd to bring the scatter'd Parts of your Scheme into some Method, under distinct Heads, to give a fuller and more distinct View of them. Wherein, if any of the Arguments, which give Support to your Hypothesis, have escaped me unawares, be pleas'd to shew them me; and I shall either acknowledge their Force, or endeavour to shew their Weakness. I am,

S I R,

Your most Humble Servant,

June 20,
1692.

PHILANTHROPUS.

THE

THE
PREFACE

THE
REASONABLENESS
OF
CHRISTIANITY,
As deliver'd in the
SCRIPTURES.

THE P R E F A C E.



THE little Satisfaction and Consistency is to be found in most of the Systems of Divinity I have met with, made me betake my self to the sole reading of the Scripture (to which they all appeal) for the understanding the Christian Religion. What from thence by an attentive and unbiassed Search I have received, Reader, I here deliver to thee. If by this my Labour thou receivest any Light or Confirmation in the Truth, join with me in Thanks to the Father of Lights for his Condescension to our Understandings. If upon a fair and unprejudiced Examination, thou findest I have mistaken the Sense and Tenor of the Gospel, I beseech thee, as a true Christian, in the Spirit of the Gospel (which is that of Charity) and in the Words of Sobriety, set me right in the Doctrine of Salvation.



THE
REASONABLENESS
OF
CHRISTIANITY,
As deliver'd in the
SCRIPTURES.

TIS obvious to any one who reads the New Testament, that the Doctrine of Redemption, and consequently of the Gospel, is founded upon the Supposition of *Adam's* Fall. To understand therefore what we are restored to by Jesus Christ, we must consider what the Scripture shews we lost by *Adam*. This I thought worthy of a diligent and unbiassed Search : Since I found the two Extremes, that Men run into on this Point, either on the one hand shook the Foundations of all Religion, or on the other made Christianity almost nothing. For whilst some Men would have all *Adam's* Posterity doomed to eternal infinite Punishment for the Transgression of *Adam*, whom Millions had never heard of, and no one had authorized to transact for him, or be his Representative ; this seemed to others so little consistent with the Justice or Goodness of the Great and Infinite God, that they thought there was no Redemption necessary, and consequently that there was none, rather than admit of it upon a Supposition so derogatory to the Honour and Attributes of that Infinite Being ; and so made Jesus Christ nothing but the Restorer and Preacher of pure Natural Religion ; thereby doing violence to the whole tenor of the New Testament. And, indeed, both sides will be suspected to have trespassed this way, against the written Word of God, by any one, who does but take it to be a Collection of Writings designed by God for the Instruction of the illiterate bulk of Mankind in the way to Salvation ; and therefore generally and in necessary Points to be understood in the plain direct meaning of the Words and Phrases, such as they may be supposed to have had in the Mouths of the Speakers, who used them according to the Language of that Time and Country wherein they lived, without such learned, artificial, and forced senses of them, as are sought out, and put upon them in most of the Systems of Divinity, according to the Notions, that each one has been bred up in.

To one that thus unbiassed reads the Scriptures, what *Adam* fell from, is visible, was the state of perfect Obedience, which is called *Justice* in the New Testament, though the Word which in the Original signifies *Justice*, be translated *Righteousness* : And by this Fall he lost Paradise, wherein was Tranquillity and the Tree of Life, *i. e.* he lost Bliss and Immortality. The Penalty annexed to the breach of the Law, with the Sentence pronounced by God upon it, shew this. The Penalty stands thus, *Gen. ii. 17.*

In

In the day that thou eatest thereof thou shalt surely die. How was this executed? He did eat, but in the day he did eat, he did not actually die, but was turned out of Paradise from the Tree of Life, and shut out for ever from it, *lest he should take thereof and live for ever.* This shews that the state of Paradise was a state of Immortality, of Life without end, which he lost that very day that he eat: His Life began from thence to shorten, and wast, and to have an end; and from thence to his actual Death, was but like the time of a Prisoner between the Sentence past and the Execution, which was in view and certain. Death then enter'd and shewed his Face, which before was shut out, and not known. So St. Paul, Rom. v. 12. *By one man sin entred into the world, and death by sin; i. e. a state of Death and Mortality:* And 1 Cor. xv. 22. *In Adam all die; i. e. by reason of his Transgression all Men are mortal, and come to die.*

This is so clear in these cited places, and so much the current of the New Testament, that no body can deny, but that the Doctrine of the Gospel is, that Death came on all Men by Adam's sin; only they differ about the signification of the Word *Death*. For some will have it to be a state of Guilt, wherein not only he, but all his Posterity was so involved, that every one descended of him deserved endless torment in Hell-fire. I shall say nothing more here how far, in the apprehensions of Men, this consists with the Justice and Goodness of God, having mentioned it above: But it seems a strange way of understanding a Law, which requires the plainest and directest words, that by *Death* should be meant eternal Life in Misery. Could any one be supposed by a Law, that says, *For Felony you shall die*, not that he should lose his Life, but be kept alive in perpetual exquisite Torments? And would any one think himself fairly dealt with, that was so used?

To this they would have it be also a state of necessary sinning, and provoking God in every Action that Men do: A yet harder sense of the word *Death* than the other, God says, *That in the day that thou eatest of the forbidden Fruit, thou shalt die; i. e. thou and thy Posterity shall be ever after incapable of doing any thing, but what shall be sinful and provoking to me, and shall justly deserve my Wrath and Indignation.* Could a worthy Man be supposed to put such terms upon the Obedience of his Subjects, much less can the righteous God be supposed, as a Punishment of one sin wherewith he is displeased, to put Man under a necessity of sinning continually, and so multiplying the Provocation? The reason of this strange Interpretation we shall perhaps find in some mistaken places of the New Testament. I must confess by *Death* here I can understand nothing but a ceasing to be, the losing of all actions of Life and Sense. Such a Death came on Adam, and all his Posterity by his first Disobedience in Paradise, under which *Death* they should have lain for ever, had it not been for the Redemption by Jesus Christ. If by *Death* threatned to Adam were meant the Corruption of human Nature in his Posterity, 'tis strange that the New Testament should not any where take notice of it, and tell us, that Corruption seized on all, because of Adam's Transgression, as well as it tells us so of *Death*. But, as I remember, every one's sin is charged upon himself only.

Another part of the Sentence was, *Cursed is the ground for thy sake; in sorrow shalt thou eat of it all the days of thy life, in the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread, till thou return unto the ground: For out of it wast thou taken; Dust thou art, and to dust shalt thou return, Gen. iii. 17--19.* This shews that Paradise was a place of Bliss as well as Immortality, without drudgery, and without sorrow. But when Man was turned out, he was exposed to the toil, anxiety, and frailties of this mortal Life, which should end in the *Dust*, out of which he was made, and to which he should return, and then have no more Life or Sense than the *Dust* had, out of which he was made.

As Adam was turned out of Paradise, so all his Posterity were born out of it, out of the reach of the Tree of Life, All like their Father Adam in a state of Mortality, void of the Tranquillity and Bliss of Paradise. Rom. v. 12. *By one man sin entred into the world, and death by sin.* But here will occur the common Objection, that so many stumble at: How doth it consist with the Justice and Goodness of God, that the Posterity of Adam should suffer for his sin; the Innocent be punished for the Guilty? Very well, if keeping one from what he has no right to, be called a *Punishment*; the state of Immortality in Paradise is not due to the Posterity of Adam more than to any other Creature. Nay, if God afford them a temporary mortal Life, 'tis his Gift, they owe it to his Bounty, they could not claim it as their Right, nor does he injure them when he takes it from them. Had he taken from Mankind any thing that

was their Right; or did he put Men in a state of Misery worse than not being, without any fault or demerit of their own; this, indeed, would be hard to reconcile with the Notion we have of Justice, and much more with the Goodness, and other Attributes of the supreme Being, which he has declared of himself, and Reason as well as Revelation must acknowledge to be in him; unless we will confound Good and Evil, God and Satan. That such a state of extreme irremediable Torment is worse than no Being at all, if every ones own sense did not determine against the vain Philosophy, and foolish Metaphysics of some Men; yet our Saviour's peremptory Decision, *Matt. xxvi. 24.* has put it past doubt, that one may be in such an estate, that it had been better for him not to have been born. But that such a temporary Life as we now have, with all its Frailties and ordinary Miseries, is better than no Being, is evident by the high value we put upon it ourselves. And therefore though *all die in Adam*, yet none are truly punished but for their own Deeds. *Rom. ii. 6.* God will render to every one, how? according to his Deeds. To those that obey unrighteousness, indignation and wrath, tribulation and anguish upon every soul of man that doth evil, *v. 9.* 2 *Cor. v. 10.* we must appear before the Judgment-seat of Christ, that every one may receive the things done in his body, according to that he has done, whether it be good or bad. And Christ himself, who knew for what he should condemn Men at the last day, assures us in the two places where he describes his proceeding at the great Judgment, that the Sentence of Condemnation passes only on the workers of Iniquity, such as neglected to fulfil the Law in acts of Charity, *Mat. vii. 23.* *Luke xiii. 27.* *Mat. xxv. 42.* And again, *John v. 29.* our Saviour tells the Jews, that *All shall come forth of their graves, They that have done good to the resurrection of life, and they that have done evil unto the resurrection of damnation.* But here is no Condemnation of any one, for what his Forefather Adam had done, which 'tis not likely should have been omitted, if that should have been a cause, why any one was adjudged to the fire with the Devil and his Angels. And he tells his Disciples, that when he comes again with his Angels in the Glory of his Father, that then he will render to every one according to his works, *Mat. xvi. 27.*

Adam being thus turned out of Paradise, and all his Posterity born out of it, the consequence of it was, that all Men should die, and remain under Death for ever, and so be utterly lost.

From this estate of Death Jesus Christ restores all Mankind to Life; *1 Cor. xv. 22.* *As in Adam all die, so in Christ shall all be made alive.* How this shall be, the same Apostle tells us in the foregoing *v. 21.* *By man death came, by man also came the resurrection from the dead.* Whereby it appears, that the Life, which Jesus Christ restores to all Men, is that Life, which they receive again at the Resurrection. Then they recovered from Death, which otherwise all Mankind should have continued under, lost for ever, as appears by St. Paul's Arguing, *1 Cor. xv.* concerning the Resurrection.

And thus Men are by the Second Adam restored to Life again: That so by Adam's sin they may none of them lose any thing, which by their own Righteousness they might have a Title to. For Righteousness, or an exact obedience to the Law, seems by the Scripture to have a claim of Right to Eternal Life, *Rom. iv. 4.* *To him that worketh; i. e.* does the works of the Law, is the reward not reckoned of Grace, but OF DEBT. And *Rev. xxii. 14.* *Blessed are they who do his Commandments, that they may HAVE RIGHT to the Tree of Life, which is in the Paradise of God.* If any of the Posterity of Adam were just, they shall not lose the Reward of it, eternal Life and Bliss, by being his mortal Issue: Christ will bring them all to Life again; and then they shall be put every one upon his own Tryal, and receive Judgment, as he is found to be righteous or not. And the righteous, as our Saviour says, *Mat. xxv. 46.* shall go into eternal life. Nor shall any one miss it, who has done what our Saviour directed the Lawyer, who asked, *Luke x. 25.* *What he should do to inherit eternal life? Do this, i. e.* what is required by the Law, *and thou shalt live.*

On the other side, it seems the unalterable purpose of the Divine Justice, that no unrighteous Person, no one that is guilty of any breach of the Law, should be in Paradise; but that the wages of sin should be to every Man, as it was to Adam, an Exclusion of him out of that happy state of Immortality, and bring Death upon him. And this is so conformable to the eternal and established Law of Right and Wrong, that it is spoke of too as it could not be otherwise. St. James says, *Chap. i. 15.* *Sin when it is finished bringeth forth death,* as it were by a natural and necessary Production. *Sin entered into the world, and death by sin,* says St. Paul, *Rom. v. 12.* & *vi. 23.* *The wages of sin is Death.* Death is the purchase of any, of every sin. *Gal. iii. 10.* *Cursed is*

is every one who continueth not in all things which are written in the Book of the Law to do them. And of this St. James gives a Reason, Chap. ii. 10, 11. *Whoever shall keep the whole Law, and yet offend in one point, he is guilty of all: For he that said, Do not commit Adultery, said also, do not Kill: i. e. He that offends in any one Point, sins against the Authority which established the Law.*

Here then we have the standing and fixed measures of Life and Death. Immortality and Bliss belong to the Righteous; Those who have lived in an exact Conformity to the Law of God, are out of the reach of Death: But an Exclusion from Paradise, and Loss of Immortality, is the Portion of Sinners, of all those who have any way broke that Law, and failed of a compleat Obedience to it by the guilt of any one Transgression. And thus Mankind by the Law are put upon the issues of Life or Death; As they are Righteous, or Unrighteous; Just or Unjust; i. e. Exact Performers, or Transgressors of the Law.

But yet *all having sinned*, Rom. iii. 23. *and come short of the glory of God*, i. e. the Kingdom of God in Heaven, which is often called his Glory, *both Jews and Gentiles*, v. 22. So that *by the deeds of the Law no one could be justified*, v. 20. it follows, that no one could then have eternal Life and Bliss.

Perhaps it will be demanded, Why did God give so hard a Law to Mankind, that to the Apostles time no one of Adam's Issue had kept it? As appears by Rom. iii. and Gal. iii. 21, 22.

Ans. It was such a Law as the Purity of God's Nature required, and must be the Law of such a Creature as Man, unless God would have made him a rational Creature, and not required him to have lived by the Law of Reason, but would have countenanced in him Irregularity and Disobedience to that Light which he had, and that Rule which was suitable to his Nature: Which would have been, to have authorized Disorder, Confusion, and Wickedness in his Creatures. For that this Law was the *Law of Reason*, or as it is called, *of Nature*, we shall see by and by: And if rational Creatures will not live up to the Rule of their Reason, who shall excuse them? If you will admit them to forsake Reason in one point, why not in another? Where will you stop? To disobey God in any part of his Commands (and 'tis he that commands what Reason does) is direct Rebellion; which if dispensed with in any Point, Government and Order are at an end; and there can be no Bounds set to the lawless Exorbitancy of unconfined Men. *The Law therefore was*, as St. Paul tells us, Rom. vii. 12. *holy, just, and good*, and such as it ought, and could not otherwise be.

This then being the case, that whoever is guilty of any sin, should certainly die, and cease to be, the benefit of Life restored by Christ at the Resurrection would have been no great Advantage, (for as much as here again Death must have seized upon all Mankind, because all had sinned; for the Wages of Sin is every where Death, as well after as before the Resurrection) if God had not found out a way to justify some, i. e. so many, as obeyed another Law, which God gave, which in the New Testament is called *the Law of Faith*, Rom. iii. 27. and is opposed to *the Law of Works*. And therefore the Punishment of those who would not follow him was to lose their Souls, i. e. their Lives, Mark viii. 35--38. as is plain, considering the occasion it was spoke on.

The better to understand *the Law of Faith*, it will be convenient in the first place to consider *the Law of Works*. *The Law of Works* then, in short, is that Law, which requires perfect Obedience, without any remission or abatement; So that by that Law a Man cannot be just, or justified without an exact performance of every tittle. Such a perfect Obedience in the New Testament is termed *δικαιοσύνη*, which we translate *Righteousness*.

The Language of this Law is, *Do this and live, transgress and die.* Lev. xviii. 5. *Ye shall keep my statutes and my judgments, which if a man do he shall live in them.* Ezek. 20. 11. *I gave them my statutes, and shewed them my judgments, which if a man do he shall even live in them.* Moses, says St. Paul, Rom. x. 5. *describeth the righteousness which is of the Law, that the man which doth those things shall live in them.* Gal. iii. 12. *The Law is not of Faith, but that man that doth them shall live in them.* On the other side, transgress and die; no dispensation, no atonement. V. 10. *Cursed is every one that continueth not in all things which are written in the book of the Law to do them.*

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Where this Law of Works was to be found, the New Testament tells us, (*viz.*) in the Law delivered by *Moses*. *John* i. 17. *The Law was given by Moses, but Faith and Truth came by Jesus Christ.* Chap. vii. 19. *Did not Moses give you the Law,* says our Saviour, *and yet none of you keep the Law.* And this is the Law which he speaks of, where he asks the Lawyer, *Luke* x. 26. *What is written in the Law? how readeſt thou?* V. 28. *This do and thou shalt live.* This is that which *St. Paul* so often ſtiles the Law, without any other distinction, *Rom.* ii. 13. *Not the bearers of the Law are juſt before God, but the doers of the Law are juſtified.* 'Tis needleſs to quote any more places, his *Epistles* are all full of it, eſpecially this to the *Romans*.

But the Law given by *Moses* being not given to all Mankind, how are all Men Sinners, ſince without a Law there is no Tranſgreſſion? To this the Apoſtle, *v.* 14. answers, *For when the Gentiles which have not the Law, do (i. e. find it reaſonable to do) by nature the things contained in the Law; theſe having not the Law, are a Law unto themſelves: Which ſhew the Work of the Law written in their Hearts, their Conſciences alſo bearing witneſs, and amongſt one another their Thoughts accusing or excuſing.* By which, and other places in the following Chapter, 'tis plain, that under the Law of Works is comprehended alſo the Law of Nature, knowable by Reaſon as well as the Law given by *Moses*. For, ſays *St. Paul*, *Rom.* iii. 9. 23. *We have proved both Jews and Gentiles, that they are all under Sin: For all have ſinned, and come ſhort of the Glory of God: Which they could not do without a Law.*

Nay, whatever God requires any where to be done without making any allowance for Faith, that is a part of the Law of Works. So that forbidding *Adam* to eat of the Tree of Knowledge was part of the Law of Works. Only we muſt take notice here, That ſome of God's poſitive Commands being for peculiar Ends, and ſuited to particular Circumſtances of Times, Places, and Perſons, have a limited and only temporary Obligation by vertue of God's poſitive Injunction; ſuch as was that part of *Moses's* Law which concerned the outward Worſhip, or political Conſtitution of the Jews, and is called the Ceremonial and Judaical Law, in contradinction to the Moral part of it: Which being conformable to the eternal Law of Right, is of eternal Obligation, and therefore remains in force ſtill under the Goſpel; nor is abrogated by the Law of Faith, as *St. Paul* found ſome ready to infer, *Rom.* iii. 31. *Do we then make void the Law through Faith? God forbid; yea, we eſtabliſh the Law.*

Nor can it be otherwiſe: For were there no Law of Works, there could be no Law of Faith. For there could be no need of Faith, which ſhould be counted to Men for Righteouſneſs, if there were no Law to be the Rule and Meaſure of Righteouſneſs, which Men failed in their Obedience to. Where there is no Law, there is no Sin; all are righteous equally with or without Faith.

The Rule therefore of Right is the ſame that ever it was, the Obligation to obſerve it is alſo the ſame: The difference between the Law of Works, and the Law of Faith is only this; that the Law of Works makes no allowance for failing on any occaſion. Thoſe that obey are righteous, thoſe that in any part diſobey are unrighteous, and muſt not expect Life the Reward of Righteouſneſs. But by the Law of Faith, Faith is allowed to ſupply the defect of full Obedience; and ſo the Believers are admitted to Life and Immortality as if they were righteous. Only here we muſt take notice, that when *St. Paul* ſays, that the Goſpel eſtabliſhes the Law, he means the Moral part of the Law of *Moses*: For that he could not mean the Ceremonial or Political part of it, is evident by what I quoted out of him juſt now, where he ſays, *The Gentiles that do by nature the things contained in the Law, their Conſciences bearing witneſs.* For the Gentiles neither did nor thought of the Judaical or Ceremonial Inſtitutions of *Moses*, 'twas only the Moral part their Conſciences were concerned in. As for the reſt, *St. Paul* tells the *Galatians*, Chap. iv. they are not under that part of the Law, which *v.* 3. he calls *Elements of the World*; and *v.* 9. *weak and beggarly Elements.* And our Saviour himſelf in his Goſpel-Sermon on the Mount, tells them, *Mat.* v. 17. That whatever they might think, he was not come to diſſolve the Law, but to make it more full and ſtrict: For that that is meant by *πληρῶσαι* is evident from the following part of that Chapter, where he gives the Precepts in a ſtricter Senſe than they were received in before. But they are all Precepts of the Moral Law which he reinforces. What ſhould become of the Ritual Law he tells the Woman of *Samaria* in theſe words, *John* iv. 21, 23. *The hour cometh when you ſhall neither in this Mountain, nor yet at Jeruſalem worſhip the Father. But the true Worſhipers ſhall worſhip the Father in ſpirit and in truth, for the Father ſeeketh ſuch to worſhip him.*

Thus

Thus then as to the Law in short. The Civil and Ritual part of the Law delivered by *Moses* obliges not Christians, though to the Jews it were a part of the Law of Works; it being a part of the Law of Nature, that Man ought to obey every positive Law of God, whenever he shall please to make any such addition to the Law of his Nature. But the Moral part of *Moses's* Law, or the Moral Law, (which is every where the same, the eternal Rule of Right) obliges Christians and all Men every where, and is to all Men the standing Law of Works. But Christian Believers have the Privilege to be under the *Law of Faith* too; which is that Law whereby God justifies a Man for Believing, though by his Works he be not just or righteous, *i. e.* though he came short of Perfect Obedience to the Law of Works. God alone does, or can, justify or make just those who by their Works are not so: Which he doth by counting their Faith for Righteousness, *i. e.* for a compleat performance of the Law. Rom. iv. 3. *Abraham believed God, and it was counted to him for Righteousness.* v. 5. *To him that believeth on him that justifieth the ungodly, his faith is counted for righteousness.* v. 6. *Even as David also describeth the blessedness of the man unto whom God imputeth righteousness without works; i. e. without a full measure of Works, which is exact Obedience.* v. 7. *Saying, Blessed are they whose iniquities are forgiven, and whose sins are covered.* v. 8. *Blessed is the man to whom the Lord will not impute sin.*

This Faith for which God justified *Abraham*, what was it? It was the believing God when he engaged his Promise in the Covenant he made with him. This will be plain to any one who considers these places together, *Gen. xv. 6. He believed in the Lord, or believed the Lord.* For that the Hebrew Phrase *believing in*, signifies no more but *believing*, is plain from *St. Paul's* citation of this place, *Rom. iv. 3.* where he repeats it thus: *Abraham believed God*, which he thus explains, *v. 18---22. who against hope believed in hope, that he might become the Father of many Nations: According to that which was spoken, so shall thy seed be. And being not weak in faith, he considered not his own body now dead, when he was about an hundred years old, nor yet the deadness of Sarah's womb. He staggered not at the promise of God through unbelief; but was strong in faith, giving glory to God. And being fully persuaded, that what he had promised, he was also able to perform. And therefore it was imputed to him for righteousness.* By which it is clear, that the Faith which God counted to *Abraham* for Righteousness, was nothing but a firm belief of what God declared to him, and a steadfast relying on him for the accomplishment of what he had promised.

Now this, says *St. Paul*, *v. 23, 24. was not writ for his [Abraham's] sake alone, But for us also;* teaching us, that as *Abraham* was justified for his Faith, so also ours shall be accounted to us for Righteousness, if we believe God as *Abraham* believed him. Whereby 'tis plain is meant the firmness of our Faith without staggering, and not the believing the same Propositions that *Abraham* believed; *viz.* that though he and *Sarah* were old, and past the time and hopes of Children, yet he should have a Son by her, and by him become the Father of a great People, which should possess the Land of *Canaan*. This was what *Abraham* believed, and was counted to him for Righteousness. But no body, I think, will say, that any one's believing this now, shall be imputed to him for Righteousness. The Law of Faith then, in short, is for every one to believe what God requires him to believe, as a Condition of the Covenant he makes with him; and not to doubt of the Performance of his Promises. This the Apostle intimates in the close here, *v. 24. But for us also, to whom it shall be imputed, if we believe on him that raised up Jesus our Lord from the dead.* We must therefore examine and see what God requires us to believe now under the Revelation of the Gospel: For the Belief of one Invisible, Eternal, Omnipotent God, Maker of Heaven and Earth, &c. was required before, as well as now.

What we are now required to believe to obtain eternal Life, is plainly set down in the Gospel. *St. John* tells us, *John iii. 36. He that believeth on the Son, hath eternal life; and he that believeth not the Son, shall not see life.* What this believing on him is, we are also told in the next Chapter. *The woman saith unto him, I know that the Messiah cometh: When he is come, he will tell us all things. Jesus said unto her, I that spake unto thee am he. The woman then went into the City, and saith to the men, come see a man that hath told me all things that ever I did. Is not this the Messiah? And many of the Samaritans believed on him for the saying of the woman, who testified, he told me all that ever I did. So when the Samaritans were come unto him, many more believed because of his words, and said to the woman; We believe not any longer, because*

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cause of thy saying, for we have heard our selves, and we know that this Man is truly the Saviour of the World, the Messiah, John iv. 25, 26, 29, 39, 40, 41, 42.

By which place it is plain, that believing on the Son, is the believing that Jesus was the Messiah; giving credit to the Miracles he did, and the Profession he made of himself. For those who were said to BELIEVE ON HIM for the saying of the Woman, v. 39. tell the Woman, that they now believed not any longer because of her saying; but that having heard him themselves, they knew, i. e. BELIEVED past doubt THAT HE WAS THE MESSIAH.

This was the great Proposition that was then controverted concerning Jesus of Nazareth, whether he was the Messiah or no; and the assent to that, was that which distinguished Believers from Unbelievers. When many of his Disciples had forsaken him, upon his declaring that he was the Bread of Life which came down from Heaven, He said to the Apostles, will ye also go away? Then Simon Peter answered him; Lord, to whom shall we go? Thou hast the Words of eternal Life. And we believe, and are sure thou art the Messiah, the Son of the living God, John iv. 69. This was the Faith which distinguished them from Apostates and Unbelievers, and was sufficient to continue them in the Rank of Apostles: And it was upon the same Proposition, That Jesus was the Messiah the Son of the living God, owned by St. Peter, that our Saviour said, he would build his Church, Mar. xvi. 16--18.

To convince Men of this, he did his Miracles: And their assent to, or not assenting to this, made them to be, or not to be of his Church; Believers, or not Believers. The Jews came round about him, and said unto him, how long dost thou make us doubt? If thou be the Messiah tell us plainly. Jesus answered them; I told you, and ye believed not: The Works that I do in my Father's Name, they bear witness of me. But ye believe not, because ye are not of my sheep, John x. 24--26. Conformable hereunto, St. John tells us, That many Deceivers are entred into the World, who confess not that Jesus, the Messiah, is come in the Flesh. This is a Deceiver, and an Antichrist, whosoever abideth not in the Doctrine of the Messiah has not God. He that abideth in the Doctrine of the Messiah, i. e. that Jesus is he, hath both the Father and the Son, 2 John 7. 9, 10. That this is the meaning of the Place, is plain from what he says in his foregoing Epistle, whosoever believeth that Jesus is the Messiah, is born of God, 1 John v. 1. And therefore drawing to a close of his Gospel, and shewing the end for which he writ it, he has these Words: Many other signs truly did Jesus in the presence of his Disciples, which are not written in this Book; but these are written, that ye may believe that Jesus is the Messiah, the Son of God; and that believing ye might have life through his Name, John xx. 30, 31. Whereby it is plain that the Gospel was writ to induce Men into a belief of this Proposition, That Jesus of Nazareth was the Messiah; which if they believed, they should have life.

Accordingly the great Question amongst the Jews was, whether he were the Messiah or no: And the great Point insisted on and promulgated in the Gospel was, that he was the Messiah. The first glad tidings of his Birth, brought to the Shepherds by an Angel, was in these Words: Fear not, for behold I bring you good Tidings of great joy, which shall be to all People; For to you is born this day in the City of David a Saviour, who is the Messiah, the Lord, Luke ii. 11. Our Saviour discoursing with Martha about the means of attaining eternal Life, saith to her, John xi. 27. Whosoever believeth in me shall never die. Believest thou this? She saith unto him, Yea, Lord, I believe that thou art the Messiah, the Son of God, which should come into the World. This Answer of hers sheweth what it is to believe in Jesus Christ, so as to have eternal Life, viz. to believe that he is the Messiah the Son of God, whose coming was foretold by the Prophets. And thus Andrew and Philip express it: Andrew says to his Brother Simon, we have found the Messiah, which is, being interpreted, the Christ. Philip saith to Nathanael, we have found him of whom Moses in the Law, and the Prophets did write, Jesus of Nazareth, the Son of Joseph, John i. 41, 45. According to what the Evangelist says in this place, I have, for the clearer understanding of the Scripture, all along, put Messiah for Christ. Christ being but the Greek Name for the Hebrew Messiah, and both signifying, The Anointed.

And that he was the Messiah, was the great Truth he took pains to convince his Disciples and Apostles of; appearing to them after his Resurrection: As may be seen, Luke xxiv. which we shall more particularly consider in another place. There we read what Gospel our Saviour preach'd to his Disciples and Apostles; and, That, as soon as he was risen from the Dead, twice the very Day of his resurrection.

And

And if we may gather what was to be believed by all Nations, from what was preached unto them; we may certainly know what they were commanded, *Mat. ult.* to teach all Nations, by what they actually did teach all Nations; we may observe, that the Preaching of the Apostles every where in the *Acts* tended to this one Point, to prove that Jesus was the *Messiah*. Indeed, now after his Death, his Resurrection was also commonly required to be believed as a necessary Article, and sometimes solely insisted on: It being a mark and undoubted Evidence of his being the *Messiah*, and necessary now to be believed by those who would receive him as the *Messiah*. For since the *Messiah* was to be a Saviour and a King, and to give Life and a Kingdom to those who received him, as we shall see by and by, there could have been no Pretence to have given him out for the *Messiah*, and to require Men to believe him to be so, who thought him under the Power of Death, and Corruption of the Grave. And therefore those who believed him to be the *Messiah*, must believe that he was risen from the Dead: And those who believed him to be risen from the Dead, could not doubt of his being the *Messiah*. But of this more in another place.

Let us see therefore how the Apostles preached Christ, and what they proposed to their Hearers to believe. *St. Peter at Jerusalem, Acts ii.* by his first Sermon, converted three thousand Souls. What was his word, which, as we are told, *v. 41. they gladly received, and thereupon were baptized?* That may be seen from *v. 22. to v. 36.* In short, this; which is the Conclusion drawn from all that he had said, and which he presses on them as the thing they were to believe, *viz. Therefore let all the House of Israel know assuredly, that God hath made that same Jesus, whom ye have crucified, Lord and Messiah, v. 36.*

To the same purpose was his Discourse to the Jews in the Temple, *Acts iii.* the design whereof you have, *v. 18. But those things that God before had shewed by the Mouth of all his Prophets, that the Messiah should suffer, he hath so fulfilled.*

In the next Chapter, *Acts iv.* Peter and John being examined about the Miracle on the lame Man, profess it to have been done in the Name of Jesus of Nazareth, who was the *Messiah*, in whom alone there was Salvation, *v. 10---12.* The same thing they confirm to them again, *Acts v. 29---32. And daily in the Temple, and in every House they ceased not to teach and preach Jesus the Messiah, v. 42.*

What was Stephen's Speech to the Council, *Acts vii.* but a Reprehension to them, that they were the Betrayers and Murderers of the Just One? Which is the Title by which he plainly designs the *Messiah*, whose coming was foretold by the Prophets, *v. 51, 52.* And that the *Messiah* was to be without Sin (which is the import of the word Just) was the Opinion of the Jews, appears from *John ix. v. 22.* compared with 24.

Acts viii. Philip carries the Gospel to Samaria. Then Philip went down to Samaria, and preached to them. What was it he preached? You have an account of it in this one word, *The Messiah, v. 5.* This being that alone which was required of them, to believe that Jesus was the *Messiah*; which, when they believed, they were baptized. And when they believed Philip's preaching the Gospel of the Kingdom of God, and the name of Jesus the *Messiah*, they were baptized both Men and Women, *v. 12.*

Philip being sent from thence, by a special Call of the Spirit, to make an eminent Convert, out of *Isaiah* preaches to him Jesus, *v. 35.* And what it was he preached concerning Jesus, we may know by the Profession of Faith the Eunuch made, upon which he was admitted to Baptism. *V. 37. I believe that Jesus Christ is the Son of God:* Which is as much as to say, I believe that he, whom you call Jesus Christ, is really and truly the *Messiah* that was promised. For that believing him to be the Son of God, and to be the *Messiah*, was the same thing, may appear by comparing *John i. 45.* with *v. 49.* where Nathanael owns Jesus to be the *Messiah* in these terms: *Thou art the Son of God; Thou art the King of Israel.* So the Jews, *Luke xxii. 70.* asking Christ, whether he were the Son of God, plainly demand of him, whether he were the *Messiah*? Which is evident by comparing that with the three preceding Verses. They ask him, *v. 67.* whether he were the *Messiah*? He answers, *If I tell you, you will not believe;* but withal tells them, that from thenceforth he should be in Possession of the Kingdom of the *Messiah*, expressed in these words, *v. 69. Hereafter shall the Son of Man sit on the right Hand of the Power of God:* Which made them all cry out, *Art thou then the Son of God? i. e. Dost thou then own thy self to be the Messiah?* To which he replies, *Ye say that I am.* That the Son of God was the known Title of the *Messiah* at that time amongst the Jews, we may see also from what the Jews say to Pilate, *John xix. 7. We have a*

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Law, and by our Law he ought to die, because he made himself *THE SON OF GOD*; i. e. by making himself the *Messiah*, the Prophet which was to come, but falsely; and therefore he deserves to die by the Law, *Deut. xviii. 20.* That this was the common Signification of the *Son of God*, is farther evident from what the Chief Priests mocking him, said, when he was on the Cross, *Mat. xxvii. 42.* He saved others, himself he cannot save: If he be the King of Israel, let him now come down from the Cross, and we will believe him. He trusted in God, let him deliver him now, if he will have him; for he said, *I am the SON OF GOD*; i. e. he said, he was the *Messiah*: But 'tis plainly false; for if he were, God would deliver him: For the *Messiah* is to be King of Israel, the Saviour of others; but this Man cannot save himself. The Chief Priests mention here the two Titles then in use whereby the Jews commonly designed the *Messiah*, viz. *Son of God*, and *King of Israel*. That of *Son of God*, was so familiar a Compellation of the *Messiah*, who was then so much expected and talked of, that the Romans, it seems, who lived amongst them, had learned it, as appears from *v. 54.* Now when the Centurion, and they that were with him, watching Jesus, saw the Earthquake, and those things that were done, they feared greatly, saying, Truly this was the *SON OF GOD*; this was that extraordinary Person that was looked for.

Acts ix. St. Paul exercising the Commission to preach the Gospel, which he had received in a miraculous way, *v. 20.* Straitway preached Christ in the Synagogues, that he is the *Son of God*; i. e. that Jesus was the *Messiah*: For Christ in this place is evidently a proper Name. And that this was it which Paul preached, appears from *v. 22.* Saul increased the more in strength, and confounded the Jews who dwelt in Damascus, proving that this is the very Christ, i. e. the *Messiah*.

Peter, when he came to Cornelius at Cæsarea; who, by a Vision, was ordered to send for him, as St. Peter, on the other side, was by a Vision commanded to go to him; What does he teach him? His whole Discourse, *Acts x.* tends to shew what he says God commanded the Apostles, To preach unto the People, and to testify, that it is he [Jesus] which was ordained of God to be the Judge of the quick and the dead. And that it was to him that all the Prophets give witness, that through his Name whosoever believeth in him shall have Remission of Sins, *v. 42, 43.* This is the Word which God sent to the Children of Israel; that WORD which was published throughout all Judea, and began from Galilee, after the Baptism which John preached, *v. 36, 37.* And these are the Words which had been promised to Cornelius, *Acts xi. 14.* Whereby he and all his House should be saved: Which Words amount only to thus much, That Jesus was the *Messiah*, the Saviour that was promised. Upon their receiving of this (for this was all was taught them) the Holy Ghost fell on them, and they were baptized. 'Tis observable here, that the Holy Ghost fell on them before they were baptized; which in other places Converts received not till after Baptism. The reason whereof seems to be this; That God by bestowing on them the Holy Ghost, did thus declare from Heaven, that the Gentiles, upon believing Jesus to be the *Messiah*, ought to be admitted into the Church by Baptism as well as the Jews. Whoever reads St. Peter's Defence, *Acts xi.* when he was accused by those of the Circumcision, that he had not kept that distance which he ought with the uncircumcised, will be of this Opinion; and see by what he says, *v. 15, 16, 17.* That this was the ground, and an irresistible Authority to him for doing so strange a thing, as it appeared to the Jews (who alone yet were Members of the Christian Church) to admit Gentiles into their Communion, upon their believing. And therefore St. Peter, in the foregoing Chapter, *Acts x.* before he would baptize them, proposes this Question to those of the Circumcision, which came with him, and were astonished, because that on the Gentiles also was poured out the Gift of the Holy Ghost: Can any one forbid Water, that these should not be baptized, who have received the Holy Ghost as well as we? *v. 47.* And when some of the Sect of the Pharisees, who believed, thought it needful that the converted Gentiles should be circumcised, and keep the Law of Moses, *Acts xv.* Peter rose up and said unto them, Men and Brethren, you know that a good while ago God made choice amongst us, that the Gentiles, viz. Cornelius, and those here converted with him, by my mouth should hear the Gospel, and believe. And God, who knoweth the hearts, bear them witness, giving them the Holy Ghost, even as he did unto us, and put no difference between us, and them, purifying their Hearts by Faith, *v. 7-9.* So that both Jews and Gentiles, who believed Jesus to be the *Messiah*, received thereupon the Seal of Baptism; whereby they were owned to be his, and distinguished from Unbelievers. From what is above said, we may observe, That this preaching Jesus to be the *Messiah*, is called the Word, and

and the Word of God; and believing it, receiving the Word of God. *Vid.* Acts x. 36, 37. and xi. 1, 19, 20. and the Word of the Gospel, Acts xv. 7. And so likewise in the History of the Gospel, what Mark, Chap. iv. 14, 15. calls simply the Word, St. Luke calls the Word of God, Luke viii. 11. And St. Matthew, Chap. xiii. 19. the Word of the Kingdom; which were, it seems, in the Gospel-writers synonymous Terms, and are so to be understood by us.

But to go on: Acts xiii. Paul preaches in the Synagogue at Antioch, where he makes it his Business to convince the Jews, that God, according to his promise, had of the seed of David raised to Israel a Saviour, Jesus, v. 24. That he was He of whom the Prophets writ, v. 25--29. i.e. the Messiah: And that as a demonstration of his being so, God had raised him from the Dead, v. 30. From whence he argues thus, v. 32, 33. We Evangelize to you, or bring you this Gospel, how that the Promise which was made to our Fathers, God hath fulfilled the same unto us, in that he hath raised up Jesus again; as it is also written in the second Psalm, Thou art my Son, this day have I begotten thee. And having gone on to prove him to be the Messiah, by his Resurrection from the Dead, he makes this Conclusion; v. 38, 39. Be it known unto you therefore, Men and Brethren, that through this Man is preached unto you forgiveness of sins; and by him all who believe are justified from all things, from which they could not be justified by the Law of Moses. This is in this Chapter called, the Word of God, over and over again: Compare v. 42. with 44, 46, 48, 49. And Chap. xii. v. 24.

Acts xvii. 2--4. At Thessalonica, Paul, as his manner was, went into the Synagogue and three Sabbath-days reasoned with the Jews out of the Scriptures; opening and alledging, that the Messiah must needs have suffered, and risen again from the dead: And that this Jesus, whom I preach unto you, is the Messiah. And some of them believed, and consorted with Paul and Silas: But the Jews which believed not, set the City in an uproar. Can there be any thing plainer, than that the assenting to this Proposition, that Jesus was the Messiah, was that which distinguished the Believers from the Unbelievers? For this was that alone which, three Sabbaths, Paul endeavoured to convince them of, as the Text tells us in direct Words.

From thence he went to Berea, and preached the same thing: And the Bereans are commended, v. 11. for searching the Scriptures, whether those things, i.e. which he had said, v. 2, 3. concerning Jesus his being the Messiah, were true or no.

The same Doctrine we find him preaching at Corinth, Acts xviii. 4--6. And he reasoned in the Synagogue every Sabbath, and persuaded the Jews and the Greeks. And when Silas and Timotheus were come from Macedonia, Paul was pressed in Spirit, and testified to the Jews, that Jesus was the Messiah. And when they opposed themselves, and blasphemed, he shook his Raiment, and said unto them, your Blood be upon your own Heads, I am clean; from henceforth I will go unto the Greeks.

Upon the like occasion he tells the Jews at Antioch, Acts xiii. 46. It was necessary that the Word of God should first have been spoken to you: But seeing you put it off from you, we turn to the Gentiles. 'Tis plain here, St. Paul's charging their Blood on their own Heads, is for opposing this single Truth, that Jesus was the Messiah; that Salvation or Perdition depends upon believing or rejecting this one Proposition. I mean, this is all is required to be believed by those who acknowledge but one eternal and invisible God, the Maker of Heaven and Earth, as the Jews did. For that there is something more required to Salvation, besides believing, we shall see hereafter. In the mean time, it is fit here on this occasion to take notice, that though the Apostles in their preaching to the Jews, and the Devout, (as we translate the Word *Εὐσεβήσαντες*, who were Profelytes of the Gate, and the Worshipers of one eternal and invisible God,) said nothing of the believing in this one true God, the Maker of Heaven and Earth; because it was needless to press this to those who believed and professed it already (for to such, 'tis plain, were most of their Discourses hitherto). Yet when they had to do with idolatrous Heathens, who were not yet come to the Knowledge of the one only true God; they began with that, as necessary to be believed; it being the Foundation on which the other was built, and without which it could signify nothing.

Thus Paul speaking to the idolatrous Lystrians, who would have sacrificed to him and Barnabas, says, Acts xiv. 15. We preach unto you, that you should turn from these Vanities unto the living God, who made Heaven, and Earth, and the Sea, and all things that are therein. Who in times past suffered all Nations to walk in their own ways.

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Nevertheless he left not himself without witness in that he did good, and gave us rain from Heaven, and fruitful seasons, filling our Hearts with food and gladness.

Thus also he proceeded with the Idolatrous Athenians, *Acts xvii.* Telling them, upon occasion of the Altar dedicated to the unknown God, *Whom ye ignorantly worship, him declare I unto you; God who made the World, and all things therein: Seeing that he is Lord of Heaven and Earth, dwelleth not in Temples made with Hands. — Forasmuch then as we are the Offspring of God, we ought not to think that the Godhead is like unto Gold, or Silver, or Stone, graven by art, and Man's Device. And the times of this ignorance God winked at; But now commandeth all Men every where to repent: Because he hath appointed a day in which he will judge the World in righteousness, by that Man whom he hath ordained: Whereof he hath given assurance unto all Men, in that he hath raised him from the dead.* So that we see, where any thing more was necessary to be proposed to be believed, as there was to the Heathen Idolaters, there the Apostles were careful not to omit it.

Acts xviii. 4. Paul at Corinth reasoned in the Synagogue every Sabbath-day, and testified to the Jews, that Jesus was the Messiah. *Ver. 11.* And he continued there a Year and six Months, teaching the Word of God amongst them; i. e. The good News; that Jesus was the Messiah; as we have already shewn is meant by the Word of God.

Apollos, another Preacher of the Gospel, when he was instructed in the way of God more perfectly, what did he teach but this same Doctrine? As we may see in this account of him, *Acts xviii. 27.* That when he was come into Achaia, he helped the Brethren much, who had believed through grace. For he mightily convinced the Jews, and that publickly, shewing by the Scriptures that Jesus was the Messiah.

St. Paul, in the Account he gives of himself before Festus and Agrippa, professes this alone to be the Doctrine he taught after his Conversion: For, says he, *Acts xxvi. 22.* Having obtained help of God, I continue unto this Day, witnessing both to small and great, saying none other things than those which the Prophets and Moses did say should come: That the Messiah should suffer, and that he should be the first that should rise from the dead, and should shew light unto the People, and to the Gentiles. Which was no more than to prove that Jesus was the Messiah. This is that, which, as we have above observed, is called, *The Word of God; Acts xi. 1.* compared with the foregoing Chapter, from v. 34. to the end. And *xiii. 42.* compared with 44, 46, 48, 49. and *xvii. 13.* compared with v. 11, 3. It is also called, *The Word of the Gospel, Acts xv. 7.* And this is that *Word of God*, and that *Gospel*, which, where ever their Discourses are set down, we find the Apostles preached; and was that Faith, which made both Jews and Gentiles Believers and Members of the Church of Christ; purifying their Hearts, *Acts xv. 9.* and carrying with it remission of Sins, *Acts x. 43.* So that all that was to be believed for justification, was no more but this single Proposition; that *Jesus of Nazareth was the Christ, or the Messiah.* All, I say, that was to be believed for justification: For that it was not all that was required to be done for justification, we shall see hereafter.

Though we have seen above from what our Saviour has pronounced himself, *John iii. 36.* That he that believeth on the Son, hath everlasting life; and he that believeth not the Son, shall not see life, but the wrath of God abideth on him; and are taught from *John iv. 39.* compared with v. 42. That believing on him, is believing that he is the Messiah, the Saviour of the World; and the Confession made by St. Peter, *Mat. xvi. 16.* That he is the Messiah, the Son of the living God, being the Rock, on which our Saviour has promised to build his Church; though this, I say, and what else we have already taken notice of, be enough to convince us what it is we are in the Gospel required to believe to eternal Life, without adding what we have observed from the preaching of the Apostles; yet it may not be amiss, for the farther clearing this matter, to observe what the Evangelists deliver concerning the same thing, though in different Words; which, therefore, perhaps, are not so generally taken notice of to this purpose.

We have above observed, from the Words of Andrew and Philip compared, That the Messiah, and him of whom Moses in the Law and the Prophets did write, signifie the same thing. We shall now consider that place, *John i.* a little farther. *Ver. 41.* Andrew says to Simon, *We have found the Messiah.* Philip, on the same occasion, v. 45. says to Nathanael, *We have found him, of whom Moses in the Law and the Prophets did write, Jesus of Nazareth, the Son of Joseph.* Nathanael, who disbelieved this, when upon Christ's speaking to him, he was convinced of it, declares his assent to it in these

these Words; *Rabbi, thou art the Son of God, thou art the King of Israel.* From which it is evident, that to believe him to be *Him of whom Moses and the Prophets did write*, or to be the *Son of God*, or to be the *King of Israel*, was in effect the same as to believe him to be the *Messiah*: And an assent to that, was what our Saviour received for believing. For upon Nathanael's making a Confession in these Words; *Thou art the Son of God, thou art the King of Israel*; Jesus answered and said to him, *Because I said to thee, I saw thee under the Fig-tree, dost thou BELIEVE? Thou shalt see greater things than these, v. 51.* I desire any one to read the latter part of the first of John, from v. 25. with attention, and tell me, whether it be not plain, that this Phrase, *The Son of God*, is an Expression used for the *Messiah*. To which let him add, *Martha's* declaration of her Faith, John xi. 27. in these Words; *I believe that thou art the Messiah, THE SON OF GOD, who should come into the world*; and that passage of St. John xx. 31. *That ye might believe that Jesus is the Messiah, THE SON OF GOD; and that believing, ye might have life through his Name*: And then tell me whether he can doubt that *Messiah* and *Son of God* were synonymous terms, at that time amongst the Jews.

The Prophecy of Daniel, Chap. ix. where he is called *Messiah the Prince*; and the mention of his Government and Kingdom, and the Deliverance by him, in *Isaiah*, *Daniel*, and other Prophecies, understood of the *Messiah*; were so well known to the Jews, and had so raised their Hopes of him about this time, which by their account was to be the time of his coming to restore the Kingdom to *Israel*, That *Herod* no sooner heard of the *Magi's* enquiry after him that was born King of the Jews, Mat. ii. but he forthwith demanded of the chief Priests and Scribes, where the *Messiah* should be born, v. 4. Not doubting, but if there were any King born to the Jews, it was the *Messiah*: Whose Coming was now the general Expectation, as appears, Luke iii. 15. *The People being in expectation, and all Men musing in their Hearts of John, whether he were the Messiah or not.* And when the Priests and Levites sent to ask him who he was; he understanding their meaning, answers, John i. 20. *That he was not the Messiah*: But he bears witness that *Jesus is the Son of God, i. e. the Messiah, v. 34.*

This looking for the *Messiah* at this time, we see also in *Simeon*; who is said to be waiting for the consolation of *Israel*, Luke ii. 21. And having the Child Jesus in his Arms, he says he had seen the Salvation of the Lord, v. 30. And *Anna* coming at the same instant into the Temple, she gave thanks also unto the Lord, and spake of him to all them that looked for Redemption in *Israel*, v. 38. And of *Joseph of Arimathea*, it is said, Mark xv. 43. *That he also expected the Kingdom of God*: By all which was meant the coming of the *Messiah*; and Luke xix. 11. 'tis said, *They thought that the Kingdom of God should immediately appear.*

This being premised, let us see what it was that *John the Baptist* preached, when he first entred upon his Ministry. That St. Matthew tells us, Chap. iii. 1, 2. *In those days came John the Baptist preaching in the wilderness of Judea, saying, Repent, for the Kingdom of Heaven is at hand.* This was a Declaration of the coming of the *Messiah*; the Kingdom of Heaven and the Kingdom of God being the same, as is clear out of several places of the Evangelists; and both signifying the Kingdom of the *Messiah*. The Profession which *John the Baptist* made, when sent to the Jews, John i. 19. was, *That he was not the Messiah*; but that Jesus was. This will appear to any one, who will compare v. 26--34. with John iii. 27, 30. The Jews being very inquisitive to know whether *John* were the *Messiah*; he positively denies it, but tells them, he was only his Fore-runner; and that there stood one amongst them, who would follow him, whose Shoe-latchet he was not worthy to untie. The next day seeing Jesus, he says, he was the Man; and that his own baptizing in Water, was only that Jesus might be manifested to the World; and that he knew him not, till he saw the Holy Ghost descend upon him. He that sent him to baptize having told him, that he on whom he should see the Spirit descend, and rest upon, he it was that should baptize with the Holy Ghost; and that therefore he witnessed, that *this was the Son of God, v. 34. i. e. the Messiah*; and, Chap. iii. 26, &c. They came to *John the Baptist*, and tell him, that Jesus baptized, and that all Men went to him. *John* answers, *He has his Authority from Heaven*; You know I never said, I was the *Messiah*, but that I was sent before him; He must increase, but I must decrease; for God hath sent him, and he speaks the Words of God; and God hath given all things into the Hands of his Son, *And he that believes on the Son, hath eternal Life*; The same Doctrine, and nothing else but what was preached by the Apostles afterwards: As we have seen all through the Acts,

Acts, v. g. that Jesus was the *Messiah*. And thus it was that *John* bears witness of our Saviour, as Jesus himself says, *John* v. 33.

This also was the Declaration was given of him at his Baptism, by a voice from Heaven; *This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased*; *Mat.* iii. 17. Which was a Declaration of him to be the *Messiah*, the Son of God being (as we have shewed) understood to signify the *Messiah*. To which we may add the first mention of him after his Conception, in the Words of the Angel to *Joseph*; *Mat.* i. 21. *Thou shalt call his name Jesus*, or Saviour; *for he shall save his people from their sins*. It was a received Doctrine in the Jewish Nation, that at the coming of the *Messiah*, all their sins should be forgiven them. These Words therefore of the Angel we may look on as a Declaration, that Jesus was the *Messiah*; whereof these Words, *his People*, are a farther Mark; which suppose him to have a People, and consequently to be a King.

After his Baptism, Jesus himself enters upon his Ministry. But before we examine what it was he proposed to be believed, we must observe, that there is a three-fold declaration of the *Messiah*.

1. By Miracles. The Spirit of Prophecy had now for many Ages forsaken the Jews: And though their Common-Wealth were not quite dissolved, but that they lived under their own Laws, yet they were, under a foreign Dominion, subject to the *Romans*. In this state their account of the time being up, they were in expectation of the *Messiah*; and of deliverance by him in a Kingdom, he was to set up; according to their ancient Prophecies of him: Which gave them Hopes of an extraordinary Man yet to come from God, who with an extraordinary and divine Power, and Miracles, should evidence his Mission, and work their Deliverance. And of any such extraordinary Person who should have the power of doing Miracles, they had no other expectation but only of their *Messiah*. One great Prophet and Worker of Miracles, and only one more, they expected; who was to be the *Messiah*. And therefore, we see the People justified their believing in him, i. e. their believing him to be the *Messiah*, because of the Miracles he did; *John* vii. 31. *And many of the People believed in him, and said, when the Messiah cometh, will he do more Miracles than this Man hath done?* And when the Jews, at the Feast of Dedication, *John* x. 24, 25. coming about him, said unto him, *How long dost thou make us doubt? If thou be the Messiah, tell us plainly.* Jesus answered them, *I told you, and ye believed not; the Works that I do in my Father's Name bear witness of me.* And, *John* v. 36. he says, *I have a greater witness than that of John; for the Works which the Father hath given me to do, the same Works that I do, bear witness of me, that the Father hath sent me.* Where, by the way, we may observe, that his being sent by the Father, is but another way of expressing the *Messiah*; which is evident from this place here, *John* v. compared with that of *John* x. last quoted. For there he says, that his Works bear witness of him: And what was that witness? viz. That he was the *Messiah*. Here again he says, that his Works bear witness of him: And what is that witness? viz. *That the Father sent him.* By which we are taught, that to be sent by the Father, and to be the *Messiah*, was the same thing, in his way of declaring himself. And accordingly we find, *John* iv. 53. and xi. 45. and elsewhere, many hearkned and assented to his Testimony, and believed on him, seeing the things that he did.

2. Another way of declaring the coming of the *Messiah*, was by Phrases and Circumlocutions, that did signify or intimate his coming; though not in direct Words pointing out the Person. The most usual of these were, *The Kingdom of God*, and of *Heaven*; because it was that which was often spoken of the *Messiah*, in the Old Testament, in very plain Words: And a Kingdom was that which the Jews most looked after, and wished for. In that known place, *Isa.* ix. *The GOVERNMENT shall be upon his Shoulders; he shall be called the PRINCE of Peace: Of the increase of his GOVERNMENT and Peace there shall be no end: Upon the THRONE of David, and upon his KINGDOM, to order it, and to establish it with Judgment, and with Justice, from henceforth even for ever.* *Micah* v. 2. *But thou, Bethlehem Ephrath, though thou be little among the thousands of Judah, yet out of thee shall he come forth unto me, that is to be the RULER in Israel.* And *Daniel*, besides that he calls him *Messiah* the PRINCE, *Chap.* ix. 25. In the account of his Vision of the Son of Man, *Chap.* vii. 13, 14. says, *There was given him Dominion, Glory, and a KINGDOM, that all People, Nations, and Languages should serve him: His Dominion is an everlasting Dominion, which shall not pass away; and his KINGDOM that which shall not be destroyed.* So that the Kingdom of God, and the Kingdom of Heaven, were common phrases amongst

amongst the Jews to signify the times of the *Messiah*. Luke xiv. 15. *One of the Jews that sat at meat with him, said unto him, Blessed is he that shall eat bread in the Kingdom of God.* Chap. xvii. 20. The Pharisees demanded, *When the Kingdom of God should come?* And St. John Baptist came, saying, *Repent, for the Kingdom of Heaven is at hand:* A Phrase he would not have used in preaching, had it not been understood.

There are other Expressions that signified the *Messiah*, and his Coming, which we shall take notice of as they come in our way.

3. By plain and direct words, declaring the Doctrine of the *Messiah*, speaking out that Jesus was He: As we see the Apostles did, when they went about preaching the Gospel, after our Saviour's Resurrection. This was the open clear way, and that which one would think the *Messiah* himself, when he came, should have taken; especially if it were of that moment, that upon Mens believing him to be the *Messiah*, depended the Forgiveness of their Sins. And yet we see that our Saviour did not: But on the contrary, for the most part, made no other Discovery of himself, at least in *Judea*, and at the beginning of his Ministry, but in the two former ways, which were more obscure; not declaring himself to be the *Messiah*, any otherwise than as it might be gathered from the Miracles he did, and the Conformity of his Life and Actions with the Prophecies of the Old Testament concerning him; and from some general Discourses of the Kingdom of the *Messiah* being come, under the name of the *Kingdom of God*, and of *Heaven*. Nay, so far was he from publicly owning himself to be the *Messiah*, that he forbid the doing of it: *Mark viii. 27-30: He asked his Disciples, whom do Men say that I am? And they answered, John the Baptist; but some say, Elias; and others, one of the Prophets.* (So that it is evident, that even those who believed him an extraordinary Person, knew not yet who he was, or that he gave himself out for the *Messiah*; though this was in the third Year of his Ministry, and not a Year before his Death.) *And he saith unto them, but whom say ye that I am? And Peter answered, and said unto him, Thou art the Messiah.* And he charged them that they should tell no Man of him. *Luke iv. 41. And Devils came out of many, crying, Thou art the Messiah, the Son of God: And he rebuking them, suffered them not to speak, that they knew him to be the Messiah.* *Mark iii. 11, 12. Unclean Spirits, when they saw him, fell down before him, and cried, saying, Thou art the Son of God: And he straitly charged them that they should not make him known.* Here again we may observe from the comparing of the two Texts, that, *Thou art the Son of God*; or, *Thou art the Messiah*, were indifferently used for the same thing. But to return to the Matter in hand.

This Concealment of himself will seem strange, in one who was come to bring Light into the World, and was to suffer Death for the Testimony of the Truth. This Reservedness will be thought to look as if he had a mind to conceal himself, and not to be known to the World for the *Messiah*, nor to be believ'd on as such. But we shall be of another mind, and conclude this proceeding of his according to divine Wisdom, and suited to a fuller Manifestation and Evidence of his being the *Messiah*; when we consider, that he was to fill out the time foretold of his Ministry; and, after a Life illustrious in Miracles and good Works, attended with Humility, Meekness, Patience, and Suffering, and every way conformable to the Prophecies of him, should be led as a Sheep to the slaughter, and with all quiet and submission be brought to the Cross, though there were no guilt nor fault found in him. This could not have been, if as soon as he appeared in publick, and began to preach, he had presently professed himself to have been the *Messiah*; the King that ow'd that Kingdom he published to be at hand. For the *Sanhedrim* would then have laid hold on it, to have got him into their Power, and thereby have taken away his Life; at least, they would have disturbed his Ministry, and hindred the Work he was about. That this made him cautious, and avoid, as much as he could, the occasions of provoking them, and falling into their hands, is plain from *John vii. 1. After these things Jesus walked in Gallilee; out of the way of the Chief Priests and Rulers; for he would not walk in Jewry, because the Jews sought to kill him.* Thus, making good what he foretold them at *Jerusalem*, when at the first Passover after his beginning to preach the Gospel, upon his curing the Man at the Pool of *Bethsaida*, they sought to kill him, *John v. 16. Ye have not, says he, v. 38. his Word abiding amongst you: For whom he hath sent, him ye believe not.* This was spoken more particularly to the Jews of *Jerusalem*; who were the forward Men, zealous to take away his Life: And it imports, that because of their Unbelief and Opposition to him, the *Word of God*, i. e. the preaching of the Kingdom of the *Messiah*,

Messiah, which is often called the Word of God, did not stay amongst them: He could not stay amongst them, preach and explain to them the Kingdom of the *Messiah*.

That the Word of God, here, signifies *the Word of God* that should make Jesus known to them to be the *Messiah*, is evident from the Context: And this meaning of this place is made good by the event. For after this, we hear no more of Jesus at *Jerusalem*, till the Pentecost come twelve month, though 'tis not to be doubted but that he was there the next Passover, and other Feasts between, but privately. And now at *Jerusalem*, at the Feast of *Pentecost*, near fifteen Months after, he says little of any thing, and not a word of the Kingdom of Heaven being come, or at hand; nor did he any Miracle there. And returning to *Jerusalem* at the Feast of Tabernacles, it is plain, that from this time till then, which was a Year and a half, he had not taught them at *Jerusalem*.

For, 1. It is said, *John vii. 2, 15.* That he teaching in the Temple at the Feast of Tabernacles, *The Jews marvelled, saying, How knoweth this man letters, having never learned?* A sign they had not been used to his preaching: For if they had, they would not now have marvelled.

2. *Ver. 19.* He says thus to them: *Did not Moses give you the Law, and yet none of you keep the Law? Why go you about to kill me? One Work, or Miracle, I did here amongst you, and ye all marvel. Moses therefore gave unto you Circumcision, and ye on the Sabbath day circumcise a man: If a man on the Sabbath-day receive Circumcision, that the Law of Moses should not be broken, are ye angry with me because I have made a man every way whole on the Sabbath-day?* Which is a direct Defence of what he did at *Jerusalem* a Year and a half before; the Work he here speaks of, we find he had not preached to them there, from that time till this, but had made good what he then told them, *v. 38.* *Ye have not the Word of God remaining among you, because whom he hath sent ye believe not.* Whereby, I think, he signifies his not staying and being frequent amongst them at *Jerusalem*, preaching the Gospel of the Kingdom; because their great Unbelief, Opposition, and Malice to him would not permit it.

This was manifestly so in fact. For the first Miracle he did at *Jerusalem*, which was at the second Passover after his Baptism, brought him in danger of his Life. Hereupon we find he forbore preaching again there till the Feast of Tabernacles, immediately preceding his last Passover: So that till half a Year before his Passion, he did but one Miracle, and preached but once publicly at *Jerusalem*. These Trials he made there: But found their Unbelief such, that if he had staid and persisted to preach the good tidings of the Kingdom, and to shew himself by Miracles among them, he could not have had time and freedom to do those Works which his Father had given him to finish, as he says, *v. 36.* of this fifth of *St. John*.

When upon the curing of the withered Hand on the Sabbath-day, *The Pharisees took counsel with the Herodians, how they might destroy him, Jesus withdrew himself with his Disciples to the Sea: And a great multitude from Galilee followed him, and from Judea, and from Jerusalem, and from Idumea, and from beyond Jordan, and they about Tyre and Sidon, a great multitude; when they had heard what great things he did, came unto him, and he healed them all, and CHARGED THEM THAT THEY SHOULD NOT MAKE HIM KNOWN:* That it might be fulfilled what was spoken by the Prophet *Isaiah*, saying: *Behold my Servant whom I have chosen; my Beloved, in whom my Soul is well pleased: I will put my Spirit upon him, and he shall shew Judgment to the Gentiles. He shall not strive, nor cry, neither shall any man hear his voice in the Streets,* *Mat. xii. and Mark iii.*

And *John xi. 47.* Upon the News of our Saviour's raising *Lazarus* from the Dead, *The Chief Priests and Pharisees convened the Sanhedrim, and said, What do we? For this man does many Miracles. V. 53. Then from that day forth, they took counsel together for to put him to death. V. 54. Jesus therefore walked no more openly amongst the Jews. His Miracles had now so much declared him to be the Messiah, that the Jews could no longer bear him, nor he trust himself amongst them; But went thence unto a Country near to the Wilderness, into a City called Ephraim, and there continued with his Disciples.* This was but a little before his last Passover; as appears by the following words, *v. 55.* *And the Jews Passover was nigh at hand:* And he could not, now his Miracles had made him so well known, have been secure the little time that remained till his hour was fully come; if he had not with his wonted and necessary caution withdrawn, *And walked no more openly amongst the Jews, till his time (at the next Passover) was fully come; and then again he appeared amongst them openly.* Nor

Nor would the Romans have suffered him, if he had gone about Preaching that he was the King whom the Jews expected. Such an Accusation would have been forwardly brought against him by the Jews, if they could have heard it out of his own Mouth; and that had been his publick Doctrine to his Followers, which was openly preached by the Apostles after his Death, when he appeared no more. And of this they were accused, *Acts xvii. 5--9. But the Jews which believed not, moved with envy, took unto them certain lewd Fellows of the baser sort, and gathered a Company, and set all the City in an Uproar; and assaulted the House of Jason, and sought to bring them out to the People. And when they found them [Paul and Silas] not, they drew Jason and certain Brethren unto the Rulers of the City, crying, these that have turned the World upside down, are come hither also, whom Jason hath received: And these all do contrary to the Decrees of Caesar, saying, that there is another King, one Jesus. And they troubled the People, and the Rulers of the City, when they heard these things: And when they had taken Security of Jason and the other, they let them go.*

Though the Magistrates of the World had no great regard to the talk of a King, who had suffered Death, and appeared no longer any where; yet if our Saviour had openly declared this of himself in his Life-time, with a train of Disciples and Followers every where owning and crying him up for their King, the Roman Governour of Judea could not have forbore to have taken notice of it, and have made use of their Force against him. This the Jews were not mistaken in; and therefore made use of it as the strongest Accusation, and likeliest to prevail with Pilate against him for the taking away his Life; it being Treason, and an unpardonable Offence, which could not scape Death from a Roman Deputy, without the Forfeiture of his own Life. Thus then they accuse him to Pilate, *Luke xxiii. 2. We found this Fellow perverting the Nation, and forbidding to give Tribute to Caesar, saying, that he himself is a King, or rather, the Messiah, the King.*

Our Saviour indeed, now that his time was come, (and he in Custody, and forsaken of all the World, and so out of all danger of raising any Sedition or Disturbance,) owns himself to Pilate, to be a King; after having first told Pilate, *John xviii. 36. That his Kingdom was not of this World: And for a Kingdom in another World, Pilate knew that his Master at Rome concerned not himself. But had there been any the least appearance of truth in the Allegations of the Jews, that he had perverted the Nation; forbidding to pay Tribute to Caesar, or drawing the People after him, as their King; Pilate would not so readily have pronounced him Innocent. But we see what he said to his Accusers, Luke xxiii. 13, 14. Pilate, when he had called together the Chief Priests and the Rulers of the People, said unto them, You have brought this Man unto me, as one that perverteth the People; and behold, I having examined him before you, have found no fault in this Man, touching those things whereof you accuse him: No, nor yet Herod, for I sent you to him; and lo, nothing worthy of Death is done by him. And therefore, finding a Man of that mean Condition, and innocent Life, (no mover of Seditions, or disturber of the Publick Peace,) without a Friend or a Follower, he would have dismissed him, as a King of no consequence; as an innocent Man, falsely and maliciously accused by the Jews.*

How necessary this Caution was in our Saviour, to say or do nothing that might justly offend, or render him suspected to the Roman Governour; and how glad the Jews would have been to have any such thing against him; we may see, *Luke xx. 20. The Chief Priests and the Scribes watched him, and sent forth Spies, who should feign themselves just Men, that might take hold of his Words, that so they might deliver him unto the Power and Authority of the Governour. And the very thing wherein they hoped to entrap him in this place, was paying Tribute to Caesar, which they afterwards falsely accused him of. And what would they have done, if he had before them professed himself to have been the Messiah, their King and Deliverer?*

And here we may observe the wonderful Providence of God, who had so ordered the state of the Jews at the time when his Son was to come into the World; that though neither their civil Constitution, nor religious Worship were dissolved, yet the Power of Life and Death was taken from them; whereby he had an Opportunity to publish the Kingdom of the Messiah; that is, his own Royalty, under the Name of the Kingdom of God, and of Heaven: Which the Jews well enough understood, and would certainly have put him to death for, had the Power been in their own Hands. But this being no matter of Accusation to the Romans, hindered him not from speaking of the Kingdom of Heaven, as he did: Some-

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times in reference to his appearing in the World, and being believed on by particular Persons; sometimes in reference to the Power should be given him by the Father at his Resurrection; and sometimes in reference to his coming to judge the World at the last day in the full Glory and completion of his Kingdom. These were ways of declaring himself, which the Jews could lay no hold on, to bring him in danger with *Pontius Pilate*, and get him seized and put to Death.

Another Reason there was, that hindered him as much as the former from professing himself in express Words to be the *Messiah*; and that was, that the whole Nation of the Jews expecting at this time their *Messiah*, and deliverance by him from the Subjection they were in to a foreign Yoke, the body of the People, would certainly, upon his declaring himself to be the *Messiah* their King, have rose up in Rebellion, and set him at the Head of them. And indeed, the Miracles that he did, so much disposed them to think him to be the *Messiah*, that though shrouded under the obscurity of a mean Condition, and a very private simple Life; though he passed for a *Galilean*, (his Birth at *Bethlehem* being then concealed) and assumed not to himself any Power or Authority, or so much as the Name of the *Messiah*, yet he could hardly avoid being set up by a Tumult, and proclaimed their King. So *John* tells us, *Chap. vi. 14, 15.* *Then those Men, when they had seen the Miracles that Jesus did, said, this is of a Truth that Prophet that should come into the World. When therefore Jesus perceived that they would come to take him by force to make him King, he departed again into a Mountain himself alone.* This was upon his feeding of Five Thousand with five Barley Loaves and two Fishes. So hard was it for him, doing those Miracles which were necessary to testify his Mission, and which often drew great Multitudes after him, *Mat. iv. 25.* to keep the heady and hasty Multitude from such Disorder, as would have involved him in it; and have disturbed the Course, and cut short the time of his Ministry; and drawn on him the Reputation and Death of a turbulent seditious Malefactor: Contrary to the Design of his coming, which was to be offered up a Lamb blameless, and void of Offence; his Innocence appearing to all the World, even to him that delivered him up to be crucified. This it would have been impossible to have avoided, if in his preaching every where, he had openly assumed to himself the Title of their *Messiah*; which was all was wanting to set the People in a flame; who, drawn by his Miracles, and the Hopes of finding a Deliverer in so extraordinary a Man, followed him in great Numbers. We read every where of Multitudes; and in *Luke xii. 1.* of *Myriads* that were gathered about him. This conflux of People, thus disposed, would not have failed, upon his declaring himself to be the *Messiah*, to have made a Commotion, and with Force set him up for their King. It is plain therefore from these two Reasons, why, (though he came to preach the Gospel, and convert the World to a Belief of his being the *Messiah*, and though he says so much of his Kingdom, under the Title of the Kingdom of God, and the Kingdom of Heaven,) he yet makes it not his Business to persuade them that he himself is the *Messiah*, nor does in his publick preaching declare himself to be him. He inculcates to the People, on all occasions, that the Kingdom of God is come: He shews the way of admittance into this Kingdom, *viz.* Repentance and Baptism; and teaches the Laws of it, *viz.* Good Life, according to the strictest Rules of Vertue and Morality. But who the King was of this Kingdom, he leaves to his Miracles to point out to those who would consider what he did, and make the right use of it, now; or to witness to those who should hearken to the Apostles hereafter, when they preached it in plain Words, and called upon them to believe it, after his Resurrection, when there should be no longer room to fear that it should cause any disturbance in civil Societies, and the Governments of the World. But he could not declare himself to be the *Messiah*, without manifest danger of Tumult and Sedition; And the Miracles he did, declared it so much, that he was fain often to hide himself, and withdraw from the Concourse of the People. The Leper that he cured, *Mark i.* though forbid to say any thing, yet blazed it so abroad, that *Jesus* could no more openly enter into the City, but was without in desert Places, living in Retirement, as appears from *Luke v. 16.* and there they came to him from every Quarter. And thus he did more than once.

This being premised, let us take a view of the Promulgation of the Gospel by our Saviour himself, and see what it was he taught the World, and required Men to believe.

The first beginning of his Ministry, whereby he shewed himself, seems to be at *Cana* in *Galilee*, soon after his Baptism; where he turned Water into Wine: Of which

St. John,

St. John, Chap. ii. 11. says thus, *This beginning of Miracles Jesus made, and manifested his Glory, and his Disciples believed in him.* His Disciples here believed in him, but we hear not of any other preaching to them, but by this Miracle, whereby he manifested his Glory, i. e. of being the *Messiah* the Prince. So *Nathanael*, without any other preaching, but only our Saviour's discovering to him that he knew him after an extraordinary manner, presently acknowledges him to be the *Messiah*; crying, *Rabbi, Thou art the Son of God, thou art the King of Israel.*

From hence, staying a few Days at *Capernaum*, he goes to *Jerusalem* to the *Passover*; and there he drives the Traders out of the Temple, *John* ii. 12---15. saying, *Make not my Father's House a House of Merchandise.* Where we see he uses a Phrase which by Interpretation signifies that he was the *Son of God*, though at that time unregarded. v. 16. Hereupon the Jews demand, *What Sign dost thou shew us, since thou dost these Things?* Jesus answered, *Destroy ye this Temple, and in three days I will raise it again.* This is an Instance of what way Jesus took to declare himself: For 'tis plain by their Reply, the Jews understood him not, nor his Disciples neither; for 'tis said, v. 22. *When therefore he was risen from the dead, his Disciples remembered that he said this to them: And they believed the Scripture, and the saying of Jesus to them.*

This therefore we may look on, in the beginning, as a Pattern of Christ's Preaching, and shewing himself to the Jews; which he generally followed afterwards, viz. such a Manifestation of himself, as every one at present could not understand; but yet carried such an Evidence with it to those who were well disposed now, or would reflect on it when the whole course of his Ministry was over, as was sufficient clearly to convince them that he was *Messiah*.

The reason of this Method used by our Saviour, the Scripture gives us here, at this his first appearing in Publick; after his entrance upon his Ministry, to be a Rule and Light to us in the whole course of it. For the next Verse taking notice that many believed on him, *because of his Miracles*, (which was all the Preaching they had.) 'Tis said, v. 24. *But Jesus did not commit himself unto them, because he knew all Men; i. e.* He declared not himself so openly to be the *Messiah*, their King, as to put himself into the Power of the Jews, by laying himself open to their Malice; whom he knew would be so ready to lay hold on it to accuse him. For, as the next Verse 25. shews, he knew well enough what was in them. We may here farther observe, That believing in his Name, signifies believing him to be the *Messiah*, v. 22. tells us, That many at the *Passover* believed in his Name, when they saw the Miracles that he did. What other Faith could these Miracles produce in them, who saw them, but that this was He of whom the Scripture spoke, who was to be their Deliverer?

Whilst he was now at *Jerusalem*, *Nicodemus*, a Ruler of the Jews, comes to him, *John* iii. 1---21. to whom he preaches eternal Life by Faith in the *Messiah*, v. 15. and 17. But in general Terms, without naming himself to be that *Messiah*; though his whole Discourse tends to it. This is all we hear of our Saviour the first Year of his Ministry; but only his Baptism, Fasting and Temptation in the beginning of it, and spending the rest of it after the *Passover* in *Judea* with his Disciples baptizing there. But when he knew that the Pharisees reported that he made and baptized more Disciples than John, he left *Judea*, and got out of their way again into *Galilee*, *John* iv. 1, 3.

In his way back, by the Well of *Sichar*, he discourses with the *Samaritan* Woman; and after having opened to her the true and spiritual Worship which was at hand, which the Woman presently understands of the times of the *Messiah*, who was then looked for; Thus she answers, v. 25. *I know that the Messiah cometh: When he is come, he will tell us all Things.* Whereupon our Saviour, though we hear no such thing from him in *Jerusalem* or *Judea*, or to *Nicodemus*, yet here to this *Samaritan* Woman, he in plain and direct Words owns and declares, that he himself, who talk'd with her, was the *Messiah*, v. 26.

This would seem very strange, that he should be more free and open to a *Samaritan*, than he was to the Jews; were not the reason plain from what we have observed above. He was now out of *Judea*, amongst a People with whom the Jews had no Commerce; v. 9. Who were not disposed out of Envy, as the Jews were, to seek his Life, or to accuse him to the *Roman* Governor, or to make an Insurrection to set a Jew up for their King. What the Consequence was of his Discourse with this *Samaritan* Woman, we have an Account,

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v. 28. 39---42. She left her Water-pot, and went her way into the City, and saith to the Men, Come, see a Man who told me all Things that ever I did: Is not this the Messiah? And many of the Samaritans of that City BELIEVED ON HIM for the saying of the Woman, which testified, He told me all that ever I did. So when the Samaritans were come unto him, they besought him that he would tarry with them: And he abode there two days. And many more believed because of his own Word: And said unto the Woman, Now we believe not because of thy saying; for we have heard him our selves; and we know, (i. e. are fully perswaded,) that it is indeed the Messiah, the Saviour of the World. By comparing v. 39. with 41 and 42. it is plain, that believing on him signifies no more than believing him to be the Messiah.

From Sichar Jesus goes to Nazareth, the Place he was bred up in; and there reading in the Synagogue a Prophecy concerning the Messiah out of the lxi. of *Isaiah*, he tells them, *Luke iv. 21. This day is this Scripture fulfilled in your Ears.*

But being in danger of his Life at Nazareth, he leaves it for Capernaum: And then, as St. *Matthew* informs us, *Chap. iv. 17. He began to Preach, and say, Repent, for the Kingdom of Heaven is at hand.* Or, as St. *Mark* has it, *Chap. i. 14, 15. Preaching the Gospel of the Kingdom of God; and saying, The time is fulfilled, and the Kingdom of God is at hand, repent ye, and believe in the Gospel; i. e. believe this good News.* This removing to Capernaum, and seating himself there in the Borders of *Zabulon* and *Naphtali*, was, as St. *Matthew* observes, *Chap. iv. 13---16.* That a Prophecy of *Isaiah* might be fulfilled. Thus the Actions and Circumstances of his Life answered the Prophecies, and declared him to be the Messiah. And by what St. *Mark* says in this place, it is manifest, that the Gospel which he preached and required them to believe, was no other but the good Tidings of the Coming of the Messiah, and of his Kingdom; the time being now fulfilled.

In his way to Capernaum, being come to Cana, a Nobleman of Capernaum came to him, v. 47. And besought him that he would come down and heal his Son, for he was at the point of Death. V. 48. Then said Jesus unto him, except ye see Signs and Wonders ye will not believe. Then he returning homewards, and finding that his Son began to mend at the same hour in which Jesus said unto him, thy Son liveth; he himself believed, and his whole House, v. 53.

Here this Nobleman is by the Apostle pronounced to be a Believer. And what does he believe? Even that which Jesus complains, v. 48. They would not BELIEVE, except they saw Signs and Wonders: Which could be nothing but what those of *Samaria*, in the same Chapter, believed, viz. that he was the Messiah. For we nowhere in the Gospel hear of any thing else had been proposed to be believed by them.

Having done Miracles, and cured all their sick at Capernaum, he says, *Let us go to the adjoining Towns, that I may preach there also, for therefore came I forth,* *Mark i. 38.* Or, as St. *Luke* has it, *Chap. iv. 43.* He tells the Multitude, who would have kept him that he might not go from them, *I must Evangelize, or tell the good Tidings of the Kingdom of God, to other Cities also, for therefore am I sent.* And St. *Matthew, Chap. iv. 23.* tells us how he executed this Commission he was sent on. *And Jesus went about all Galilee, teaching in their Synagogues, and preaching the Gospel of the Kingdom, and curing all Diseases.* This then was what he was sent to preach every where, viz. the Gospel of the Kingdom of the Messiah; and by the Miracles and Good he did, let them know who was the Messiah.

Hence he goes up to *Jerusalem*, to the second Passover since the beginning of his Ministry. And here discoursing to the Jews, who sought to kill him, upon occasion of the Man, whom he had cured, carrying his Bed on the Sabbath-day; and for making God his Father, he tells them, that he wrought these things by the Power of God; and that he shall do greater things: For that the Dead shall, at his Summons, be raised; and that he, by a Power committed to him from his Father, shall judge them; and that he is sent by his Father, and that whoever shall hear his Word, and believe in him that sent him, has eternal Life. This, though a clear Description of the Messiah, yet we may observe, that here to the angry Jews, who sought to kill him, he says not a word of his Kingdom, nor so much as names the Messiah; but yet that he is the Son of God, and sent from God, he refers them to the Testimony of *John the Baptist*, to the Testimony of his own Miracles, and of God himself in the Voice from Heaven, and of the Scriptures, and of *Moses*.

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He leaves them to learn from these the Truth they were to believe, viz. that he was the *Messiah* sent from God. This you may read more at large, *John* v. 1---47.

The next Place where we find him Preaching, was on the Mount, *Mat.* v. and *Luke* vi. This is by much the longest Sermon we have of his any where; and, in all likelihood, to the greatest Auditory. For it appears to have been to the People gathered to him from *Galilee*, and *Judea*, and *Jerusalem*, and from beyond *Jordan*; and that came out of *Idumea*, and from *Tyre* and *Sidon*, mentioned *Mark* iii. 7, 8. and *Luke* vi. 17. But in this whole Sermon of his we do not find one word of Believing, and therefore no mention of the *Messiah*, or any intimation to the People who himself was. The reason whereof we may gather from *Mat.* xii. 16. where Christ forbids them to make him known, which supposes them to know already who he was. For that this xiith Chapter of *Matthew* ought to precede the Sermon in the Mount, is plain, by comparing it with *Mark* ii. beginning at v. 13. to *Mark* iii. 8. And comparing those Chapters of St. *Mark* with *Luke* vi. And I desire my Reader once for all here to take notice, that I have all along observed the order of time in our Saviour's Preaching; and have not, as I think, passed by any of his Discourses. In this Sermon our Saviour only teaches them what were the Laws of his Kingdom, and what they must do who were admitted into it, of which I shall have occasion to speak more at large in another Place; being at present only enquiring what our Saviour proposed as matter of Faith to be believed.

After this *John the Baptist* sends to him this Message, *Luke* vii. 19. Asking, *Art thou he that should come, or do we expect another?* That is, in short, art thou the *Messiah*? And if thou art, why dost thou let me, thy Fore-runner, languish in Prison? Must I expect deliverance from any other? To which Jesus returns this Answer, v. 22, 23. *Tell John what you have seen and heard: The Blind see, the Lame walk, the Lepers are cleansed, the Deaf hear, the Dead are raised, to the Poor the Gospel is preached; and blessed is he who is not offended in me.* What it is to be offended or scandalized in him, we may see by comparing *Mat.* xiii. 28. and *Mark* iv. 17. with *Luke* viii. 13. For what the two first call scandalized, the last calls standing off from, or forsaking, i. e. not receiving him as the *Messiah*, (*Vid. Mark* vi. 1---6.) or revolting from him. Here Jesus refers *John* as he did the Jews before, to the Testimony of his Miracles, to know who he was; and this was generally his Preaching, whereby he declared himself to be the *Messiah*: Who was the only Prophet to come, whom the Jews had any Expectation of; nor did they look for any other Person to be sent to them with the Power of Miracles, but only the *Messiah*. His Miracles, we see by his Answer to *John the Baptist*, he thought a sufficient Declaration amongst them, that he was the *Messiah*. And therefore upon his curing the possessed of the Devil, the Dumb and Blind, *Mat.* xii. the People, who saw the Miracle, said, v. 23. *Is not this the Son of David?* As much as to say, Is not this the *Messiah*? Whereat the *Pharisees* being offended, said, He cast out Devils by *Beelzebub*. Jesus shewing the falshood and vanity of their Blasphemy, justifies the Conclusion the People made from this Miracle; saying, v. 28. That his casting out Devils by the Spirit of God was an Evidence that the Kingdom of the *Messiah* was come.

One thing more there was in the Miracles done by his Disciples, which shewed him to be the *Messiah*; that they were done in his Name. *In the Name of Jesus of Nazareth, rise up and walk*, says St. *Peter* to the lame Man whom he cured in the Temple, *Acts* iii. 6. And how far the Power of that Name reached, they themselves seem to wonder, *Luke* x. 17. *And the seventy returned again with joy, saying, Lord, even the Devils are subject to us in thy Name.*

From this Message from *John the Baptist*, he takes occasion to tell the People, that *John* was the Fore-runner of the *Messiah*; that from the time of *John the Baptist* the Kingdom of the *Messiah* began, to which time all the Prophets and the Law pointed, *Luke* vii. and *Mat.* xi.

Luke viii. 1. *Afterwards he went through every City and Village, preaching and shewing the good Tidings of the Kingdom of God.* Here we see, as every where, what his Preaching was, and consequently what was to be believed.

Soon after he preaches from a Boat to the People on the shoar. His Sermon at large we may read, *Mat.* xiii. *Mark* iv. and *Luke* viii. But this is very observable, that this second Sermon of his here, is quite different from his former in the Mount. For that was all so plain and intelligible, that nothing could be more so: Whereas this is all so involved in Parables, that even the Apostles themselves did not understand it.

it. If we enquire into the reason of this, we shall possibly have some Light from the different Subjects of these two Sermons. There he preach'd to the People only Morality, clearing the Precepts of the Law from the false Glosses which were receiv'd in those Days; and setting forth the Duties of a good Life in their full Obligation and Extent, beyond what the Judiciary Laws of the Israelites did, or the Civil Laws of any Country could prescribe or take notice of. But here in this Sermon by the Sea-side, he speaks of nothing but the Kingdom of the Messiah, which he does all in Parables. One Reason whereof St. Matthew gives us, Chap. xiii. 35. *That it might be fulfilled which was spoken by the Prophet, saying, I will open my mouth in Parables, I will utter things that have been kept secret from the Foundations of the world.* Another reason our Saviour himself gives of it, v. 11, 12. *Because to you is given to know the Mysteries of the Kingdom of Heaven, but to them it is not given. For whosoever hath, to him shall be given, and he shall have more abundantly: But whosoever hath not, i. e. improves not the Talents that he hath, from him shall be taken away, even that that he hath.*

One thing it may not be amiss to observe; That our Saviour here in the Explication of the first of these Parables to his Apostles, calls the preaching of the Kingdom of the Messiah, simply *the Word*; and Luke viii. 21. *The Word of God*: From whence St. Luke, in the Acts, often mentions it under the Name of the *Word*, and the *Word of God*, as we have elsewhere observed. To which I shall here add that of Acts viii. 4. *Therefore they that were scattered abroad, went every where preaching the Word*: Which Word, as we have found by examining what they preached all through their History, was nothing but this, *That Jesus was the Messiah*: I mean, this was all the Doctrine they propos'd to be believed. For what they taught, as well as our Saviour, contained a great deal more; but that concerned Practice, and not Belief. And therefore our Saviour says, in the place before quoted, Luke viii. 21. *They are my Mother, and my Brethren, who hear the Word of God, and do it*: Obeying the Law of the Messiah their King, being no less required than their believing that Jesus was the Messiah, the King and Deliverer that was promis'd them.

Mat. ix. 13. We have an Account again of this preaching, what it was, and how. *And Jesus went about all the Cities and Villages, teaching in their Synagogues, and preaching the Gospel of the Kingdom; and healing every Sickness, and every Disease amongst the People.* He acquainted them that the Kingdom of the Messiah was come, and left it to his Miracles to instruct and convince them that he was the Messiah.

Mat. x. When he sent his Apostles abroad, their Commission to preach we have, v. 7, 8. in these words: *As ye go, preach, saying, the Kingdom of Heaven is at hand; Heal the sick, &c.* All that they had to preach, was, that the Kingdom of the Messiah was come. Whosoever should not receive them, the Messengers of this good Tidings, nor hearken to their Message, incurred a heavier doom than Sodom and Gomorrah at the Day of Judgment, v. 14, 15. But, v. 32. *Whosoever shall confess me before men, I will confess him before my Father who is in Heaven.* What this confessing of Christ is, we may see, by comparing John xii. 4. with ix. 22. *Nevertheless among the chief Rulers also many believed in him; but because of the Pharisees they did not CONFESS HIM, lest they should be put out of the Synagogue.* And Chap. ix. 22. *These words spake his Parents, because they feared the Jews: For the Jews had agreed already, that if any man did CONFESS THAT HE WAS THE MESSIAH, he should be put out of the Synagogue.* By which places it is evident, that to confess him, was to confess that he was the Messiah. From which give me leave to observe also (what I have cleared from other places, but cannot be too often remark'd, because of the different Sense has been put upon that Phrase;) viz. That believing on or in him (for εἰς αὐτόν is rendred either way by the English Translation) signifies believing that he was the Messiah. For many of the Rulers (the Text says) believed on him; but they durst not confess what they believed, for fear they should be put out of the Synagogue. Now the Offence for which it was agreed that any one should be put out of the Synagogue, was, if he did confess that Jesus was the Messiah. Hence we may have a clear understanding of that Passage of St. Paul to the Romans, where he tells them positively, what is the Faith he preaches, Rom. x. 8, 9. *That is the Word of Faith which we preach; That if thou shalt confess with thy mouth the Lord Jesus, and believe in thine heart that God hath raised him from the dead, thou shalt be saved: And that also of St. John, 1 Ep. iv. 14, 15. We have seen, and do testify, that the Father sent the Son to be the Saviour of the world: Whosoever shall confess that Jesus is the Son of God,*

God, God dwelleth in him, and he in God. Where confessing Jesus to be the Son of God, is the same with confessing him to be the *Messiah*: Those two Expressions being understood amongst the Jews to signifie the same thing, as we have shewn already.

How calling him the Son of God came to signifie that he was the *Messiah*, would not be hard to shew. But it is enough that it appears plainly that it was so used, and had that import amongst the Jews at that time; which if any one desires to have further evidenc'd to him, he may add *Mat. xxvi. 63. John vi. 69. and xi. 27. and xx. 31.* to those Places before occasionally taken notice of.

As was the Apostles Commission, such was their Performance; as we read, *Luke ix. 6. They departed and went through the Towns, preaching the Gospel and healing every where.* Jesus bids them Preach, saying, *The Kingdom of Heaven is at hand.* And *St. Luke* tells us, they went through the Towns preaching the Gospel; a Word which in *Saxon* answers well the *Greek* *εὐαγγέλιον*, and signifies as that does, *Good News*. So that what the inspired Writers call the Gospel, is nothing but the good Tidings that the *Messiah* and his Kingdom was come; and so it is to be understood in the New Testament, and so the Angel calls it *Good Tidings of great Joy*, *Luke ii. 10.* bringing the first News of our Saviour's Birth. And this seems to be all that his Disciples were at that time sent to preach.

So *Luke ix. 59, 60.* To him that would have excus'd his present Attendance, because of burying his Father; *Jesus said unto him, let the dead bury their dead, but go thou and preach the Kingdom of God.* When, I say, this was all they were to preach, I must be understood, that this was the Faith they preach'd; but with it they joined Obedience to the *Messiah*, whom they received for their King. So likewise when he sent out the Seventy, *Luke x.* their Commission was in these Words, *v. 9. Heal the sick, and say unto them, the Kingdom of God is come nigh unto you.*

After the return of his Apostles to him, he sits down with them in a Mountain; and a great Multitude being gathered about them, *St. Luke* tells us, *Chap. ix. 11. The People followed him, and he received them, and spake unto them of the Kingdom of God; and healed them that had need of healing.* This was his Preaching to this Assembly, which consisted of five thousand Men, besides Women and Children: All which great Multitude he fed with five Loaves and two Fishes, *Mat. xiv. 21.* And what this Miracle wrought upon them, *St. John* tells us, *Chap. vi. 14, 15. Then these Men, when they had seen the Miracle that Jesus did, said, This is of a truth that Prophet that should come into the World, i. e. the Messiah.* For the *Messiah* was the only Person that they expected from God, and this the time they looked for him. And hence *John the Baptist*, *Mat. xi. 3.* stiles him, *He that should come*; as in other Places, *Come from God, or Sent from God*, are Phrases used for the *Messiah*.

Here we see our Saviour keeps to his usual method of Preaching: He speaks to them of the Kingdom of God, and does Miracles; by which they might understand him to be the *Messiah*, whose Kingdom he spake of. And here we have the reason also, why he so much concealed himself, and forbore to own his being the *Messiah*. For what the consequence was, of the Multitude's but thinking him so, when they were got together, *St. John* tells us in the very next Words, *when Jesus then perceived that they would come and take him by force to make him a King, he departed again into a Mountain himself alone.* If they were so ready to set him up for their King, only because they gathered from his Miracles that he was the *Messiah*, whilst he himself said nothing of it; what would not the People have done, and what would not the Scribes and Pharisees have had an Opportunity to accuse him of, if he had openly professed himself to have been the *Messiah*, that King they looked for? But this we have taken notice of already.

From hence going to *Capernaum*, whither he was followed by a great part of the People, whom he had the day before so miraculously fed; he, upon the occasion of their following him for the Loaves, bids them seek for the Meat that endureth to eternal Life: And thereupon, *John vi. 22--69.* declares to them his being sent from the Father; and that those who believed in him, should be raised to eternal Life: But all this, very much involved in a mixture of Allegorical Terms of eating, and of Bread, Bread of Life, which came down from Heaven, &c. Which is all comprehended and expounded in these short and plain Words, *v. 47. and 54. Verily, verily I say unto you, he that believeth on me, hath everlasting Life, and I will raise him up at the last day.* The sum of all which Discourse is, that he was the *Messiah* sent from God;

God; and that those who believed him to be so, should be raised from the Dead at the last day to eternal Life. These who he spoke to here, were of those who the day before would by force have made him King; and therefore 'tis no wonder he should speak to them of himself, and his Kingdom and Subjects, in obscure and mystical Terms; and such as should offend those who looked for nothing but the Grandeur of a Temporal Kingdom in this World, and the Protection and Prosperity they had promised themselves under it. The Hopes of such a Kingdom, now that they had found a Man that did Miracles, and therefore concluded to be the Deliverer they expected, had the Day before almost drawn them into an open Insurrection, and involved our Saviour in it. This he thought fit to put a stop to; they still following him, 'tis like, with the same Design. And therefore, though he here speaks to them of his Kingdom, it was in a way that so plainly bauk'd their Expectation; and shock'd them; that when they found themselves disappointed of those vain Hopes, and that he talked of their eating his Flesh, and drinking his Blood, that they might have Life; the Jews said, *v. 52. How can this Man give us his Flesh to eat? And many, even of his Disciples, said, It was an hard saying, who can bear it?* And so were scandalized in him, and forsook him, *v. 60, 66.* But what the true meaning of this Discourse of our Saviour was, the Confession of St. Peter, who understood it better and answered for the rest of the Apostles, shews: When Jesus asked him, *v. 67. Will ye also go away? Then Simon Peter answered him, Lord, to whom shall we go? Thou hast the words of eternal Life; i. e. Thou teachest us the way to attain eternal Life; and accordigly we believe, and are sure that thou art the Messiah, the Son of the living God.* This was the eating his Flesh, and drinking his Blood, whereby those who did so, had eternal Life.

Sometime after this, he enquires of his Disciples, *Mark viii. 27.* who the People took him for? They telling him, for John the Baptist, or one of the old Prophets risen from the Dead; he asked, what they themselves thought? And here again, Peter answers in these Words, *Mark viii. 29. Thou art the Messiah.* *Luke ix. 20. The Messiah of God.* And, *Mat. xvi. 16. Thou art the Messiah, the Son of the living God:* Which Expressions, we may hence gather; amount to the same thing. Whereupon our Saviour tells Peter, *Mat. xvi. 17, 18.* That this was such a Truth as *Flesh and Blood could not reveal to him, but only his Father who was in Heaven;* and that this was the Foundation on which he was to build his Church. By all the parts of which passage it is more than probable, that he had never yet told his Apostles in direct Words, that he was the Messiah; but that they had gathered it from his Life and Miracles. For which we may imagine to our selves this probable Reason; because that if he had familiarly, and in direct terms, talked to his Apostles in private that he was the Messiah the Prince, of whose Kingdom he preached so much in publick every where; Judas, whom he knew false and treacherous, would have been readily made use of to testifie against him, in a Matter that would have been really Criminal to the Roman Governour. This perhaps may help to clear to us that seemingly abrupt Reply of our Saviour to his Apostles, *John vi. 70.* when they confessed him to be the Messiah, I will, for the better explaining of it, set down the Passage at large. Peter having said, *We believe, and are sure that thou art the Messiah, the Son of the living God.* Jesus answered them, *Have not I chosen you twelve, and one of you is Διδόλος?* This is a Reply seeming at first sight nothing to the purpose; when yet it is sure all our Saviour's Discourses were wise and pertinent. It seems therefore to me to carry this sense, to be understood afterwards by the Eleven (as that of destroying the Temple, and raising it again in three Days was) when they should reflect on it after his being betray'd by Judas: You have confessed, and believe the truth concerning me; I am the Messiah your King: But do not wonder at it, that I have never openly declared it to you: For amongst you twelve, whom I have chosen to be with me, there is one who is an Informer, or false Accuser, (for so the Greek Word signifies, and may possibly here be so translated, rather than Devil) who, if I had owned my self in plain Words to have been the Messiah, the King of Israel, would have betrayed me, and informed against me.

That he was yet cautious of owning himself to his Apostles positively to be the Messiah, appears farther from the manner wherein he tells Peter, *v. 18.* that he will build his Church upon that Confession of his, that he was the Messiah. I say unto thee, *Thou art Cephas, or a Rock, and upon this Rock I will build my Church, and the Gates of Hell shall not prevail against it.* Words too doubtful to be laid hold on against him,

as a Testimony that he professed himself to be the *Messiah*; especially if we join with them the following Words, *v. 19. And I will give thee the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven; And what thou shalt bind on Earth, shall be bound in Heaven; and what thou shalt loose on Earth, shall be loosed in Heaven.* Which being said personally to Peter, render the foregoing Words of our Saviour (wherein he declares the fundamental Article of his Church to be the believing him to be the *Messiah*) the more obscure and doubtful, and less liable to be made use of against him; but yet such as might afterwards be understood. And for the same reason he yet here again forbids the Apostles to say that he was the *Messiah*, *v. 20.*

From this time (say the Evangelists) Jesus began to shew to his Disciples, (*i. e.*) his Apostles, who are often called Disciples) that he must go to Jerusalem, and suffer many things from the Elders, chief Priests, and Scribes; and be killed, and be raised again the third Day, *Mat. xvi. 21.* These, though all Marks of the *Messiah*, yet how little understood by the Apostles, or suited to their Expectation of the *Messiah*, appears from Peter's rebuking him for it in the following Words, *Mat. xvi. 22.* Peter had twice before owned him to be the *Messiah*, and yet he cannot here bear that he should suffer, and be put to Death, and be raised again. Whereby we may perceive, how little yet Jesus had explained to the Apostles what personally concerned himself. They had been a good while Witnesses of his Life and Miracles; and thereby being grown into a Belief that he was the *Messiah*, were in some degree prepared to receive the Particulars that were to fill up that Character, and answer the Prophecies concerning him. This from henceforth he began to open to them, (though in a way which the Jews could not form an Accusation out of), the time of the Accomplishment of all, in his Sufferings, Death, and Resurrection, now drawing on. For this was in the last Year of his Life; he being to meet the Jews at Jerusalem but once more at the Passover, and then they should have their Will upon him; and therefore he might now begin to be a little more open concerning himself: Though yet so, as to keep himself out of the reach of any Accusation that might appear just or weighty to the Roman Deputy.

After his Reprimand to Peter, telling him that he favoured not the things of God, but of Man; *Mark viii. 34.* He calls the People to him, and prepares those, who would be his Disciples, for Suffering; telling them, *v. 38. Whoever shall be ashamed of me and my Words in this adulterous and sinful Generation, of him also shall the Son of Man be ashamed when he cometh in the Glory of his Father with the holy Angels:* And then subjoins, *Mat. xvi. 27, 28.* two great and solemn Acts, wherein he would shew himself to be the *Messiah* the King: For the Son of Man shall come in the Glory of his Father, with his Angels; and then he shall render every Man according to his Works. This is evidently meant of the glorious Appearance of his Kingdom, when he shall come to judge the World at the last Day; described more at large, *Mat. xxv. When the Son of Man shall come in his Glory, and all the holy Angels with him, then shall he sit upon the THRONE of his Glory. Then shall the KING say to them on his right Hand, &c.*

But what follows in the place above quoted, *Mat. xvi. 28. Verily, verily, there be some standing here, who shall not taste of Death, till they see the Son of Man coming in his Kingdom;* importing that Dominion, which some there should see him exercise over the Nation of the Jews, was so covered, by being annexed to the Preaching *v. 27.* (where he spoke of the Manifestation and Glory of his Kingdom at the Day of Judgment), That though his plain Meaning here in *v. 28.* be, that the appearance and visible exercise of his kingly Power in his Kingdom was so near, that some there should live to see it: Yet if the foregoing Words had not cast a shadow over these latter, but they had been left plainly to be understood, as they plainly signified, that he should be a King, and that it was so near, that some there should see him in his Kingdom, this might have been laid hold on, and made the Matter of a plausible and seemingly just Accusation against him, by the Jews, before Pilate. This seems to be the reason of our Saviour's inverting here the order of the two solemn Manifestations to the World of his Rule and Power; thereby perplexing at present his Meaning, and securing himself, as was necessary, from the Malice of the Jews, which always lay at catch to intrap him, and accuse him to the Roman Governour; and would, no doubt, have been ready to have alledged these Words, *Some here shall not taste of Death, till they see the Son of Man coming in his Kingdom,* against him, as criminal, had not their Meaning been, by the former Verse, perplexed, and the Sense at that time rendered unintelligible, and not applicable by any of his Auditors to a Sense that might have

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been prejudicial to him before *Pontius Pilate*. For how well the chief of the Jews were disposed towards him, *St. Luke* tells us, *Chap. xi. 54. Laying wait for him, and seeking to catch something out of his mouth, that they might accuse him*: Which may be a reason to satisfy us of the seemingly doubtful and obscure way of speaking used by our Saviour in other places; his Circumstances being such; that without such a prudent Carriage and Reservedness, he could not have gone through the Work which he came to do; nor have performed all the parts of it, in a way correspondent to the Descriptions given of the *Messiah*, and which should be afterwards fully understood to belong to him, when he had left the World.

After this, *Mat. xvii. 10, &c.* he, without saying it in direct words, begins, as it were, to own himself to his Apostles to be the *Messiah*; by assuring them, that as the Scribes, according to the Prophecy of *Malachy, Chap. iv. 5.* rightly said, that *Elias* was to usher in the *Messiah*; so indeed *Elias* was already come, though the Jews knew him not, and treated him ill: Whereby they understood that he spoke to them of *John the Baptist, v. 13.* And a little after he somewhat more plainly intimates that he is the *Messiah*, *Mark ix. 41.* in these words: *Whosoever shall give you a Cup of Water to drink in my Name, because ye belong to the Messiah.* This, as I remember, is the first place where our Saviour ever mentioned the Name of *Messiah*; and the first time that he went so far towards the owning, to any of the Jewish Nation, himself to be him.

In his way to Jerusalem, bidding one follow him, *Luke ix. 59.* who would first bury his Father, *v. 60.* *Jesus said unto him, let the dead bury their dead; but go thou and preach the Kingdom of God.* And *Luke x. 1.* Sending out the Seventy Disciples, he says to them, *v. 9. Heal the sick, and say, the Kingdom of God is come nigh unto you.* He had nothing else for these, or for his Apostles, or any one, it seems, to preach; but the good News of the coming of the Kingdom of the *Messiah*. And if any City would not receive them, he bids them, *v. 10. Go into the Streets of the same, and say, Even the very Dust of your City, which cleaveth on us, do we wipe off against you: Notwithstanding, be ye sure of this, that the Kingdom of God is come nigh unto you.* This they were to take notice of, as that which they should dearly answer for; viz. That they had not with Faith received the good Tidings of the Kingdom of the *Messiah*.

After this, his Brethren say unto him, *John vii. 2, 3, 4.* (The Feast of Tabernacles being near) *Depart hence, and go into Judea, that thy Disciples also may see the Works that thou doest: For there is no man that does any thing in secret, and he himself seeketh to be known openly. If thou do these things, shew thyself to the World.* Here his Brethren, which the next Verse tells us, *did not believe in him*, seem to upbraid him with the inconsistency of his carriage; as if he designed to be received for the *Messiah*, and yet was afraid to shew himself: To whom he justified his Conduct, (mentioned *v. 1.*) in the following Verses, by telling them, *That the World* (meaning the Jews especially) *hated him, because he testified of it, that the Works thereof are evil; and that his time was not yet fully come, wherein to quit his Reserve, and abandon himself freely to their Malice and Fury: Therefore, though he went up unto the Feast, it was not openly, but as it were in secret, v. 10.* And here coming into the Temple about the middle of the Feast, he justifies his being sent from God; and that he had not done any thing against the Law in curing the Man at the Pool of *Bethsaida, John v. 1---16.* on the Sabbath-day; which, though done above a year and an half before, they made use of as a pretence to destroy him. But what was the true reason of seeking his Life, appears from what we have in this *vii. Chapter, v. 25---34.* *Then said some of them at Jerusalem, Is not this he whom they seek to kill? But lo, he speaketh boldly, and they say nothing unto him. Do the Rulers know indeed that this is the very MESSIAH? Howbeit, we know this man whence he is; but when the Messiah cometh, no man knoweth whence he is. Then cried Jesus in the Temple, as he taught, ye both know me, and ye know whence I am: And I am not come of my self, but he that sent me is true, whom ye know not. But I know him, for I am from him, and he hath sent me. Then they sought [an occasion] to take him, but no man laid hands on him, because his hour was not yet come. And many of the People believed on him, and said, when the Messiah cometh, will he do more miracles than these which this man hath done? The Pharisees heard that the People murmured such things concerning him; and the Pharisees and Chief Priests sent Officers to take him. Then said Jesus unto them, Yet a little while am I with you, and then I go to him that sent me: Ye shall seek me, and not find me; and where I am there ye cannot come. Then said the Jews among themselves, Whither will he go, that we shall not find him? Here we find that the great fault in our Saviour, and the great Provocation to the Jews, was his being taken for the*

Messiah;

Messiah; and doing such things as made the People believe in him; i. e. believe that he was the *Messiah*. Here also our Saviour declares, in words very easie to be understood, at least after his Resurrection, that he was the *Messiah*: For if he were sent from God, and did his Miracles by the Spirit of God, there could be no doubt but he was the *Messiah*. But yet this Declaration was in a way that the Pharisees and Priests could not lay hold on to make an Accusation of, to the disturbance of his Ministry, or the seizure of his Person, how much soever they desired it: For his time was not yet come. The Officers they had sent to apprehend him, charmed with his Discourse, returned without laying Hands on him, v. 45, 46. And when the Chief Priests asked them, *Why they brought him not?* They answered, *Never man spake like this man.* Whereupon the Pharisees reply, *Are ye also deceived? Have any of the Rulers, or of the Pharisees believed on him? But this People, who know not the Law, are cursed.* This shews what was meant by believing on him; viz. believing that he was the *Messiah*. For, say they, have any of the Rulers, who are skilled in the Law, or of the devout and learned Pharisees, acknowledged him to be the *Messiah*? For as for those who in the Division among the People concerning him, say, *That he is the Messiah*, they are ignorant and vile Wretches, know nothing of the Scripture, and being accursed, are given up by God to be deceived by this Impostor, and to take him for the *Messiah*. Therefore, notwithstanding their desire to lay hold on him, he goes on; and v. 37, 38. *In the last and great Day of the Feast, Jesus stood and cried, saying, If any man thirst, let him come unto me and drink: He that believeth on me, as the Scripture hath said, out of his Belly shall flow Rivers of living Water.* And thus he here again declares himself to be the *Messiah*; but in the Prophetick Stile; as we may see by the next Verse of this Chapter, and those places in the Old Testament that these Words of our Saviour refer to.

In the next Chapter, *John viii.* all that he says concerning himself, and what they were to believe, tends to this, viz. That he was sent from God his Father, and that if they did not believe that he was the *Messiah*, they should die in their Sins: But this in a way, as *St. John* observes, v. 27. that they did not well understand. But our Saviour himself tells them, v. 28. *When ye have lift up the Son of Man, then shall ye know that I am he.*

Going from them, he cures the Man born blind, whom meeting with again, after the Jews had questioned him, and cast him out, *John ix. 35---38.* Jesus said to him, *Dost thou believe on the Son of God?* He answered, *who is he, Lord, that I might believe on him?* And Jesus said unto him, *Thou hast both seen him, and it is he that talketh with thee.* And he said, *Lord, I believe.* Here we see this Man is pronounced a Believer, when all that was proposed to him to believe, was, that Jesus was the Son of God; which was, as we have already shewn, to believe that he was the *Messiah*.

In the next Chapter, *John x. 1---21.* he declares the laying down of his Life for both Jews and Gentiles; but in a Parable which they understood not, v. 6. 20.

As he was going to the Feast of the Dedication, the Pharisees ask him, *Luke xvii. 20.* *When the Kingdom of God, i. e. of the Messiah, should come?* He answers, that it should not come with Pomp and Observation, and great Concourse; but that it was already begun amongst them. If he had stopt here, the Sense had been so plain, that they could hardly have mistaken him; or have doubted, but that he meant, that the *Messiah* was already come, and amongst them; and so might have been prone to infer, that Jesus took upon him to be him. But here, as in the Place before taken notice of, subjoining to this future Revelation of himself, both in his coming to execute Vengeance on the Jews, and in his coming to Judgment mixed together, he so involved his Sense, that it was not easie to understand him. And therefore the Jews came to him again in the Temple, *John x. 23.* and said, *How long dost thou make us doubt? If thou be the Christ tell us plainly.* Jesus answered, *I told you, and ye BELIEVED not: The Works that I do in my Father's Name, they bear witness of me. But ye BELIEVED not, because ye are not of my Sheep, as I told you.* The BELIEVING here, which he accuses them of not doing, is plainly their not BELIEVING him to be the *Messiah*, as the foregoing Words evince, and in the same Sense it is evidently meant in the following Verses of this Chapter.

From hence Jesus going to *Barbara*, and thence returning into *Bethany*; upon *Lazarus's* Death, *John xi. 25---27.* Jesus said to *Martha*, *I am the Resurrection and the Life, he that believeth in me, though he were dead, yet he shall live; and whosoever*

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liveth and believeth in me, shall not die for ever. So I understand *ἐπομένῃς τοῦ αἰῶνα*, answerable to *ζήσεται εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα* of the Septuagint, Gen. iii. 22. or John vi. 51. which we read right in our English Translation, *Live for ever*. But whether this saying of our Saviour here can with truth be translated, *He that liveth and believeth in me, shall never die*, will be apt to be questioned. But to go on, *Believest thou this?* She said unto him, *Yea, Lord, I believe that thou art the Messiah, the Son of God, which should come into the world*. This she gives as a full Answer to our Saviour's Demands; This being that Faith, which whoever had, wanted no more to make them Believers.

We may observe farther, in this same Story of the raising of Lazarus, what Faith it was our Saviour expected, by what he says, v. 41, 42. *Father, I thank thee that thou hast heard me. And I know that thou hearest me always. But because of the People who stand by, I said it, that they may believe that thou hast sent me*. And what the Consequence of it was, we may see, v. 45. *Then many of the Jews who came to Mary, and had seen the things which Jesus did, believed on him*. Which Belief was, that he was sent from the Father; which in other Words was, that he was the Messiah. That this is the Meaning, in the Evangelists, of the Phrase of *believing on him*, we have a Demonstration in the following Words, v. 47, 48. *Then gathered the chief Priests and Pharisees a Council, and said, what do we? For this Man does many Miracles; And if we let him alone, all Men will BELIEVE ON HIM*. Those who here say, all Men would BELIEVE ON HIM, were the Chief Priests and Pharisees his Enemies, who sought his Life; and therefore could have no other Sense nor Thought of this Faith in him, which they spake of, but only the believing him to be the Messiah. And that that was their meaning, the adjoining Words shew. *If we let him alone, all the World will believe on him; i. e. believe him to be the Messiah. And the Romans will come and take away both our Place and Nation*. Which reasoning of theirs was thus grounded. If we stand still, and let the People *Believe on him*, i. e. receive him for the Messiah; they will thereby take him and set him up for their King, and expect Deliverance by him; which will draw the Roman Arms upon us, to the Destruction of us and our Country. The Romans could not be thought to be at all concerned in any other Belief whatsoever that the People might have on him. It is therefore plain, that *believing on him*, was, by the Writers of the Gospel, understood to mean, *the believing him to be the Messiah*. The Sanhedrim therefore, v. 53, 54. *from that day forth consulted for to put him to death*. Jesus therefore walked not yet (for so the Word *ἔτι* signifies, and so I think it ought here to be translated) *boldly, or openly among the Jews; i. e. of Jerusalem*. *ETI* cannot well here be translated *no more*, because within a very short time after, he appeared openly at the Passover, and by his Miracles and Speech declared himself more freely than ever he had done; and all the Week before his Passion taught daily in the Temple, Mat. xx. 17. Mark x. 32. Luke xviii. 31, &c. The meaning of this place seems therefore to be this: That his time being not yet come, he durst not yet shew himself openly, and confidently, before the Scribes and Pharisees, and those of the Sanhedrim at Jerusalem, who were full of Malice against him, and had resolved his Death: *But went thence unto a Country near the Wilderness, into a City called Ephraim, and there continued with his Disciples, to keep himself out of the way till the Passover, which was nigh at hand*, v. 55. In his return thither, he takes the Twelve aside, and tells them before-hand what should happen to him at Jerusalem, whether they were now going; and that all things that are written by the Prophets concerning the Son of Man, should be accomplished; that he should be betrayed to the chief Priests and Scribes; and that they should condemn him to Death, and deliver him to the Gentiles; that he should be mocked, and spit on, and scourged, and put to Death; and the third day he should rise again. But St. Luke tells us, Chap. xviii. 34. *That the Apostles understood none of these things, and this saying was hid from them; neither knew they the things which were spoken*. They believed him to be the Son of God, the Messiah sent from the Father; but their Notion of the Messiah was the same with the rest of the Jews; that he should be a Temporal Prince and Deliverer, accordingly we see, Mark x. 35. That even in this their last Journey with him to Jerusalem, two of them, James and John, coming to him, and falling at his Feet, said, *Grant unto us, that we may sit, one on thy right hand, and the other on thy left hand, in thy Glory*; or, as St. Matthew has it, Chap. xx. 21. *in thy Kingdom*. That which distinguished them from the unbelieving Jews, was, That they believed Jesus to be the very Messiah, and so received him as their King and Lord.

And

And now the Hour being come that the Son of Man should be glorified, he without his usual Reserve, makes his publick Entry into Jerusalem, Riding on a young Ass! As it is written, Fear not, Daughter of Sion, behold, thy King cometh, sitting on an Ass's colt. But these things, says St. John, Chap. xii. 16. his Disciples understood not at the first; But when Jesus was glorified, then remembered they that these things were written of him, and that they had done these things unto him. Though the Apostles believed him to be the Messiah, yet there were many Occurrences of his Life which they understood not, (at the time when they happened) to be foretold of the Messiah; which after his Ascension they found exactly to quadrate. Thus according to what was foretold of him, he rode into the City, all the People crying Hosanna, Blessed is the King of Israel, that cometh in the Name of the Lord. This was to open a Declaration of his being the Messiah, that Luke xix. 39. Some of the Pharisees from among the Multitude said unto him, Master, rebuke thy Disciples. But he was so far now from stopping them, or disowning this their Acknowledgment of his being the Messiah, That he said unto them, I tell you, that if these should hold their Peace, the Stones would immediately cry out. And again, upon the like occasion of their crying Hosanna to the Son of David, in the Temple, Mat. xxi. 15, 16. When the Chief Priests and Scribes were sore displeased, and said unto him, Hearest thou what they say? Jesus said unto them, yea; Have ye never read, Out of the mouths of Babes and Sucklings thou hast perfected Praise? And now, v. 14, 15. He cures the Blind and the Lame openly in the Temple. And when the Chief Priests and Scribes saw the wonderful things that he did, and the Children crying in the Temple Hosanna, they were enraged. One would not think, that after the multitude of Miracles that our Saviour had now been doing for above three Years together, that the curing the Lame and Blind should so much move them. But we must remember, that though his Ministry had abounded with Miracles, yet the most of them had been done about Galilee, and in Parts remote from Jerusalem. There is but one left upon Record hitherto done in that City; and that had so ill a Reception, that they sought his Life for it; as we may read, John v. 16. And therefore we hear not of his being at the next Passover, because he was there only privately, as an ordinary Jew: The Reason whereof we may read, John vii. 1. After these things, Jesus walked in Galilee, for he would not walk in Jewry, because the Jews sought to kill him.

Hence we may guess the Reason why St. John omitted the Mention of his being at Jerusalem at the third Passover after his Baptism; probably because he did nothing memorable there. Indeed, when he was at the Feast of Tabernacles, immediately preceding this his last Passover, he cured the Man born blind: But it appears not to have been done in Jerusalem it self, but in the way as he retired to the Mount of Olives; for there seems to have been no body by, when he did it, but his Apostles. Compare v. 2. with v. 8, 10. of John ix. This, at least, is remarkable; that neither the Cure of this blind Man, nor that of the other infirm Man, at the Passover above a Twelve-month before at Jerusalem, was done in the sight of the Scribes, Pharisees, Chief Priests, or Rulers. Nor was it without Reason, that in the former part of his Ministry he was cautious of shewing himself to them to be the Messiah: But now that he was come to the last Scene of his Life, and that the Passover was come, the appointed time wherein he was to compleat the Work he came for, in his Death and Resurrection, he does many things in Jerusalem it self, before the face of the Scribes, Pharisees, and whole Body of the Jewish Nation, to manifest himself to be the Messiah. And, as St. Luke says, Chap. xix. 47, 48. He taught daily in the Temple: But the chief Priests, and the Scribes, and the chief of the People sought to destroy him; And could not find what they might do, for all the People were very attentive to hear him. What he taught we are not left to guess, by what we have found him constantly preaching elsewhere. But St. Luke tells us, Chap. xx. 1. He taught in the Temple, and Evangelized; Or, as we translate it, preached the Gospel: Which, as we have shewed, was the making known to them the Good News of the Kingdom of the Messiah. And this we shall find he did, in what now remains of his History.

In the first Discourse of his which we find upon Record, after this, John xii. 20, &c. he foretels his Crucifixion, and the Belief of all sorts, both Jews and Gentiles, on him after that. Whereupon the People say to him, v. 34. We have heard out of the Law, that the Messiah abideth for ever; And how sayest thou, that the Son of Man must be lifted up? Who is this Son of Man? In his Answer he plainly designs himself under the Name of Light; which was what he had declared himself to them to be, the last time that they had seen him in Jerusalem. For then at the Feast of Tabernacles, but

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six Months before, he tells them in the very place where he now is, viz. in the Temple, *I am the Light of the world; whosoever follows me, shall not walk in darkness, but shall have the light of Life*; as we may read, *John* viii. 12. and ix. 5. He says, *As long as I am in the world, I am the LIGHT of the world*. But neither here, nor any where else, does he, even in these four or five last Days of his Life (though he knew his Hour was come, and was prepared to his Death, *v. 27.* and scrupled not to manifest himself to the Rulers of the Jews to be the *Messiah*, by doing Miracles before them in the Temple) ever once in direct Words own himself to the Jews to be the *Messiah*; though by Miracles, and other ways, he did every where make it known to them, so that it might be understood. This could not be without some Reason: And the preservation of his Life, which he came now to *Jerusalem* on purpose to lay down, could not be it. What other could it then be, but the same which had made him use Caution in the former part of his Ministry; so to conduct himself, that he might do the Work which he came for, and in all parts answer the Character given of the *Messiah* in the Law and the Prophets? He had fulfilled the time of his Ministry; and now taught, and did Miracles openly in the Temple, before the Rulers and the People, not fearing to be seized. But he would not be seized for any thing that might make him a Criminal to the Government: And therefore he avoided giving those, who in the Division that was about him inclined towards him, occasion of Tumult for his sake; or to the Jews his Enemies, matter of just Accusation against him out of his own Mouth, by professing himself to be the *Messiah*, the King of *Israel* in direct Words. It was enough, that by Words and Deeds he declared it so to them, that they could not but understand him; which 'tis plain they did, *Luke* xxi. 16, 19. *Mat.* xxi. 45. But yet neither his Actions, which were only doing of Good; nor Words, which were mystical and parabolical; (as we may see, *Mat.* xxi. and xxii. and the parallel Places of *Matthew* and *Luke*;) nor any of his ways of making himself known to be the *Messiah*, could be brought in Testimony, or urged against him, as opposite or dangerous to the Government. This preserved him from being condemned as a Malefactor; and procured him a Testimony from the *Roman* Governour his Judge, that he was an innocent Man, sacrificed to the Envy of the *Jewish* Nation. So that he avoided saying, that he was the *Messiah*, that to those who would call to mind his Life and Death after his Resurrection, he might the more clearly appear to be so. It is farther to be remarked, that though he often appeals to the Testimony of his Miracles who he is, yet he never tells the *Jews* that he was born at *Bethlehem*, to remove the Prejudice that lay against him; whilst he passed for a *Galilean*, and which was urged as a Proof that he was not the *Messiah*, *John* vii. 41, 42. The healing of the Sick, and doing of Good miraculously, could be no Crime in him, nor Accusation against him. But the naming of *Bethlehem* for his Birth-place, might have wrought as much upon the Mind of *Pilate*, as it did on *Herod's*; and have raised a Suspicion in *Pilate* as prejudicial to our Saviour's Innocence, as *Herod's* was to the Children born there. His pretending to be born at *Bethlehem*, as it was liable to be explained by the *Jews*, could not have failed to have met with a sinister Interpretation in the *Roman* Governour, and have rendred *Jesus* suspected of some criminal Design against the Government. And hence we see, that when *Pilate* asked him, *John* xix. 9. *Whence art thou? Jesus gave him no answer.*

Whether our Saviour had not an Eye to this straitness, this narrow room that was left to his Conduct, between the new Converts and the captious *Jews*, when he says, *Luke* xii. 50. *I have a Baptism to be baptized with, and how am I straitned till it be accomplished, I leave to be considered. I am come to send fire on the Earth,* says our Saviour, *and what if it be already kindled? i. e.* There begin already to be Divisions about me, *John* vii. 12, 43. and ix. 16. and x. 19. And I have not the freedom, the latitude to declare my self openly to be the *Messiah*; though I am he that must not be spoken on till after my Death. My way to my Throne is closely hedged in on every side, and much straitned, within which I must keep, till it bring me to my Cross in its due time and manner; so that it do not cut short the time, nor cross the end of my Ministry.

And therefore to keep up this inoffensive Character, and not to let it come within the reach of Accident or Calumny, he withdrew with his Apostles out of the Town every Evening; and kept himself retired out of the way, *Luke* xxi. 37. *And in the day-time he was teaching in the Temple, and every Night he went out and abode in the Mount that is called the Mount of Olives,* that he might avoid all Concourse to him in

In the Night, and give no occasion of Disturbance, or Suspicion of himself, in that great Conflux of the whole Nation of the Jews, now assembled in Jerusalem at the Passover.

But to return to his preaching in the Temple. He bids them, *John xii. 36. To believe in the Light whilst they have it.* And he tells them, *v. 46. I am the Light come into the World, that every one who believes in me, should not remain in Darkness.* Which believing in him, was the believing him to be the *Messiah*, as I have elsewhere shewed.

The next Day, *Mat. xxi.* he rebukes them for not having believed *John the Baptist*, who had testified that he was the *Messiah*. And then, in a Parable, declares himself to be the *Son of God*, whom they should destroy; and that for it God would take away the Kingdom of the *Messiah* from them, and give it to the Gentiles. That they understood him thus, is plain from *Luke xx. 16. And when they heard it, they said, God forbid.* And *v. 19. For they knew that he had spoken this Parable against them.*

Much to the same purpose was his next Parable concerning the Kingdom of Heaven, *Mat. xxii. 1--10.* That the Jews not accepting of the Kingdom of the *Messiah*, to whom it was first offered, others should be brought in.

The Scribes and Pharisees, and Chief Priests, not able to bear the Declaration he made of himself to be the *Messiah*; (by his Discourses and Miracles before them, *ἐμπόδιον αὐτῶν*, *John xii. 37.* which he had never done before) impatient of his Preaching and Miracles; and being not able otherwise to stop the increase of his Followers; (For, said the Pharisees among themselves, perceive ye how ye prevail nothing? Behold, the World is gone after him, *John xii. 19.* So that the Chief Priests, and the Scribes, and the chief of the People) sought to destroy him, the first Day of his Entrance into Jerusalem, *Luke xix. 47.* The next Day again they were intent upon the same thing, *Mark xi. 17, 18. And he taught in the Temple; and the Scribes, and the Chief Priests heard it, and sought how they might destroy him; for they feared him, because all the People were astonished at his Doctrine.*

The next Day but one, upon his telling them the Kingdom of the *Messiah* should be taken from them, *The Chief Priests and Scribes sought to lay hands on him the same Hour, and they feared the People*, *Luke xx. 19.* If they had so great a desire to lay hold on him, why did they not? They were the Chief Priests and the Rulers, the Men of Power. The reason *St. Luke* plainly tells us, in the next Verse: *And they watched him, and sent forth Spies, which should feign themselves just men, that they might take hold of his Words; that so they might deliver him unto the Power and Authority of the Governour.* They wanted matter of Accusation against him, to the Power they were under. That they watched for, and that they would have been glad of, if they could have entangled him in his talk; as *St. Matthew* expresses it, *Chap. xxii. 15.* If they could have laid hold on any word that had dropt from him, that might have rendred him guilty or suspected to the Roman Governour; that would have served their turn, to have laid hold upon him, with hopes to destroy him. For their Power not answering their Malice, they could not put him to Death by their own Authority, without the Permission and Assistance of the Governour; as they confess, *John xviii. 31. It is not lawful for us to put any man to Death.* This made them so earnest for a Declaration in direct words, from his own Mouth, that he was the *Messiah*. 'Twas not that they would more have believed in him, for such a Declaration of himself, than they did for his Miracles, or other ways of making himself known, which it appears they understood well enough. But they wanted plain direct words, such as might support an Accusation, and be of weight before an Heathen Judge. This was the reason why they pressed him to speak out, *John x. 24. Then came the Jews round about him, and said unto him, How long dost thou hold us in suspense? If thou be the Messiah, tell us PLAINLY, *παρρησια*; i. e. in direct words: For that *St. John* uses it in that Sense, we may see, *Chap. xi. 11--14.* Jesus saith to them, *Lazarus sleepeth.* His Disciples said, *If he sleeps, he shall do well.* Howbeit, Jesus spake of his Death; but they thought he had spoken of taking of rest in sleep. Then said Jesus to them plainly, *παρρησια*, *Lazarus is dead.* Here we see what is meant by *παρρησια*, PLAIN direct words, such as express the thing without a Figure; and so they would have had Jesus pronounce himself to be the *Messiah*. And the same thing they press again, *Mat. xvi. 63.* The High Priest adjuring him by the living God, to tell them whether he were the *Messiah*, the Son of God; as we shall have occasion to take notice by and by.*

This

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This we may observe in the whole Management of their Design against his Life. It turned upon this, that they wanted and wished for a Declaration from him, in direct Words, that he was the *Messiah*: Something from his own Mouth, that might offend the *Roman Power*, and render him Criminal to *Pilate*. In the 21st. Verse of this xxth of *Luke*, They asked him, saying, *Master, we know that thou sayest and teachest rightly; neither acceptest thou the Person of any, but teachest the way of God truly. Is it lawful for us to give Tribute to Caesar or no?* By this captious Question they hoped to catch him, which way soever he answered. For if he had said, they ought to pay Tribute to *Caesar*, 'twould be plain he allowed their Subjection to the *Romans*; and so in effect disown'd himself to be their King and Deliverer: Whereby he would have contradicted what his Carriage and Doctrine seemed to aim at, the Opinion that was spread amongst the People, that he was the *Messiah*. This would have quash'd the Hopes, and destroy'd the Faith of those who believed on him; and have turned the Ears and Hearts of the People from him. If on the other side, he answered *No*, it is not lawful to pay Tribute to *Caesar*; they had had out of his own Mouth wherewithal to condemn him before *Pontius Pilate*. But *St. Luke* tells us, v. 23. *He perceived their Craftiness, and said unto them, Why tempt ye me? i. e. Why do ye lay Snares for me? Ye Hypocrites, shew me the Tribute-money;* so it is, *Mat. xxii. 19. Whose Image and Inscription has it? They said, Caesar's. He said unto them, Render therefore to Caesar the things that are Caesar's, and to God the things that are God's.* By the Wisdom and Caution of which unexpected Answer, he defeated their whole Design. And they could not take hold of his Words before the People; and they marvelled at his answer, and held their peace, *Luke xx. 26. And leaving him, they departed, Mat. xxii. 22.*

He having by this Reply, and (what he answered to the *Sadducees* concerning the Resurrection, and to the *Lawyer*, about the first Commandment, *Mark xii.*) answered so little to their Satisfaction or Advantage, they durst ask him no more Questions, any of them. And now their Mouths being stopp'd, he himself begins to question them about the *Messiah*; asking the *Pharisees*, *Mat. xxii. 41. What think ye of the Messiah, whose Son is he? They say unto him, The Son of David.* Wherein, though they answered right, yet he shews them in the following Words, that however they pretended to be Studiers and Teachers of the Law, yet they understood not clearly the Scriptures concerning the *Messiah*; and thereupon he sharply rebukes their Hypocrisie, Vanity, Pride, Malice, Covetousness and Ignorance; and particularly tells them, v. 13. *Ye shut up the Kingdom of Heaven against Men: For ye neither go in your selves, nor suffer ye them that are entering, to go in.* Whereby he plainly declares to them, that the *Messiah* was come, and his Kingdom began; but that they refused to believe in him themselves, and did all they could to hinder others from believing in him; as is manifest throughout the New Testament: The History whereof sufficiently explains what is meant here by *The Kingdom of Heaven*, which the *Scribes* and *Pharisees* would neither go into themselves, nor suffer others to enter into. And they could not chuse but understand him, though he named not himself in the case.

Provoked anew by his Rebukes, they get presently to Council, *Mat. xxvi. Then assembled together the Chief Priest, and the Scribes, and the Elders of the People, unto the Palace of the High-Priest, who was called Caiaphas, and consulted that they might take Jesus by subtilty, and kill him. But they said, Not on the Feast-day, lest there be an Uproar among the People. For they feared the People,* says *St. Luke, Chap. xxii. 2.*

Having in the Night got Jesus into their Hands, by the Treachery of *Judas*, they presently led him away bound to *Annas*, the Father-in-Law of *Caiaphas*, the High-Priest, probably having examin'd him, and getting nothing out of him for his Purpose, sends him away to *Caiaphas*, v. 24. where the Chief Priests, the Scribes and the Elders were assembled, *Mat. xvi. 57. John xviii. 13. 19. The High-Priest then asked Jesus of his Disciples, and of his Doctrine. Jesus answered him, I spake openly to the World; I ever taught in the Synagogue, and in the Temple, whither the Jews always resort; and in secret have I said nothing.* A Proof that he had not in private to his Disciples declared himself in express Words to be the *Messiah*, the Prince. But he goes on. *Why askest thou me? Ask Judas, who has been always with me. Ask them who heard me, what I have said unto them; behold, they know what I said.* Our Saviour we see here warily declines, for the Reasons above-mention'd, all discourse of his Doctrine. The *Sanhedrim*, *Mat. xxvi. 59. Sought false Witness against him:* But when

when they found none that were sufficient, or came up to the Point they desired; which was to have something against him to take away his Life, (For so I think the words *ἰσως* and *ἰσὺν* mean, *Mark* xiv. 56. 59.) They try again what they can get out of him himself, concerning his being the *Messiah*; which if he owned in express Words, they thought they should have enough against him at the Tribunal of the Roman Governour, to make him *Læsæ Majestatis reum*, and so to take away his Life. They therefore say to him, *Luke* xxii. 67. *If thou be the Messiah, tell us.* Nay, as St. *Matthew* hath it, the High-Priest adjures him by the living God to tell them whether he were the *Messiah*. To which our Saviour replies, *If I tell you, ye will not believe; and if I ask you, ye will not answer me, nor let me go.* If I tell you, and prove to you, by the Testimony given me from Heaven, and by the Works that I have done among you, you will not believe in me, that I am the *Messiah*. Or if you should ask where the *Messiah* is to be born, and what State he should come in; how he should appear, and other things that you think in me are not reconcileable with the *Messiah*; you will not answer me, and let me go, as one that has no pretence to be the *Messiah*, and you are not afraid should be received for such. But yet I tell you, *Hereafter shall the Son of Man sit on the right Hand of the Power of God*, v. 70. Then said they all, *Art thou then the Son of God?* And he said unto them, *ye say that I am.* By which Discourse with them, related at large here by St. *Luke*, it is plain, that the Answer of our Saviour, set down by St. *Matthew*, Chap. xxvi. 64. in these Words, *Thou hast said*; and by St. *Mark*, Chap. xiv. 62. in these, *I am*; is an Answer only to this Question, *Art thou then the Son of God?* And not to that other, *Art thou the Messiah?* which preceded, and he had answered to before: Though *Matthew* and *Mark*, contracting the Story, set them down together, as if making but one Question, omitting all the intervening Discourse; whereas 'tis plain out of St. *Luke*, that they were two distinct Questions, to which *Jesus* gave two distinct Answers. In the first whereof, he, according to his usual Caution, declined saying in plain express Words, that he was the *Messiah*; though in the latter he owned himself to be the *Son of God*. Which though they being Jews, understood to signify the *Messiah*; yet he knew could be no legal or weighty Accusation against him before a Heathen; and so it proved. For upon his answering to their Question, *Art thou then the Son of God?* *Ye say that I am*; they cry out, *Luke* xxii. 71. *What need we any further Witnesses? For we our selves have heard out of his own Mouth:* And so thinking they had enough against him, they hurry him away to *Pilate*. *Pilate* asking them, *John* xviii. 29---32. *What Accusation bring you against this Man?* They answered, and said, *if he were not a Malefactor we would not have delivered him up unto thee.* Then said *Pilate* unto them, *Take ye him, and judge him according to your Law.* But this would not serve their turn, who aimed at his Life, and would be satisfied with nothing else. The Jews therefore said unto him, *It is not lawful for us to put any Man to Death.* And this was also, *That the saying of Jesus might be fulfilled which he spake, signifying what Death he should dye.* Pursuing therefore their Design of making him appear to *Pontius Pilate* guilty of Treason against *Cæsar*, *Luke* xxiii. 2. They began to accuse him, saying, *We found this Fellow perverting the Nation, and forbidding to give Tribute to Cæsar; saying, that he himself is the Messiah the King:* All which were Inferences of theirs, from his saying, he was the *Son of God*: Which *Pontius Pilate* finding, (for 'tis consonant that he examined them to the precise Words he had said) their Accusation had no weight with him. However, the Name of King being suggested against *Jesus*, he thought himself concerned to search it to the bottom, *John* xviii. 33---37. Then *Pilate* entred again into the Judgment-Hall, and called *Jesus*, and said unto him, *Art thou the King of the Jews?* *Jesus* answered him, *Sayest thou this of thy self, or did others tell it thee of me?* *Pilate* answered, *am I a Jew?* *Thine own Nation and the Chief Priest have delivered thee unto me: What hast thou done?* *Jesus* answered, *My Kingdom is not of this World: If my Kingdom were of this World, then would my Servants fight, that I should not be delivered to the Jews: But my Kingdom is not from hence.* *Pilate* therefore said unto him, *Art thou a King then?* *Jesus* answered, *Thou sayest that I am King. For this end was I born, and for this cause came I into the World, that I should bear witness to the Truth: Every one that is of the Truth beareth my voice.* In this Dialogue between our Saviour and *Pilate*, we may observe, 1. That being asked, whether he were the King of the Jews? He answers so, that though he deny it not, yet he avoided giving the least Umbrage, that he had any Design upon the Government. For though he allows himself to be a King, yet to

obviate any suspicion, he tells *Pilate His Kingdom is not of this World*; and evidences it by this, that if he had pretended to any Title to that Country, his Followers, which were not a few, and were forward enough to believe him their King, would have fought for him; if he had had a Mind to set himself up by Force, or his Kingdom were so to be erected. *But my Kingdom, says he, is not from hence, is not of this Fashion, or of this Place.*

2. *Pilate*, being by his Words and Circumstances satisfied that he laid no Claim to his Province, or meant any Disturbance of the Government, was yet a little surprized to hear a Man, in that poor Garb, without Retinue, or so much as a Servant or a Friend, own himself to be a King; and therefore asks him, with some kind of wonder, *Art thou a King then?*

3. That our Saviour declares, that his great Business into the World was, to testify and make good this great Truth, that he was a King; i. e. in other Words, that he was the *Messiah*.

4. That whoever were Followers of Truth, and got into the way of Truth and Happiness, received this Doctrine concerning him, viz. That he was the *Messiah* their King.

Pilate being thus satisfied, that he neither meant, nor could there arise any harm from his pretence, whatever it was to be a King, tells the Jews, v. 38. *I find no fault in this Man.* But the Jews were the more fierce, *Luke xxiii. 5.* saying, *He stirreth up the People to Sedition, by his preaching through all Jewry, beginning from Galilee to this place.* And then *Pilate*, learning that he was of Galilee, *Herod's* Jurisdiction, sent him to *Herod*; to whom also the chief Priests and Scribes, v. 10. vehemently accused him. *Herod* finding all their Accusations either false or frivolous, thought our Saviour a bare Object of Contempt; and so turning him only into Ridicule, sent him back to *Pilate*: Who calling unto him the chief Priests, and the Rulers, and the People, v. 14. *Said unto them, Ye have brought this Man unto me, as one that perverteth the People; And behold, I have examined him before you, have found no Fault in this Man, touching these things whereof ye accuse him; No, nor yet Herod; for I sent you to him: And so nothing worthy of Death is done by him: And therefore he would have released him. For he knew the chief Priests had delivered him through Envy, Mark xv. 10.* And when they demanded *Barrabas* to be released, but as for *Jesus*, cried, *Crucifie him; Luke xxiii. 22. Pilate said unto them the third time, Why? What Evil hath he done? I have found no cause of Death in him; I will therefore chastise him, and let him go.*

We may observe in all this whole Prosecution of the Jews, that they would fain have got it out of *Jesus's* own Mouth, in express Words, that he was the *Messiah*: Which not being able to do with all their Art and Endeavour; all the rest that they could alledge against him, not amounting to a Proof before *Pilate*, that he claimed to be King of the Jews; or that he had caused or done any thing towards a Mutiny or Insurrection among the People; (for upon these two, as we see, their whole Charge turned) *Pilate* again and again pronounced him innocent: For so he did a fourth, and a fifth time; bringing him out to them, after he had whipt him, *John xix. 4, 6.* And after all, *When Pilate saw that he could prevail nothing, but that rather a Tumult was made, he took Water, and washed his Hands before the Multitude, saying, I am innocent of the Blood of this just Man; see you to it, Mat. xxvii. 24.* Which gives us a clear reason of the cautious and wary Conduct of our Saviour, in not declaring himself, in the whole course of his Ministry, so much as to his Disciples, much less to the Multitude or the Rulers of the Jews, in express Words, to be the *Messiah* the King: And why he kept himself always in prophetic or parabolical Terms: (He and his Disciples preaching only the Kingdom of God, i. e. of the *Messiah*, to be come) And left to his Miracles to declare who he was; though this was the Truth, which he came into the World, as he says himself, *John xviii. 37.* to testify, and which his Disciples were to believe.

When *Pilate*, satisfied of his Innocence, would have released him; and the Jews persisted to cry out, *Crucifie him, Crucifie him, John xix. 6. Pilate says to them, Take ye him your selves, and crucifie him: For I do not find any fault in him.* The Jews then, since they could not make him a State-Criminal, by alledging his saying that he was the Son of God; say, by their Law it was a capital Crime, v. 7. *The Jews answered to Pilate, We have a Law, and by our Law he ought to die; because he made himself the Son of God, i. e. because, by saying he is the Son of God, he has made himself the Messiah the Prophet, which was to come. For we find no other Law but that against false*
Prophets,

Prophets, Deut. xviii. 20. whereby making himself the Son of God, deserved Death. After this, Pilate was the more desirous to release him, v. 12, 13. But the Jews cried out, saying, If thou let this Man go, thou art not Caesar's Friend: Whosoever maketh himself a King, speaketh against Caesar. Here we see the stress of their Charge against Jesus; whereby they hoped to take away his Life; viz. That he made himself King. We see also upon what they grounded this Accusation, viz. Because he had owned himself to be the Son of God. For he had in their hearing, never made or professed himself to be a King. We see here likewise the Reason why they were so desirous to draw, from his own Mouth, a Confession in express Words that he was the Messiah; viz. That they might have what might be a clear Proof that he did so. And last of all, we see the Reason why, though in Expressions, which they understood, he owned himself to them to be the Messiah; yet he avoided declaring it to them, in such Words as might look Criminal at Pilate's Tribunal. He owned himself to be the Messiah plainly, to the Understanding of the Jews; but in ways that could not, to the Understanding of Pilate, make it appear that he had laid claim to the Kingdom of Judea, or went about to make himself King of that Country. But whether his saying, that he was the Son of God, was Criminal by their Law, that Pilate troubled not himself about.

He that considers what Tacitus, Suetonius, Seneca de Benef. l. 3. c. 26. say of Tiberius and his Reign, will find how necessary it was for our Saviour, if he would not dye as a Criminal and a Traytor, to take great heed to his Words and Actions; that he did, or said not any thing that might be offensive, or give the least Umbrage to the Roman Government. It behoved an innocent Man, who was taken notice of for something extraordinary in him, to be very wary under a jealous and cruel Prince, who encouraged Informations, and filled his Reign with Executions for Treason; under whom Words spoken innocently, or in jest, if they could be misconstrued, were made Treason, and prosecuted with a Rigor, that made it always the same thing to be accused and condemned. And therefore we see, that when the Jews told Pilate, John xix. 12. that he should not be a Friend to Caesar, if he let Jesus go; (for that whoever made himself King, was a Rebel against Caesar;) he asks them no more, whether they would take Barrabas, and spare Jesus; but (though against his Conscience) gives him up to Death, to secure his own Head.

One thing more there is, that gives us light into this wise and necessarily cautious Management of himself, which manifestly agrees with it, and makes a part of it: And that is, the choice of his Apostles; exactly suited to the design and foresight of the Necessity of keeping the Declaration of the Kingdom of the Messiah, which was now expected, within certain general Terms during his Ministry: It was not fit to open himself too plainly or forwardly, to the heady Jews, that he himself was the Messiah: That was to be left to the Observation of those who would attend to the Purity of his Life, the Testimony of his Miracles, and the Conformity of all, with the Predictions concerning him; by these Marks, those he lived amongst were to find it out, without an express Promulgation that he was the Messiah, till after his Death. His Kingdom was to be opened to them by degrees, as well to prepare them to receive it, as to enable him to be long enough amongst them; to perform what was the Work of the Messiah to be done; and fulfil all those several parts of what was foretold of him in the Old Testament, and we see applied to him in the New.

The Jews had no other thoughts of their Messiah, but of a mighty temporal Prince, that should raise their Nation into an higher degree of Power, Dominion, and Prosperity than ever it had enjoyed. They were filled with the Expectation of a glorious earthly Kingdom. It was not therefore for a poor Man, the Son of a Carpenter, and (as they thought) born in Galilee, to pretend to it. None of the Jews, no not his Disciples, could have born this; if he had expressly avowed this at first, and began his Preaching, and the opening of his Kingdom this way; especially if he had added to it, that in a Year or two he should dye an ignominious Death upon the Cross. They are therefore prepared for the Truth by Degrees. First, John the Baptist tells them, The Kingdom of God (a Name by which the Jews called the Kingdom of the Messiah) is at hand. Then our Saviour comes, and he tells them of the Kingdom of God; sometimes that it is at hand, and upon some Occasions, that it is come; but says in his publick Preaching little or nothing of himself. Then come the Apostles and Evangelists after his Death, and they in express Words teach what his Birth,

Life, and Doctrine had done before, and had prepared the well-disposed to receive; viz. That *Jesus is the Messiah*.

To this Design and Method of publishing the Gospel, was the choice of the Apostles exactly adjusted; a Company of poor, ignorant, illiterate Men; who, as Christ himself tells us, *Mat. xi. 25.* and *Luke x. 21.* were not of the *wise and prudent* Men of the World: They were, in that respect, but mere Children. These, convinced by the Miracles they saw him daily do, and the unblameable Life he led, might be disposed to believe him to be the *Messiah*: And though they, with others, expected a temporal Kingdom on Earth, might yet rest satisfied in the truth of their Master (who had honoured them with being near his Person) that it would come, without being too inquisitive after the time, manner, or seat of his Kingdom, as Men of Letters, more studied in their Rabbins, or Men of Business, more versed in the World, would have been forward to have been. Men great, or wise, in Knowledge or Ways of the World, would hardly have been kept from prying more narrowly into his Design and Conduct; or from questioning him about the Ways and Measures he would take for ascending the Throne; and what means were to be used towards it, and when they should in earnest set about it. Abler Men, of higher Births or Thoughts, would hardly have been hindered from whispering, at least, to their Friends and Relations, that their Master was the *Messiah*; and that though he concealed himself to a fit Opportunity, and till things were ripe for it, yet they should e'er long see him break out of his Obscurity, cast off the Cloud, and declare himself, as he was, King of *Israel*. But the Ignorance and Lowness of these good poor Men, made them of another Temper. They went along in an implicit trust on him, punctually keeping to his Commands, and not exceeding his Commission. When he sent them to preach the Gospel, he bid them preach *The Kingdom of God* to be at hand; and that they did, without being more particular than he had ordered, or mixing their own Prudence with his Commands, to promote the Kingdom of the *Messiah*. They preached it, without giving, or so much as intimating that their Master was he: Which Men of another Condition, and an higher Education, would scarce have forbore to have done. When he asked them, who they thought him to be; and *Peter* answer'd, *The Messiah, the Son of God*, *Mat. xvi. 16.* He plainly shews, by the following Words, that he himself had not told them so; and at the same time, *v. 20.* forbids them to tell this their Opinion of him, to any Body. How obedient they were to him in this, we may not only conclude from the silence of the Evangelists concerning any such thing, published by them any where before his Death; but from the exact Obedience three of them paid to a like Command of his. He takes *Peter, James* and *John* into a Mountain, and there *Moses* and *Elias* coming to him, he is transfigured before them, *Mat. xvii. 9.* He charges them, saying, *See that ye tell no Man what ye have seen, till the Son of Man shall be risen from the dead.* And *St. Luke* tells us, what punctual Observers they were of his Orders in this case, *Chap. ix. 36.* *They kept it close, and told no Man, in those Days, any of those Things which they had seen.*

Whether twelve other Men, of quicker Parts, and of a Station or Breeding which might have given them any Opinion of themselves, or their own Abilities, would have been so easily kept from meddling beyond just what was prescribed them, in a Matter they had so much Interest in; and have said nothing of what they might in human Prudence have thought would have contributed to their Master's Reputation, and made way for his Advancement to his Kingdom, I leave to be considered. And it may suggest matter of Meditation, whether *St. Paul* was not for this reason, by his Learning, Parts, and warmer Temper, better fitted for an Apostle after, than during our Saviour's Ministry: And therefore, though a chosen Vessel, was not by the divine Wisdom called till after Christ's Resurrection.

I offer this only as a Subject of magnifying the admirable Contrivance of the divine Wisdom, in the whole Work of our Redemption, as far as we are able to trace it by the Foot-steps which God hath made visible to human Reason. For though it be as easy to omnipotent Power to do all things by an immediate over-ruling Will, and so to make any Instruments work, even contrary to their Nature, in Subserviency to his ends; yet his Wisdom is not usually at the expence of Miracles (if I may so say) but only in cases that require them, for the evidencing of some Revelation or Mission to be from him. He does constantly (unless where the Confirmation of some Truth requires it otherwise) bring about his Purposes by means operating according to their Natures.

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If it were not so, the Course and Evidence of things would be confounded, Miracles would lose their Name and Force; and there could be no Distinction between Natural and Supernatural.

There had been no room left to see and admire the Wisdom, as well as Innocence of our Saviour, if he had rashly every where exposed himself to the Fury of the Jews, and had always been preserved by a miraculous suspension of their Malice, or a miraculous rescuing him out of their Hands. It was enough for him once to escape from the Men of *Nazareth*, who were going to throw him down a Precipice, for him never to preach to them again. Our Saviour had Multitudes that followed him for the Loaves; who barely seeing the Miracles that he did, would have made him King. If to the Miracles he did, he had openly added in express Words, that he was the *Messiah*, and the King they expected to deliver them, he would have had more Followers, and warmer in the Cause, and readier to set him up at the Head of a Tumult. These, indeed, God, by a miraculous Influence, might have hindered from any such Attempt: But then Posterity could not have believed that the Nation of the *Jews* did at that time expect the *Messiah* their King and Deliverer; or that *Jesus*, who declared himself to be that King and Deliverer, shewed any Miracles amongst them, to convince them of it; or did any thing worthy to make him be credited or received. If he had gone about preaching to the Multitude which he drew after him, that he was the *Messiah, the King of Israel*; and this had been evidenced to *Pilate*; God could, indeed, by a supernatural Influence upon his Mind, have made *Pilate* pronounce him innocent, and not condemn him as a Malefactor, who had openly, for three Years together, preached Sedition to the People, and endeavoured to persuade them that he was the *Messiah their King*, of the Blood-Royal of *David*, come to deliver them. But then I ask, whether Posterity would not either have suspected the Story, or that some Art had been used to gain that Testimony from *Pilate*? Because he could not (for nothing) have been so favourable to *Jesus*, as to be willing to release so turbulent and seditious a Man; to declare him innocent, and to cast the blame and guilt of his Death, as unjust, upon the Envy of the Jews.

But now the Malice of the Chief Priests, Scribes, and Pharisees; the Headiness of the Mob, animated with Hopes, and raised with Miracles; *Judas's* Treachery, and *Pilate's* Care of his Government, and of the Peace of his Province, all working naturally as they should; *Jesus*, by the admirable Wariness of his Carriage, and an extraordinary Wisdom visible in his whole Conduct, weathers all these Difficulties, does the Work he comes for, uninterruptedly goes about preaching his full appointed time, sufficiently manifests himself to be the *Messiah* in all the Particulars the Scriptures had foretold of him; and when his Hour is come, suffers Death: But is acknowledged both by *Judas* that betrayed, and *Pilate* that condemned him, to dye innocent. For, to use his own Words, *Luke xxiv. 46. Thus it is written, and thus it behoved the Messiah to suffer.* And of his whole Conduct, we have a Reason and clear Resolution in those Words to St. Peter, *Mat. xxvi. 53. Thinkest thou that I cannot now pray to my Father, and he shall presently give me more than twelve Legions of Angels? But how then shall the Scripture be fulfilled, that thus it must be?*

Having this Clew to guide us, let us now observe how our Saviour's Preaching and Conduct comported with it, in the last Scene of his Life. How cautious he had been in the former part of his Ministry, we have already observed. We never find him to use the Name of the *Messiah* but once, till he now came to *Jerusalem* this last Passover. Before this, his Preaching and Miracles were less at *Jerusalem* (where he used to make but very short stays) than any where else. But now he comes six Days before the Feast, and is every Day in the Temple teaching; and there publicly heals the blind and the lame, in the presence of the *Scribes, Pharisees, and Chief Priests*. The time of his Ministry drawing to an end, and his hour coming, he cared not how much the Chief Priests, Elders, Rulers, and the Sanhedrim were provoked against him by his Doctrine and Miracles: He was as open and bold in his preaching and doing the Works of the *Messiah* now at *Jerusalem*, and in the sight of the Rulers, and of all the People, as he had been before cautious and reserved there, and careful to be little taken notice of in that place, and not to come in their way more than needs. All that he now took care of, was not what they should think of him, or design against him, (for he knew they would seize him) but to say or do nothing that might be a just matter of Accusation against him, or render him criminal to the Governour. But as for the Grandees of the *Jewish* Nation, he spares them not, but sharply now reprehends

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reprehends their Miscarriages publicly in the Temple; where he calls them, more than once, Hypocrites; as is to be seen *Mat. xxiii.* And concludes all with no softer a Compellation than *Serpents and Generation of Vipers.*

After this severe Reproof of the *Scribes and Pharisees*, being retired with his Disciples into the *Mount of Olives*, over against the Temple, and there foretelling the Destruction of it; his Disciples ask him, *Mat. xxiv. 3, &c.* *When it should be, and what should be the signs of his coming?* He says to them, *Take heed that no Man deceive you: For many shall come in my Name, i. e. taking on them the Name and Dignity of the Messiah, which is only mine, saying, I am the Messiah, and shall deceive many.* But be not you by them misled, nor by Persecution driven away from this fundamental Truth, that I am the Messiah; for many shall be scandalized, and Apostatize, but he that endures to the end, the same shall be saved: And this Gospel of the Kingdom shall be preached in all the World: i. e. The good News of me, the Messiah, and my Kingdom, shall be spread through the World. This was the great and only point of Belief they were warned to stick to; and this is inculcated again, *v. 23--26.* and *Mark xiii. 21--23.* with this emphatical Application to them in both these Evangelists, *Behold, I have told you before-hand; remember ye are fore-warned.*

This was in his Answer to the Apostles Enquiry concerning his Coming, and the end of the World, *v. 3.* For so we translate τῆς συντελείας τῷ αἰῶνι; we must understand the Disciples here to put their Question, according to the Notion and way of speaking of the Jews. For they had two Worlds, as we translate it, ὁ νῦν αἰὼν καὶ ὁ μέλλων αἰὼν; the present World, and the World to come. The Kingdom of God, as they called it, or the time of the Messiah, they called ὁ μέλλων αἰὼν, the World to come, which they believed was to put an end to this World: And that then the Just should be raised from the Dead, to enjoy, in that new World, a happy Eternity, with those of the Jewish Nation who should be then living.

These two Things, viz. the visible and powerful Appearance of his Kingdom, and the end of the World, being confounded in the Apostles Question, our Saviour does not separate them, nor distinctly reply to them apart; but leaving the Enquirers in the common Opinion, answers at once concerning his coming to take Vengeance of the Jewish Nation, and put an end to their Church, Worship, and Commonwealth; which was their ὁ νῦν αἰὼν, present World, which they counted should last till the Messiah came: And so it did, and then had an end put to it. And to this he joins his last coming to Judgment, in the Glory of his Father, to put a final end to this World, and all the Dispensation belonging to the Posterity of Adam upon Earth. This joining them together, made his Answer obscure, and hard to be understood by them then; nor was it safe for him to speak plainer of his Kingdom, and the Destruction of Jerusalem, unless he had a mind to be accused for having Designs against the Government. For Judas was amongst them: And whether no other but his Apostles were comprehended under the name of his Disciples, who were with him at this time, one cannot determine. Our Saviour therefore speaks of his Kingdom in no other stile but that which he had all along hitherto used, viz. The Kingdom of God, *Luke xxi. 31.* *When you see these things come to pass, know ye that the Kingdom of God is nigh at hand.* And continuing on his Discourse with them, he has the same Expression, *Mat. xxv. 1.* *Then the Kingdom of Heaven shall be like unto ten Virgins.* At the end of the following Parable of the Talents, he adds, *v. 31.* *When the Son of Man shall come in his Glory, and all the holy Angels with him, then shall he sit upon the Throne of his Glory, and before him shall be gathered all the Nations. And he shall set the Sheep on his right hand, and the Goats on his left. Then shall the KING say, &c.* Here he describes to his Disciples the appearance of his Kingdom, wherein he will shew himself a King in Glory upon his Throne; but this in such a way, and so remote, and so unintelligible to a Heathen Magistrate; that if it had been alledged against him, it would have seemed rather the Dream of a crazy Brain, than the Contrivance of an ambitious or dangerous Man designing against the Government: The way of expressing what he meant, being in the prophetick Stile, which is seldom so plain, as to be understood, till accomplished. 'Tis plain, that his Disciples themselves comprehended not what Kingdom he here spoke of, from their Question to him after his Resurrection, *Wilt thou at this time restore again the Kingdom to Israel?*

Having finished these Discourses, he takes order for the Passover, and eats it with his Disciples; and at Supper tells them, that one of them should betray him: And

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adds, *John xiii. 19. I tell it you now, before it come, that when it is come to pass, you may know that I am.* He does not say out, *the Messiah*; Judas should not have that to say against him if he would; though that be the sense in which he uses this Expression, *ἐγώ εἰμι, I am*, more than once. And that this is the meaning of it, is clear from *Mark xii. 6. Luke xxi. 8.* In both which Evangelists the Words are, *For many shall come in my Name, saying, ἐγώ εἰμι, I am*: The Meaning whereof we shall find explained in the parallel place of *St. Matthew, Chap. xxiv. 5.* For many shall come in my Name, saying, *ἐγώ εἰμι ὁ χριστός, I am the Messiah.* Here in this place of *John xiii.* Jesus foretels what should happen to him, *viz.* that he should be betrayed by Judas; adding this Prediction to the many other Particulars of his Death and Suffering, which he had at other times foretold to them, And here he tells them the reason of these his Predictions, *viz.* that afterwards they might be a Confirmation to their Faith. And what was it that he would have them believe, and be confirmed in the belief of? Nothing but this, *ὅτι ἐγώ εἰμι, that he was the Messiah.* The same reason he gives, *John xiii. 28. You have heard, how I said unto you, I go away, and come again unto you: And now I have told you before it come to pass, that when it is come to pass, ye might believe.*

When Judas had left them, and was gone out, he talks a little freer to them of his Glory, and his Kingdom, than ever he had done before. For now he speaks plainly of himself and of his Kingdom, *John xiii. 31. Therefore when he [Judas] was gone out, Jesus said, Now is the Son of Man glorified, and God is also glorified in him. And if God be glorified in him, God shall also glorify him in himself, and shall straightway glorify him.* And *Luke xxii. 29. And I will appoint unto you a Kingdom, as my Father hath appointed unto me; that ye may eat and drink with me at my Table in my Kingdom.* Though he has every where all along through his Ministry preached the Gospel of the Kingdom; and nothing else but that and Repentance, and the Duties of a good Life; yet it has been always *the Kingdom of God, and the Kingdom of Heaven*: And I do not remember, that any where, till now, he uses any such Expression, as *My Kingdom.* But here now he speaks in the first Person, *I will appoint you a Kingdom; and in my Kingdom*: And this we see is only to the Eleven, now Judas was gone from them.

With these Eleven, whom he was now just leaving, he has a long Discourse to comfort them for the loss of him; and to prepare them for the Persecution of the World; and to exhort them to keep his Commandments, and to love one another. And here one may expect all the Articles of Faith should be laid down plainly; if any thing else were required of them to believe, but what he had taught them, and they believed already, *viz. That he was the Messiah, John xiv. 1. Ye believe in God, believe also in me, v. 29. I have told you before it come to pass, that when it is come to pass, ye may believe.* It is believing on him, without any thing else, *John xvi. 31. Jesus answered them, Do ye now believe? This was in answer to their professing, vi. 30. Now are we sure that thou knowest all Things, and needest not that any Man should ask thee: By this we believe that thou comest forth from God.*

John xvii. 20. Neither pray I for these alone, but for them also which shall believe on me through their Word. All that is spoke of *Believing*, in this his last Sermon to them, is only *believing on him*, or believing that *He came from God*; which was no other than believing him to be the *Messiah*.

Indeed, *John xiv. 9.* our Saviour tells Philip, *He that hath seen me, hath seen the Father.* And adds, *v. 10. Believest thou not that I am in the Father, and the Father in me? The Words that I speak unto you, I speak not of my self: But the Father that dwelleth in me, he doth the Works.* Which being in answer to Philip's Words, *v. 9. Shew us the Father*, seem to import thus much: *No Man hath seen God at any time, he is known only by his Works.* And that he is my Father, and I the Son of God, *i. e. the Messiah*, you may know by the Works I have done; which it is impossible I could do of my self, but by the Union I have with God my Father. For that by being *in God, and God in him*, he signifies such an Union with God, that God operates in and by him, appears not only by the Words above-cited out of *v. 10.* (which can scarce otherwise be made coherent sense) but also from the same Phrase used again by our Saviour presently after, *v. 20. At that Day, viz. after his Resurrection, when they should see him again, ye shall know that I am in my Father, and you in me, and I in you; i. e. by the Works I shall enable you to do, through a Power I have received from the Father: Which whosoever sees me do, must acknowledge*
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the Father to be in me; and whoever sees you do, must acknowledge me to be in you. And therefore he says, v. 12. *Verily, verily I say unto you, He that believeth on me, the Works that I do shall he also do, because I go unto my Father.* Though I go away, yet I shall be in you, who believe in me; and ye shall be enabled to do Miracles also for the carrying on of my Kingdom, as I have done: That it may be manifested to others, that you are sent by me, as I have evidenced to you, that I am sent by the Father. And hence it is that he says, in the immediately preceding v. 11. *Believe me that I am in the Father, and the Father in me; if not, believe me for the sake of the Works themselves.* Let the Works that I have done convince you that I am sent by the Father; that he is with me, and that I do nothing but by his Will, and by virtue of the Union I have with him; and that consequently I am the *Messiah*, who am anointed, sanctified, and separate by the Father to the Work for which he sent me.

To confirm them in this Faith, and to enable them to do such Works as he had done, he promises them the Holy Ghost, *John xiv. 25, 26. These things I have said unto you, being yet present with you. But when I am gone, the Holy Ghost, the Paraclete (which may signify Monitor as well as Comforter, or Advocate) which the Father shall send you in my Name, he shall shew you all Things, and bring to your remembrance all Things which I have said.* So that considering all that I have said, and laying it together, and comparing it with what you shall see come to pass, you may be more abundantly assured, that I am the *Messiah*, and fully comprehend, that I have done and suffered all things foretold of the *Messiah*; and that were to be accomplished and fulfilled by him, according to the Scriptures. But be not filled with Grief that I leave you, *John xvi. 7. It is expedient for you that I go away, for if I go not away, the Paraclete will not come unto you.* One reason why, if he went not away, the Holy Ghost could not come, we may gather from what has been observed concerning the prudent and wary Carriage of our Saviour all through his Ministry, that he might not incur Death with the least suspicion of a Malefactor. And therefore though his Disciples believed him to be the *Messiah*, yet they neither understood it so well, nor were so well confirmed in the belief of it, as after that he being crucified and risen again, they had received the Holy Ghost; and with the Gifts of the Holy Spirit, a fuller and clearer Evidence and Knowledge that he was the *Messiah*. They then were enlightened to see how his Kingdom was such, as the Scriptures foretold, though not such as they, till then, had expected. And now this Knowledge and Assurance received from the Holy Ghost, was of use to him after his Resurrection; when they could now boldly go about, and openly preach, as they did, that *Jesus* was the *Messiah*; confirming that Doctrine by the Miracles which the Holy Ghost impowered them to do. But till he was dead and gone, they could not do this. Their going about openly Preaching, as they did after his Resurrection, that *Jesus* was the *Messiah*; and doing Miracles every where, to make it good, would not have consisted with that Character of Humility, Peace and Innocence, which the *Messiah* was to sustain, if they had done it before his Crucifixion. For this would have drawn upon him the Condemnation of a Malefactor, either as a Stirrer of Sedition against the publick Peace, or as a Pretender to the Kingdom of *Israel*. Hence we see, that they who before his Death preached only the Gospel of the Kingdom; that the Kingdom of God was at hand; as soon as they had received the Holy Ghost after his Resurrection, changed their Style, and every where in express Words declare, that *Jesus* is the *Messiah*, that King which was to come. This, the following Words here in *St. John xvi. 8-14.* confirm; where he goes on to tell them, *And when he is come, he will convince the World of Sin: Because they believed not on me. Your Preaching then, accompanied with Miracles, by the assistance of the Holy Ghost, shall be a Conviction to the World, that the Jews sinned in not believing me to be the Messiah. Of Righteousness, or Justice: Because I go to my Father, and ye see me no more. By the same Preaching and Miracles you shall confirm the Doctrine of my Ascension; and thereby convince the World that I was that Just One, who am therefore ascended to the Father into Heaven, where no unjust Person shall enter. Of Judgment: Because the Prince of this World is judged. And by the same assistance of the Holy Ghost ye shall convince the World, that the Devil is judged or condemned, by your casting of him out, and destroying his Kingdom, and his Worship wherever you preach. Our Saviour adds, I have many Things to say unto you, but you cannot bear them now. They were yet so full of a Temporal Kingdom, that they could not bear the disco-*

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very of what a kind of Kingdom his was, nor what a King he was to be: And therefore he leaves them to the coming of the Holy Ghost, for a farther and fuller discovery of himself, and the Kingdom of the *Messiah*; for fear they should be scandalized in him, and give up the Hopes they had now in him; and forsake him. This he tells them, *v. 1.* of this *xvi.* Chapter: *These things I have said unto you, that you may not be scandalized.* The last thing he had told them before his saying this to them, we find in the last Verses of the precedent Chapter: *When the Paraclet is come, the Spirit of Truth, he shall witness concerning me.* He shall shew you who I am, and witness it to the World; and then, *Ye also shall bear witness, because ye have been with me from the beginning.* He shall call to your Mind, what I have said and done, that ye may understand it, and know, and bear Witness concerning me. And again here, *John xvi.* after he had told them, they could not bear what he had more to say, he adds, *v. 13.* *Howbeit, when the Spirit of Truth is come, he will guide you into all Truth; and he will shew you things to come: He shall glorify me.* By the Spirit, when he comes, ye shall be fully instructed concerning me; and though you cannot yet, from what I have said to you, clearly comprehend my Kingdom and Glory, yet he shall make it known to you wherein it consists: And though I am now in a mean State, and ready to be given up to Contempt, Torment, and Death, so that ye know not what to think of it; yet the Spirit, when he comes, shall glorify me, and fully satisfy you of my Power and Kingdom; and that I sit on the right Hand of God, to order all things for the good and increase of it, till I come again at the last Day in Fulness of Glory.

Accordingly, the Apostles had a full and clear sight and perswasion of this, after they had received the Holy Ghost; and they preached it every where boldly and openly, without the least remainder of doubt or uncertainty. But that even so late as this, they understood not his Death and Resurrection, is evident from *v. 17, 18.* *Then said some of the Disciples among themselves, What is this that he saith unto us; A little while, and ye shall not see me; And again, a little while, and ye shall see me; and because I go to the Father? They said therefore, what is this that he saith, a little while? We know not what he saith.* Upon which he goes on to discourse to them of his Death and Resurrection, and of the Power they should have of doing Miracles. But all this he declares to them in a mystical and involved way of speaking: As he tells them himself, *v. 25.* *These things have I spoken to you in Proverbs; i. e. in general, obscure, enigmatical, or figurative Terms.* (All which, as well as allusive Apologues, the Jews called Proverbs or Parables) hitherto my declaring of my self to you hath been obscure, and with reserve: And I have not spoken of my self to you in plain and direct Words, because ye could not bear it. A *Messiah*, and not a King, you could not understand: And a King living in Poverty and Persecution, and dying the Death of a Slave and Malefactor upon a Cross, you could not put together. And had I told you in plain Words, that I was the *Messiah*; and given you a direct Commission to preach to others, that I professedly owned my self to be the *Messiah*, you and they would have been ready to have made a Commotion, to have set me upon the Throne of my Father *David*, and to fight for me; that your *Messiah*, your King, in whom are your Hopes of a Kingdom, should not be delivered up into the Hands of his Enemies to be put to Death; and of this *Peter* will instantly give you a Proof. But the time cometh when I shall no more speak unto you in Parables; but I shall shew unto you plainly of the Father. My Death and Resurrection, and the coming of the holy Ghost, will speedily enlighten you, and then I shall make you know the Will and Design of the Father; what a Kingdom I am to have, and by what Means, and to what End, *v. 27.* And this the Father himself will shew unto you; *For he loveth you, because ye have loved me, and have believed that I came out from the Father.* Because ye have believed that I am the Son of God, the *Messiah*; that he hath anointed and sent me; though it hath not been yet fully discovered to you, what kind of Kingdom it shall be, nor by what means brought about. And then our Saviour, without being asked, explaining to them, what he had said, and making them understand better, what before they stuck at, and complained secretly among themselves that they understood not; they thereupon declare, *v. 30.* *Now are we sure that thou knowest all things; and needest not that any Man should ask thee.* 'Tis plain, thou knowest Mens Thoughts and Doubts before they ask. By this we believe that thou comest forth from God. *Jesus answered, Do ye now believe? Notwithstanding that you now believe, that I came from God, and am the Messiah, sent by him; Behold, the Hour cometh, yea, is now*

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come, that ye shall be scattered; and as it is, *Mat. xxvi. 31.* and shall all be scandalized in me. What it is to be scandalized in him, we may see by what followed hereupon, if that which he says to St. Peter, *Mark xiv.* did not sufficiently explain it.

This I have been the more particular in; that it may be seen, that in this last Discourse to his Disciples (where he opened himself more than he had hitherto done; and where, if any thing more was required to make them Believers, than what they already believed, we might have expected they should have heard of it;) there were no new Articles proposed to them, but what they believed before, *viz.* That he was the *Messiah*, the Son of God, sent from the Father: Though of his manner of proceeding, and his sudden leaving the World, and some few particulars, he made them understand something more than they did before. But as to the main Design of the Gospel, *viz.* That he had a Kingdom, that he should be put to Death, and rise again, and ascend into Heaven to his Father, and come again in Glory to judge the World; this he had told them: And so had acquainted them with the great Counsel of God, in sending him the *Messiah*, and omitted nothing that was necessary to be known or believed in it. And so he tells them himself, *John xv. 15.* Henceforth I call ye not Servants; for the Servant knoweth not what his Lord does: But I have called ye Friends; for ALL THINGS I have heard of my Father, I have made known unto you; though perhaps ye do not so fully comprehend them, as you will shortly, when I am risen and ascended.

To conclude all, in his Prayer, which shuts up this Discourse, he tells the Father what he had made known to his Apostles; the Result whereof we have, *John xvii. 8.* I have given unto them the Words which thou gavest me, and they have received them, and THEY HAVE BELIEVED THAT THOU DIDST SEND ME. Which is in effect, that he was the *Messiah* promised and sent by God. And then he prays for them, and adds, *v. 20, 21.* Neither pray I for these alone, but for them also, who shall believe on me through their Word. What that Word was, through which others should believe in him, we have seen in the preaching of the Apostles all through the History of the Acts, *viz.* This one great Point, that Jesus was the *Messiah*. The Apostles, he says, *v. 25.* know that thou hast sent me; *i. e.* are assured that I am the *Messiah*. And in *v. 21.* and *23.* he prays, That the World may believe (which *v. 23.* is called knowing) that thou hast sent me. So that what Christ would have believed by his Disciples, we may see by this his last Prayer for them, when he was leaving the World, as well as by what he preached whilst he was in it.

And as a Testimony of this, one of his last Actions, even when he was upon the Cross, was to confirm his Doctrine, by giving Salvation to one of the Thieves that was crucified with him, upon his Declaration that he believed him to be the *Messiah*: For so much the Words of his Request imported, when he said, Remember me, Lord, when thou comest into thy Kingdom, *Luke xxiii. 42.* To which Jesus replied, *v. 43.* Verily I say unto thee, to Day shalt thou be with me in Paradise. An Expression very remarkable: For as Adam, by Sin, lost Paradise; *i. e.* a State of happy Immortality; here the believing Thief, through his Faith in Jesus the *Messiah*, is promised to be put in Paradise, and so reinstated in an happy Immortality.

Thus our Saviour ended his Life. And what he did after his Resurrection, St. Luke tells us, *Acts i. 3.* That he shewed himself to the Apostles forty Days, speaking things concerning the Kingdom of God. This was what our Saviour preached in the whole Course of his Ministry, before his Passion: And no other Mysteries of Faith does he now discover to them after his Resurrection. All he says, is concerning the Kingdom of God; and what it was he said concerning that, we shall see presently out of the other Evangelists; having first only taken notice, that when now they asked him, *v. 6.* Lord, wilt thou at this time restore again the Kingdom to Israel? He said unto them, *v. 7.* It is not for you to know the Times, and the Seasons, which the Father hath put in his own Power: But ye shall receive Power after that the Holy Ghost is come upon you; and ye shall be Witnesses unto me unto the utmost Parts of the Earth. Their great Business was to be Witnesses to Jesus, of his Life, Death, Resurrection, and Ascension; which put together, were undeniable Proofs of his being the *Messiah*. This was what they were to preach, and what he said to them concerning the Kingdom of God, as will appear by what is recorded of it in the other Evangelists.

When on the Day of his Resurrection, he appeared to the two going to Emmaus, *Luke xxiv.* they declare, *v. 21.* what his Disciples Faith in him was: But we trusted that it had been he which should have redeemed Israel; *i. e.* we believed that he was the *Messiah*,

Messiah, come to deliver the Nation of the Jews. Upon this, *Jesus* tells them, they ought to believe him to be the *Messiah*, notwithstanding what had happened; nay, they ought by his Suffering and Death to be confirmed in that Faith, that he was the *Messiah*. And v. 26, 27. Beginning at *Moses* and all the Prophets, he expounded unto them in all the Scriptures, the things concerning himself; how that the *Messiah* ought to have suffered these things, and to have entered into his Glory. Now he applies the Prophecies of the *Messiah* to himself, which we read not that he did ever do before his Passion. And afterwards appearing to the Eleven, *Luke* xxiv. 36. he said unto them, v. 44--47. The words, which I spoke unto you while I was yet with you, that all things must be fulfilled which are written in the Law of *Moses*, and in the Prophets, and in the Psalms concerning me. Then opened he their Understandings, that they might understand the Scripture, and said unto them; Thus it is written, and thus it behoved the *Messiah* to suffer, and to rise from the Dead the third Day; and that Repentance, and Remission of Sins should be preached in his Name among all Nations, beginning at *Jerusalem*. Here we see what it was he had preached to them, though not in so plain open Words, before his Crucifixion; and what it is he now makes them understand; and what it was that was to be preached to all Nations, viz. That he was the *Messiah*, that had suffered, and rose from the Dead the third Day, and fulfill'd all things that were written in the Old Testament concerning the *Messiah*; and that those who believed this, and repented, should receive Remission of their Sins, through this Faith in him. Or, as *St. Mark* has it, *Chap.* xvi. 15. Go into all the World, and preach the Gospel to every Creature; he that believeth, and is baptized, shall be saved; but he that believeth not shall be damned, v. 20. What the Gospel, or Good News was, we have shewed already, viz. The happy Tidings of the *Messiah* being come. V. 20. And they went forth and preached every where, the Lord working with them, and confirming the Word with signs following. What the word was which they preached, and the Lord confirmed with Miracles, we have seen already out of the History of their Acts; I have already given an Account of their preaching every where, as it is recorded in the Acts, except some few places, where the Kingdom of the *Messiah* is mentioned under the Name of the Kingdom of God; which I forbore to set down, till I had made it plain out of the Evangelists, that that was no other but the Kingdom of the *Messiah*.

It may be seasonable therefore now, to add to those Sermons we have formerly seen of *St. Paul* (wherein he preached no other Article of Faith, but that *Jesus* was the *Messiah*, the King, who being risen from the Dead, now reigneth, and shall more publicly manifest his Kingdom, in judging the World at the last Day) what farther is left upon Record of his preaching. Acts xix. 8. At *Ephesus*, *Paul* went into the Synagogues, and spake boldly for the space of three Months; disputing and persuading concerning the Kingdom of God. And Acts xx. 25. at *Miletus* he thus takes leave of the Elders of *Ephesus*: And now behold, I know that ye all among whom I have gone preaching the Kingdom of God, shall see my Face no more. What this preaching the Kingdom of God was, he tells you, v. 20, 21. I have kept nothing back from you, which was profitable unto you, but have shewed you, and have taught you publicly, and from House to House; testifying both to the Jews, and to the Greeks, Repentance towards God, and Faith towards our Lord *Jesus Christ*. And so again, Acts xxviii. 23, 24. When they [the Jews at Rome] had appointed him [Paul] a Day, there came many to him into his Lodging; to whom he expounded and testified the Kingdom of God; persuading them concerning *Jesus*, both out of the Law of *Moses*, and out of the Prophets, from Morning to Evening. And some believed the things which were spoken, and some believed not. And the History of the Acts is concluded with this Account of *St. Paul's* preaching: And *Paul* dwelt two whole Years in his own hired House, and received all that came in unto him, preaching the Kingdom of God, and teaching those things which concern the Lord *Jesus* the *Messiah*. We may therefore here apply the same Conclusion to the History of our Saviour writ by the Evangelists, and to the History of the Apostles writ in the Acts, which *St. John* does to his own Gospel, *Chap.* xx. 30, 31. Many other signs did *Jesus* before his Disciples; and in many other places the Apostles preached the same Doctrine, which are not written in these Books; but these are written, that you may believe that *Jesus* is the *Messiah*, the Son of God; and that believing, you may have Life in his Name.

What *St. John* thought necessary and sufficient to be believed, for the attaining eternal Life, he here tells us. And this, not in the first dawning of the Gospel; when, perhaps, some will be apt to think less was required to be believed, than after the Doctrine of Faith, and Mystery of Salvation, was more fully explained, in the Epistles

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writ by the Apostles. For it is to be remembered, that St. John says this not as soon as Christ was ascended; for these Words, with the rest of St. John's Gospel, were not written till many Years after, not only the other Gospels, and St. Luke's History of the *Acts*; but in all appearance, after all the Epistles writ by the other Apostles. So that above threescore Years after our Saviour's Passion; (for so long after, both Epiphanius and St. Jerom assure us this Gospel was written) St. John knew nothing else required to be believed for the attaining of Life, but that *Jesus is the Messiah, the Son of God*.

To this, 'tis likely, it will be objected by some, that to believe only that *Jesus of Nazareth is the Messiah*, is but an *Historical*, and not a justifying, or saving Faith.

To which I answer, that I allow to the makers of Systems and their followers, to invent and use what Distinctions they please; and to call Things by what Names they think fit. But I cannot allow to them, or to any Man, an Authority to make a Religion for me, or to alter that which God hath revealed. And if they please to call the believing that which our Saviour and his Apostles preached and proposed alone to be believed, an *Historical* Faith; they have their liberty. But they must have a care how they deny it to be a justifying or saving Faith, when our Saviour and his Apostles have declared it so to be, and taught no other which Men should receive, and whereby they should be made Believers unto eternal Life; unless they can so far make bold with our Saviour, for the sake of their beloved Systems, as to say, that he forgot what he came into the World for; and that he and his Apostles did not instruct People right in the Way and Mysteries of Salvation. For that this is the sole Doctrine pressed and required to be believed in the whole tenour of our Saviour's and his Apostles Preaching, we have shewed through the whole History of the Evangelists and the *Acts*. And I challenge them to shew that there was any other Doctrine, upon their assent to which, or disbelief of it, Men were pronounced *Believers*, or *Unbelievers*; and accordingly received into the Church of Christ, as Members of his Body, as far as mere believing could make them so, or else kept out of it. This was the only Gospel-Article of Faith which was preached to them. And if nothing else was preached every where, the Apostles Argument will hold against any other Articles of Faith to be believed under the Gospel, *Rom. x. 14. How shall they believe that whereof they have not heard?* For to preach any other Doctrines necessary to be believed, we do not find that any Body was sent.

Perhaps it will farther be urged, that this is not a *saving Faith*; because such a Faith as this the Devils may have, and 'twas plain they had; for they believed and declared *Jesus* to be the *Messiah*. And St. James, Chap. ii. 19. tells us, *The Devils believe, and tremble*; and yet they shall not be saved. To which I answer, 1. That they could not be saved by any Faith, to whom it was not proposed as a Means of Salvation, nor ever promised to be counted for Righteousness. This was an Act of Grace shewn only to Mankind. God dealt so favourably with the Posterity of *Adam*, that if they would believe *Jesus* to be the *Messiah*, the promised King and Saviour, and perform what other Conditions were required of them by the Covenant of Grace; God would justify them, because of this Belief. He would account this Faith to them for Righteousness, and look on it as making up the defects of their Obedience; which being thus supplied by what was taken instead of it, they were looked on as Just or Righteous, and so inherited eternal Life. But this Favour shewn to Mankind, was never offered to the fallen Angels. They had no such Proposals made to them: And therefore whatever of this kind was proposed to Men, it availed not Devils, whatever they performed of it. This Covenant of Grace was never offered to them.

2. I answer; that though the Devils believed, yet they could not be saved by the Covenant of Grace; because they performed not the other Condition required in it, altogether as necessary to be performed as this of Believing, and that is *Repentance*. Repentance is as absolute a Condition of the Covenant of Grace, as Faith; and as necessary to be performed as that. *John the Baptist*, who was to prepare the way for the *Messiah*, Preached the Baptism of Repentance for the remission of Sins, Mark i. 4.

As *John* began his Preaching with *Repent, for the Kingdom of Heaven is at hand*, Mat. iii. 2. So did our Saviour begin his, Mat. iv. 17. *From that time began Jesus to Preach, and to say, Repent, for the Kingdom of Heaven is at hand*. Or, as St. Mark has it in that parallel place, Mark i. 14, 15. *Now after that John was put in Prison, Jesus*

Jesus came into Galilee, Preaching the Gospel of the Kingdom of God, and saying, *The time is fulfilled, and the Kingdom of God is at hand: Repent ye, and believe the Gospel.* This was not only the beginning of his Preaching, but the sum of all that he did preach, viz. that Men should Repent, and believe the good Tidings which he brought them; that *the time was fulfilled* for the coming of the *Messiah*. And this was what his Apostles preached, when he sent them out, *Mark vi. 12. And they going out, preached that Men should repent.* Believing Jesus to be the *Messiah*, and repenting, were so necessary and fundamental Parts of the Covenant of Grace, that one of them alone is often put for both. For here St. Mark mentions nothing but their preaching Repentance; as St. Luke, in the parallel place, *Chap. ix. 6.* mentions nothing but their Evangelizing, or Preaching the good News of the Kingdom of the *Messiah*: And St. Paul often in his Epistles puts Faith for the whole Duty of a Christian. But yet the tenour of the Gospel is what Christ declares, *Luke xii. 3. 5. Unless ye repent, ye shall all likewise perish.* And in the Parable of the rich Man in Hell, delivered by our Saviour, *Luke xvi. Repentance* alone is the Means proposed of avoiding that place of Torment, *v. 30, 31.* And what the tenor of the Doctrine, which should be preached to the World, should be, he tells his Apostles after his Resurrection, *Luke xxiv. 27. viz. That Repentance and Remission of Sins should be preached in his Name, who was the Messiah.* And accordingly, believing Jesus to be the *Messiah*, and repenting, was what the Apostles preached. So Peter began, *Acts ii. 38. Repent, and be baptized.* These two things were required for the Remission of Sins, viz. entering themselves in the Kingdom of God; and owning and professing themselves the Subjects of Jesus, whom they believed to be the *Messiah*, and received for their Lord and King; for that was to be *baptized in his Name*: Baptism being an initiating Ceremony known to the Jews, whereby those, who leaving Heathenism, and professing a submission to the Law of Moses, were received into the Commonwealth of Israel. And so it was made use of by our Saviour, to be that solemn visible Act, whereby those who believed him to be the *Messiah*, received him as their King, and professed Obedience to him, were admitted as Subjects into his Kingdom: Which in the Gospels is called the *Kingdom of God*; and in the *Acts* and Epistles often by another name, viz. the Church.

The same St. Peter preaches again to the Jews, *Acts iii. 19. Repent, and be converted, that your Sins may be blotted out.*

What this Repentance was, which the new Covenant required as one of the Conditions to be performed by all those who should receive the Benefits of that Covenant, is plain in the Scripture, to be not only a sorrow for Sins past, but (what is a natural Consequence of such Sorrow, if it be real) a turning from them into a new and contrary Life. And so they are joined together, *Acts iii. 19. Repent and turn about*; or, as we render it, be converted. And *Acts xxvii. Repent and turn to God.*

And sometimes *turning about* is put alone, to signify Repentance, *Mat. xiii. 15. Luke xxii. 32.* which in other Words is well expressed by *newness of Life*. For it being certain that he who is really sorry for his Sins, and abhors them, will turn from them, and forsake them; either of these Acts, which have so natural a Connexion one with the other, may be, and is often put for both together. Repentance is an hearty sorrow for our past Misdeeds, and a sincere Resolution and Endeavour, to the utmost of our Power, to conform all our Actions to the Law of God. So that Repentance does not consist in one single Act of sorrow (though that being the first and leading Act, gives Denomination to the whole) but in *doing Works meet for Repentance*, in a sincere Obedience to the Law of Christ, the remainder of our Lives. This was called for by John the Baptist, the Preacher of Repentance, *Mat. iii. 8. Bring forth Fruits meet for Repentance.* And by St. Paul here, *Acts xxvi. 20. Repent and turn to God, and do Works meet for Repentance.* There are Works to follow belonging to Repentance, as well as Sorrow for what is past.

These two, Faith and Repentance, i. e. believing Jesus to be the *Messiah*, and a good Life, are the indispensable Conditions of the new Covenant to be performed by all those who would obtain eternal Life. The Reasonableness, or rather Necessity of which, that we may the better comprehend, we must a little look back to what was said in the beginning.

Adam being the Son of God, and so St. Luke calls him, *Chap. iii. 38.* had this part also of the Likeness and Image of his Father, viz. that he was Immortal. But Adam transgressing the Command given him by his heavenly Father, incurred the Penalty, forfeited

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forfeited that State of Immortality, and became Mortal. After this, *Adam* begot Children: But they were *in his own likeness, after his own image*; Mortal, like their Father.

God nevertheless, out of his infinite Mercy, willing to bestow eternal Life on mortal Men, sends Jesus Christ into the World; who being conceived in the Womb of a Virgin (that had not known Man) by the immediate Power of God, was properly the Son of God; according to what the Angel declared to his Mother, *Luke i. 30-35. The Holy Ghost shall come upon thee, and the Power of the Highest shall overshadow thee: Therefore also that Holy Thing which shall be born of thee, shall be called THE SON OF GOD.* So that being the Son of God, he was, like his Father, *Immortal*. As he tells us, *John v. 26. As the Father hath Life in himself, so hath he given to the Son to have Life in himself.*

And that Immortality is a part of that *Image*; wherein these (who were the immediate Sons of God, so as to have no other Father) were made like their Father, appears probable, not only from the places in *Genesis* concerning *Adam*, above taken notice of, but seems to me also to be intimated in some Expressions concerning Jesus the Son of God, in the New Testament, *Col. i. 15.* He is called *the Image of the invisible God.* *Invisible* seems put in, to obviate any gross Imagination, that he (as Images use to do) represented God in any corporeal or visible Resemblance. And there is farther subjoined, to lead us into the Meaning of it, *The First-born of every Creature*; which is farther explained, *v. 18.* where he is termed, *The First-born from the dead*: Thereby making out, and shewing himself to be the *Image of the invisible*; that Death hath no power over him: But being the Son of God, and not having forfeited that Sonship by any Transgression, was the Heir of eternal Life, as *Adam* should have been, had he continued in his filial Duty. In the same sense the Apostle seems to use the Word *Image* in other Places, *viz. Rom. viii. 29. Whom he did foreknow, he also did predestinate to be conformed to the Image of his Son, that he might be the first-born among many Brethren.* This *Image*, to which they were conformed, seems to be *Immortality and Eternal Life.* For 'tis remarkable, that in both these places *St. Paul* speaks of the Resurrection; and that Christ was *The First-born among many Brethren*; he being by Birth the Son of God, and the others only by Adoption, as we see in this same Chapter, *v. 15-17. Ye have received the Spirit of Adoption, whereby we cry, Abba, Father: The Spirit it self bearing witness with our Spirits, that we are the Children of God. And if Children, then Heirs, and Joynt-Heirs with Christ: If so be that we suffer with him, that we may also be glorified together.* And hence we see that our Saviour vouchsafes to call those, who at the Day of Judgment are through him entring into eternal Life, his *Brethren*; *Mat. xxv. 40. In as much as ye have done it unto one of the least of these my Brethren.* May we not in this find a Reason why God so frequently in the New Testament, and so seldom, if at all, in the Old, is mentioned under the single Title of *THE FATHER*? And therefore our Saviour says, *Mat. xi. No Man knoweth the Father save the Son, and he to whomsoever the Son will reveal him.* God has now a Son again in the World, the First-born of many Brethren, who all now, by the Spirit of Adoption, can say, *Abba, Father.* And we by Adoption, being for his sake made his Brethren, and the Sons of God, come to share in that Inheritance, which was his natural Right; he being by Birth the Son of God: Which Inheritance is eternal Life. And again, *v. 23. We groan within our selves, waiting for the Adoption, to wit, the Redemption of our Body*; whereby is plainly meant the change of these frail Mortal Bodies, into the spiritual Immortal Bodies at the Resurrection; *When this Mortal shall have put on Immortality, 1 Cor. xv. 54.* which in that Chapter, *v. 42-44.* he farther expresses thus: *So also is the Resurrection of the Dead. It is sown in Corruption, it is raised in Incorruption: It is sown in Dishonour, it is raised in Glory: It is sown in Weakness, it is raised in Power: It is sown a Natural Body, it is raised a Spiritual Body, &c.* To which he subjoins, *v. 49. As we have born the Image of the Earthy, (i. e. As we have been Mortal, like earthy Adam our Father, from whom we are descended, when he was turned out of Paradise) we shall also bear the Image of the Heavenly*; into whose Sonship and Inheritance being adopted, we shall, at the Resurrection, receive that *Adoption* we expect, *Even the Redemption of our Bodies*; And after his *Image*, which is the *Image of the Father*, become Immortal. Hear what he says himself, *Luke xx. 35, 36. They who shall be accounted worthy to obtain that World, and the Resurrection from the Dead, neither Marry, nor are given in Marriage. Neither can they die any more; for they are equal unto the Angels,*

Angels, and are the **SONS OF GOD**, being the Sons of the Resurrection. And he that shall read St. Paul's arguing, *Acts* xiii. 32, 33. will find that the great Evidence that Jesus was the Son of God, was his Resurrection. Then the Image of his Father appeared in him, when he visibly entered into the State of Immortality. For thus the Apostle reasons, *We preach to you, how that the Promise which was made to our Fathers, God hath fulfilled the same unto us, in that he hath raised up Jesus again; as it is also written in the second Psalm, Thou art my Son, this Day have I begotten thee.*

This may serve a little to explain the Immortality of the Sons of God, who are in this like their Father, made after his Image and Likeness. But that our Saviour was so, he himself farther declares, *John* x. 18. where speaking of his Life, he says, *No one taketh it from me, but I lay it down of my self: I have Power to lay it down, and I have Power to take it up again.* Which he could not have had, if he had been a mortal Man, the Son of a Man, of the Seed of Adam; or else had by any Transgression forfeited his Life. For the Wages of Sin is Death: And he that hath incurred Death for his own Transgression, cannot lay down his Life for another, as our Saviour professes he did. For he was the just One, *Acts* vii. 57. and xii. 14. *Who knew no Sin, 2 Cor.* v. 21. *Who did no Sin, neither was Guile found in his Mouth.* And thus, *As by Man came Death, so by Man came the Resurrection of the Dead. For as in Adam all die, so in Christ shall all be made alive.*

For this laying down his Life for others, our Saviour tells us, *John* x. 17. *Therefore does my Father love me, because I lay down my Life, that I might take it again.* And this his Obedience and Suffering was rewarded with a Kingdom; which, he tells us, *Luke* xxii. *His Father had appointed unto him;* and which, 'tis evident out of the Epistle to the Hebrews, Chap. xii. 2. he had a regard to in his Sufferings: *Who for the Joy that was set before him, endured the Cross, despising the Shame, and is set down at the right Hand of the Throne of God.* Which Kingdom given him upon this account of his Obedience, Suffering and Death, he himself takes notice of, in these Words, *John* xvii. 1--4. *Jesus lift up his Eyes to Heaven, and said, Father, the Hour is come, glorify thy Son, that thy Son also may glorify thee. As thou hast given him Power over all Flesh, that he should give eternal Life to as many as thou hast given him. And this is Life eternal, that they may know thee the only true God, and Jesus the Messiah, whom thou hast sent. I have glorified thee on Earth: I have finished the Work which thou gavest me to do.* And St. Paul, in his Epistle to the Philippians, Chap. ii. 8--11. *He humbled himself, and became obedient unto Death, even the death of the Cross. Wherefore God also hath highly exalted him, and given him a Name that is above every Name: That at the Name of Jesus every Knee should bow, of things in Heaven, and things in Earth, and things under the Earth; and that every Tongue should confess that Jesus Christ is Lord.*

Thus God, we see, designed his Son Christ Jesus a Kingdom, an everlasting Kingdom in Heaven. But though as in Adam all die, so in Christ all shall be made alive; and all Men shall return to Life again at the last Day; yet all Men having sinned, and thereby come short of the Glory of God, as St. Paul assures us, *Rom.* iii. 23. (*i. e.* Not attaining to the heavenly Kingdom of the Messiah, which is often called the Glory of God; as may be seen, *Rom.* v. 2. and xv. 7. and ii. 7. *Mat.* xvi. 27. *Mark* viii. 38. For no one who is unrighteous, *i. e.* comes short of perfect Righteousness, shall be admitted into the eternal Life of that Kingdom; as is declared, *1 Cor.* vi. 9. *The unrighteous shall not inherit the Kingdom of God;*) and Death, the Wages of Sin, being the Portion of all those who had transgressed the righteous Law of God; the Son of God would in vain have come into the World, to lay the Foundations of a Kingdom, and gather together a select People out of the World, if, (they being found guilty at their Appearance before the Judgment-seat of the righteous Judge of all Men at the last Day) instead of Entrance into eternal Life in the Kingdom he had prepared for them; they should receive Death, the just Reward of Sin, which every one of them was guilty of. This second Death would have left him no Subjects; and instead of those ten thousand times ten thousand, and thousands of thousands, there would not have been one left him to sing Praises unto his Name, saying, *Blessing, and Honour, and Glory, and Power, be unto him that sitteth on the Throne, and unto the Lamb for ever and ever:* God therefore, out of his Mercy to Mankind, and for the erecting of the Kingdom of his Son, and furnishing it with Subjects out of every Kindred and Tongue, and People, and Nation, proposed to the Children of Men, that as many of them as

would

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would believe *Jesus* his Son (whom he sent into the World) to be the *Messiah*, the promised Deliverer; and would receive him for their King and Ruler; should have all their past Sins, Disobedience and Rebellion forgiven them: And if for the future they lived in a sincere Obedience to his Law, to the utmost of their Power; the Sins of human Frailty for the time to come, as well as all those of their past Lives, should, for his Son's sake, because they gave themselves up to him to be his Subjects, be forgiven them: And so their Faith, which made them be baptized into his Name; (*i. e.* enrol themselves in the Kingdom of *Jesus* the *Messiah*, and profess themselves his Subjects, and consequently live by the Laws of his Kingdom) should be accounted to them for Righteousness; *i. e.* should supply the Defects of a scanty Obedience in the sight of God; who counting this Faith to them for Righteousness, or compleat Obedience, did thus justify, or make them just, and thereby capable of eternal Life.

Now, that this is the Faith for which God of his free Grace justifies sinful Man; (for 'tis *God alone that justifieth*, Rom. viii. 33. Rom. iii. 26.) We have already shewed, by observing through all the History of our Saviour and the Apostles, recorded in the Evangelists, and in the *Acts*, what he and his Apostles preached and proposed to be believed. We shall shew now, that besides believing him to be the *Messiah* their King, it was farther required, that those who would have the Privilege, Advantage and Deliverance of his Kingdom, should enter themselves into it; and by Baptism being made Denizens, and solemnly incorporated into that Kingdom, live as became Subjects obedient to the Laws of it. For if they believed him to be the *Messiah* their King, but would not obey his Laws, and would not have him to reign over them, they were but greater Rebels; and God would not justify them for a Faith that did but increase their Guilt, and oppose diametrically the Kingdom and Design of the *Messiah*; *Who gave himself for us, that he might redeem us from all Iniquity, and purifie unto himself a peculiar People, zealous of good Works*, Titus ii. 14. And therefore St. Paul tells the *Galatians*, That that which availeth is Faith; but Faith working by Love. And that Faith without Works, *i. e.* the Works of sincere Obedience to the Law and Will of Christ, is not sufficient for our Justification, St. James shews at large, Chap. ii.

Neither indeed could it be otherwise; for Life, eternal Life being the Reward of Justice or Righteousness only, appointed by the righteous God (who is of purer Eyes than to behold Iniquity) to those only who had no taint or infection of Sin upon them, it is impossible that he should justify those who had no regard to Justice at all, whatever they believed. This would have been to encourage Iniquity, contrary to the Purity of his Nature; and to have condemned that eternal Law of Right, which is Holy, Just, and Good; of which no one Precept or Rule is abrogated or repealed; nor indeed can be, whilst God is an holy, just, and righteous God, and Man a rational Creature. The Duties of that Law arising from the Constitution of his very Nature, are of eternal Obligation; nor can it be taken away or dispensed with, without changing the Nature of Things, overturning the Measures of Right and Wrong, and thereby introducing and authorizing Irregularity, Confusion, and Disorder in the World; Christ's coming into the World was not for such an End as that. But on the contrary, to reform the corrupt State of degenerate Man; and out of those who would mend their Lives, and bring forth Fruit meet for Repentance, erect a new Kingdom.

This is the Law of that Kingdom, as well as of all Mankind; and that Law by which all Men shall be judged at the last Day. Only those who have believed *Jesus* to be the *Messiah*, and have taken him to be their King, with a sincere endeavour after Righteousness, in obeying his Law, shall have their past Sins not imputed to them; and shall have that Faith taken instead of Obedience; where Frailty and Weakness made them transgress, and Sin prevailed after Conversion in those who hunger and thirst after Righteousness (or perfect Obedience) and do not allow themselves in Acts of Disobedience and Rebellion, against the Laws of that Kingdom they are entred into.

He did not expect, 'tis true, a perfect Obedience void of Slips and Falls: He knew our Make, and the weakness of our Constitutions too well, and was sent with a Supply for that Defect. Besides, perfect Obedience was the Righteousness of the Law of Works; and then the Reward would be of Debt, and not of Grace; and to such there was no need of Faith to be imputed to them for Righteousness. They stood

stood upon their own Legs, were just already, and needed no allowance to be made them for believing Jesus to be the *Messiah*, taking him for their King, and becoming his Subjects. But that Christ does require Obedience, sincere Obedience, is evident from the Laws he himself delivers (unless he can be supposed to give and inculcate Laws only to have them disobey'd) and from the Sentence he will pass when he comes to judge.

The Faith required was, to believe Jesus to be the *Messiah*, the Anointed; who had been promised by God to the World. Amongst the *Jews* (to whom the Promises and Prophecies of the *Messiah* were more immediately delivered) anointing was used to three sorts of Persons, at their Inauguration; whereby they were set apart to three great Offices, *viz.* Of Priests, Prophets, and Kings. Though these three Offices be in holy Writ attributed to our Saviour; yet I do not remember that he any where assumes to himself the Title of a Priest, or mentions any thing relating to his Priesthood: Nor does he speak of his being a Prophet but very sparingly, and once or twice, as it were, by the by: But the Gospel, or the good News of the Kingdom of the *Messiah*, is what he preaches every where, and makes it his great business to publish to the World. This he did, not only as most agreeable to the Expectation of the *Jews*, who looked for their *Messiah*, chiefly as coming in Power to be their King and Deliverer; but as it best answered the chief End of his Coming, which was to be a King, and as such to be received by those who would be his Subjects in the Kingdom which he came to erect. And though he took not directly on himself the Title of King till he was in Custody, and in the Hands of *Pilate*; yet 'tis plain, King, and King of *Israel*, were the familiar and received Titles of the *Messiah*. See *John* i. 50. *Luke* xix. 38. compared with *Mat.* xxi. 9. and *Mark* xi. 9. *John* xii. 13. *Mat.* xxi. 5. *Luke* xxiii. 2. compared with *Mat.* xxvii. 11. and *John* xviii. 33-----37. *Mark* xv. 12. compared with *Mat.* xxvii. 22. *Mat.* xxvii. 42.

What those were to do, who believed him to be the *Messiah*, and received him for their King, that they might be admitted to be Partakers with him of this Kingdom in Glory, we shall best know by the Laws he gives them, and requires them to obey; and by the Sentence which he himself will give, when, sitting on his Throne, they shall all appear at his Tribunal, to receive every one his Doom from the Mouth of this righteous Judge of all Men.

What he proposed to his Followers to be believed, we have already seen; by examining his, and his Apostles Preaching, step by step, all through the History of the four Evangelists, and the *Acts of the Apostles*. The same Method will best and plainest shew us, whether he required of those who believed him to be the *Messiah*, any thing besides that Faith, and what it was. For he being a King, we shall see by his Commands what he expects from his Subjects: For if he did not expect Obedience to them, his Commands would be but mere Mockery; and if there were no Punishment for the Transgressors of them, his Laws would not be the Laws of a King, that had Authority to Command, and Power to Chastise the Disobedient; but empty Talk without Force, and without Influence.

We shall therefore from his Injunctions (if any such there be) see what he has made necessary to be performed, by all those who shall be received into eternal Life in his Kingdom prepared in the Heavens. And in this we cannot be deceived. What we have from his own Mouth, especially if repeated over and over again, in different Places and Expressions, will be past Doubt and Controversie. I shall pass by all that is said by St. *John Baptist*, or any other, before our Saviour's entry upon his Ministry and publick Promulgation of the Laws of his Kingdom.

He began his Preaching with a command to Repent, as St. *Mat.* tells us, iv. 17. *From that time Jesus began to Preach; saying, Repent, for the Kingdom of Heaven is at hand.* And *Luke* v. 32. he tells the Scribes and Pharisees, *I come not to call the Righteous; those who were truly so, needed no Help, they had a Right to the Tree of Life, but Sinners to Repentance.*

In his Sermon, as 'tis called, in the Mount, *Luke* vi. and *Mat.* v. &c. he commands they should be Exemplary in good Works. *Let your Light so shine amongst Men, that they may see your good Works, and glorify your Father which is in Heaven,* *Mat.* v. 15. And that they might know what he came for, and what he expected of them, he tells them, v. 17--20. *Think not that I am come to dissolve or loosen the Law, or the Prophets: I am not come to dissolve, or loosen, but to make it full, or complete; by giving it you in its true and strict Sense.* Here we see he confirms, and

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it once reinforces all the Moral Precepts in the Old Testament. *For verily I say to you, Till Heaven and Earth pass, one jot or one tittle, shall in no wise pass from the Law, till all be done. Whosoever therefore shall break one of these least Commandments, and shall teach men so, he shall be called the least, (i. e. as it is interpreted) shall not be at all, in the Kingdom of Heaven. V. 21. I say unto you, That except your Righteousness, i. e. your Performance of the eternal Law of right, shall exceed the Righteousness of the Scribes and Pharisees, ye shall in no case enter into the Kingdom of Heaven: And then he goes on to make good what he said, v. 17. viz. That he was come to compleat the Law, viz. By giving its full and clear sense, free from the corrupt and loosning Glosses of the Scribes and Pharisees, v. 22-26. He tells them, That not only Murder, but causeless Anger, and so much as Words of Contempt, were forbidden. He Commands them to be reconciled and kind towards their Adversaries; and that upon pain of Condemnation. In the following part of his Sermon, which is to be read *Luke vi.* and more at large, *Mat. v, vi, vii.* He not only forbids actual Uncleaness, but all irregular Desires, upon pain of Hell-fire; causeless Divorces; swearing in Conversation, as well as forswearing in Judgment, Revenge, Retaliation, Ostentation of Charity, of Devotion, and of Fasting, repetitions in Prayer, Covetousness, worldly Care, Censoriousness: And on the other side, commands loving our Enemies, doing good to those that Hate us, blessing those that Curse us, praying for those that despightfully use us; Patience and Meekness under Injuries, Forgiveness, Liberality, Compassion: And closes all his particular Injunctions, with this general Golden Rule, *Mat. vii. 12. All things whatsoever ye would have that Men should do to you, do ye even so to them: For this is the Law and the Prophets.* And to shew how much he is in earnest, and expects Obedience to these Laws; he tells them *Luke vi. 35.* That if they obey, Great shall be their REWARD; they shall be called, *The Sons of the Highest.* And to all this, in the Conclusion, he adds the Solemn Sanction; *Why call ye me Lord, Lord, and do not the Things that I say? 'Tis in vain for you to take me for the Messiah your King, unless you obey me. Not every one who calls me Lord, Lord, shall enter into the Kingdom of Heaven, or be the Sons of God; But he that does the Will of my Father which is in Heaven. To such disobedient Subjects, though they have prophesied and done Miracles in my Name, I shall say at the day of Judgment; Depart from me ye Workers of Iniquity, I know you not.**

When *Mat. xiii.* he was told, That his Mother and Brethren sought to speak with him, v. 49. Stretching out his Hands to his Disciples, he said, *Behold my Mother and my Brethren; For whosoever shall do the Will of my Father, who is in Heaven, he is my Brother, and Sister, and Mother.* They could not be Children of the Adoption, and fellow Heirs with him of eternal Life, who did not do the Will of his heavenly Father.

Mat. xv. and Mark vi. The Pharisees finding fault, that his Disciples eat with unclean Hands, he makes this Declaration to his Apostles: *Do ye not perceive, that whatsoever from without cometh into a Man, cannot defile him; because it enters not into his Heart, but his Belly. That which cometh out of the Man, that defileth the Man: For from within, out of the Heart of Men, proceed evil Thoughts, Adulteries, Fornications, Murders, Thefts, false Witnesses, Covetousness, Wickedness, Deceit, Lasciviousness, an evil Eye, Blasphemy, Pride, Foolishness. All these ill things come from within, and defile a Man.*

He commands Self-denial, and the exposing our selves to Suffering and Danger, rather than to deny or disown him: And this upon pain of losing our Souls; which are of more worth than all the World. This we may read, *Mat. xvi. 24-27.* and the parallel places, *Mat. viii.* and *Luke ix.*

The Apostles disputing amongst them, who should be greatest in the Kingdom of the Messiah, *Mat. xviii. 1.* He thus determines the Controversy: *Mark ix. 35. If any one will be first, let him be last of all, and Servant of all; and setting a Child before them adds, Mat. xviii. 3. Verily I say unto you, Unless ye turn, and become as Children, ye shall not enter into the Kingdom of Heaven.*

Mat. xviii. 15. If thy Brother shall trespass against thee, go and tell him his fault between thee and him alone: If he shall hear thee, thou hast gained thy Brother. But if he will not hear thee, then take with thee one or two more, that in the Mouth of two or three Witnesses every word may be established: And if he shall neglect to hear them, tell it to the Church: But if he neglect to hear the Church, let him be unto thee as an Heathen and Publican. V. 21. Peter said, Lord, how often shall my Brother sin against me, and I forgive

forgive him? Till seven times? Jesus said unto him, I say not unto thee, till seven times; but until seventy times seven. And then ends the Parable of the Servant, who being himself forgiven, was rigorous to his Fellow-Servant, with these Words; v. 34. And his Lord was worth, and delivered him to the Tormentors, till he should pay all that was due unto him. So likewise shall my heavenly Father do also unto you, if you from your Hearts forgive not every one his Brother their Trespases.

Luke x. 25. To the Lawyer, asking him, what shall I do to inherit Eternal Life? He said, what is written in the Law? How readest thou? He answered, Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy Heart, and with all thy Soul, and with all thy Strength, and with all thy Mind; And thy Neighbour as thy self. Jesus said, This do, and thou shalt live. And when the Lawyer, upon our Saviour's Parable of the good Samaritan, was forced to confess, that he that shewed Mercy, was his Neighbour; Jesus dismissed him with this Charge, v. 37. Go, and do thou likewise.

Luke xi. 41. Give Alms of such things as ye have: Behold, all things are clean unto you.

Luke xii. 15. Take heed, and beware of Covetousness. V. 22. Be not solicitous what ye shall eat, or what ye shall drink, nor what ye shall put on; Be not fearful, or apprehensive of want, For it is your Father's pleasure to give you a Kingdom. Sell that you have, and give Alms: And provide your selves bags that wax not old, and Treasure in the Heavens that faileth not: For where your Treasure is, there will your Heart be also. Let your Loyns be girded, and your Lights burning; And ye your selves like unto men that wait for the Lord, when he will return. Blessed are those Servants, whom the Lord when he cometh, shall find watching. Blessed is that Servant, whom the Lord having made Ruler of his Household, to give them their Portion of Meat in due season, the Lord, when he cometh, shall find so doing. Of a truth I say unto you, that he will make him a Ruler over all that he hath. But if that Servant say in his Heart, my Lord delayeth his coming; And shall begin to beat the Men-servants, and Maidens, and to eat and drink, and to be drunken: The Lord of that Servant will come in a day when he looketh not for him, and at an hour when he is not aware, and will cut him in sunder, and will appoint him his Portion with Unbelievers. And that Servant who knew his Lord's Will, and prepared not himself, neither did according to his Will, shall be beaten with many Stripes. For he that knew not, and did commit things worthy of Stripes, shall be beaten with few Stripes. For unto whomsoever much is given, of him shall be much required: And to whom men have committed much, of him they will ask the more.

Luke xiv. 11. Whosoever exalteth himself, shall be abased: And he that humbleth himself, shall be exalted.

V. 12. When thou makest a Dinner or Supper, call not thy Friends, or thy Brethren, neither thy Kinsmen, nor thy Neighbours; lest they also bid thee again, and a recompence be made thee. But when thou makest a Feast, call the Poor and Maimed, the Lamé, and the Blind; and thou shalt be blessed: For they cannot recompence thee: For thou shalt be recompenced at the Resurrection of the Just.

V. 33. So likewise, whosoever he be of you, that is not ready to forego all that he hath, he cannot be my Disciple.

Luke xvi. 9. I say unto you, make to your selves Friends of the Mammon of Unrighteousness; That when ye fail, they may receive you into everlasting Habitations. If ye have not been faithful in the unrighteous Mammon, who will commit to your trust the true Riches? And if ye have not been faithful in that which is another mans, who shall give you that which is your own?

Luke xvii. 3. If thy Brother trespass against thee, rebuke him; And if he repent, forgive him. And if he trespass against thee seven times in a day, and seven times in a day turn again to thee, saying, I repent; Thou shalt forgive him.

Luke xviii. 1. He spoke a Parable to them, to this end, that men ought always to pray, and not to faint.

V. 18. One comes to him, and asks him, saying, Master, what shall I do to inherit eternal Life? Jesus said to him, If thou wilt enter into Life, keep the Commandments. He says, which? Jesus said, Thou knowest the Commandments: Thou shalt not Kill; Thou shalt not commit Adultery; Thou shalt not Steal; Thou shalt not bear false witness; Defraud not; Honour thy Father, and thy Mother; And thou shalt love thy Neighbour as thy self. He said, All these have I observed from my Youth. Jesus hearing this, loved him; and said unto him, Yet lackest thou one thing: Sell all that thou hast, and give it to the Poor, and thou shalt have Treasure in Heaven; And come follow me. To under-

stand this right, we must take notice, that this Young Man asks our Saviour, what he must do, to be admitted effectually into the Kingdom of the *Messiah*? The Jews believed, that when the *Messiah* came, those of their Nation that received him, should not die; but that they, with those who being dead should then be raised again by him, should enjoy eternal Life with him. Our Saviour, in answer to this Demand, tells the young Man, that to obtain the eternal Life of the Kingdom of the *Messiah*, he must keep the Commandments. And then enumerating several of the Precepts of the Law, the young Man says, he had observed these from his Childhood. For which, the Text tells us, Jesus loved him. But our Saviour, to try whether in earnest he believed him to be the *Messiah*, and resolved to take him to be his King, and to obey him as such, bids him give all he has to the Poor, and come, and follow him; and he should have Treasure in Heaven. This I look on to be the meaning of the place. This, of selling all he had, and giving it to the Poor, not being a standing Law of his Kingdom; but a Probationary command to this young Man; to try whether he truly believed him to be the *Messiah*, and was ready to obey his Commands, and relinquish all to follow him, when he his Prince required it.

And therefore we see, *Luke* xix. 14. where our Saviour takes notice of the Jews not receiving him as the *Messiah*, he expresses it thus; *We will not have this Man to Reign over us.* 'Tis not enough to believe him to be the *Messiah*, unless we also obey his Laws, and take him to be our King, to Reign over us.

Mat. xxiii. 11--13. He that had not on the Wedding-Garment, though he accepted of the Invitation, and came to the Wedding, was cast into utter Darkness. By the *Wedding-Garment*, 'tis evident good Works are meant here. That *Wedding-Garment* of fine Linnen, clean and white, which we are told, *Rev.* xix. 8. is the *δικαιοσύνη*, Righteous acts of the Saints: Or, as *St. Paul* calls it, *Ephes.* iv. 1. The walking worthy of the Vocation wherewith we are called. This appears from the Parable it self: The Kingdom of Heaven, says our Saviour, *v. 2.* Is like unto a King, who made a Marriage for his Son. And here he distinguishes those who were invited, into three sorts. 1. Those who were invited, and came not; *i. e.* Those who had the Gospel, the Good News of the Kingdom of God proposed to them, but believed not. 2. Those who came, but had not on a Wedding Garment; *i. e.* Believed *Jesus* to be the *Messiah*, but were not new clad (as I may so say) with a true Repentance, and Amendment of Life; nor adorned with those Vertues, which the Apostle, *Col.* iii. requires to be put on. 3. Those who were invited, did come, and had on the Wedding-Garment; *i. e.* Heard the Gospel, believed *Jesus* to be the *Messiah*, and sincerely obeyed his Laws. These three sorts are plainly designed here; whereof the last only were the Blessed, who were to enjoy the Kingdom prepared for them.

Mat. xxiii. Be not ye called Rabbi: For one is your Master, even the *Messiah*, and ye all are Brethren. And call no man your Father upon the Earth: For one is your Father which is in Heaven. Neither be ye called Masters: For one is your Master, even the *Messiah*. But he that is greatest amongst you, shall be your Servant. And whosoever shall exalt himself, shall be abased; And he that shall humble himself, shall be exalted.

Luke xxi. 34. Take heed to your selves, lest your Hearts be at any time over-charged with surfeiting and drunkenness, and cares of this Life.

Luke xxii. 25. He said unto them, The Kings of the Gentiles exercise Lordship over them; And they that exercise Authority upon them, are called Benefactors. But ye shall not be so. But he that is greatest amongst you, let him be as the younger; And he that is chief, as he that doth serve.

John xiii. 34. A new Commandment I give unto you, That ye love one another; As I have loved you, that ye also love one another. By this shall all men know that ye are my Disciples, if ye love one another. This Command, of loving one another, is repeated again; *Chap.* xv. 12; and 17.

John xiv. 15. If ye love me, keep my Commandments. *V.* 21. He that hath my Commandments, and keepeth them, he it is that loveth me: And he that loveth me, shall be loved of my Father, and I will love him, and manifest my self to him. *V.* 23. If a man loveth me, he will keep my words. *V.* 24. He that loveth me not, keepeth not my sayings.

John xv. 8. In this is my Father glorified, that ye bear much fruit; so shall ye be my Disciples. *V.* 14. Ye are my Friends, if ye do whatsoever I command you.

Thus we see our Saviour not only confirmed the Moral Law; and clearing it from the corrupt glosses of the Scribes and Pharisees, shewed the strictness as well as obligation of its Injunctions; but moreover, upon occasion, requires the Obedience of his Disciples

Disciples to several of the Commands he afresh lays upon them ; with the Enforcement of unspeakable Rewards and Punishments in another World, according to their Obedience, or Disobedience. There is not, I think, any of the Duties of Morality, which he has not some where or other, by himself and his Apostles, inculcated over and over again to his Followers in express Terms. And is it for nothing, that he is so instant with them to bring forth Fruit ? Does he their King command, and is it an indifferent Thing ? Or will their Happiness or Misery not at all depend upon it, whether they obey or no ? They were required to believe him to be the *Messiah* ; which Faith is of Grace promised to be reckoned to them for the compleating of their Righteousness, wherein it was defective : But Righteousness, or Obedience to the Law of God, was their great Business, which if they could have attained by their own Performances, there would have been no need of this gracious Allowance, in Reward of their Faith : But eternal Life, after the Resurrection, had been their due by a former Covenant, even that of Works ; the Rule whereof was never abolished, though the Rigour were abated. The Duties enjoined in it were Duties still. Their Obligations had never ceased ; nor a wilful neglect of them was ever dispensed with. But their past Transgressions were pardoned, to those who received *Jesus*, the promised *Messiah*, for their King ; and their future Slips covered, if renouncing their former Iniquities, they entred into his Kingdom, and continued his Subjects, with a steady Resolution and Endeavour to obey his Laws. This Righteousness therefore, a compleat Obedience and freedom from Sin, are still sincerely to be endeavoured after. And 'tis no where promised, that those who persist in a wilful Disobedience to his Laws, shall be received into the eternal Bliss of his Kingdom, how much soever they believe in him.

A sincere Obedience, how can any one doubt to be, or scruple to call, a Condition of the new Covenant, as well as Faith ; who ever read our Saviour's Sermon in the Mount, to omit all the rest ? Can any thing be more express than these Words of our Lord ? *Mat. vi. 14. If you forgive Men their Trespases, your heavenly Father will also forgive you : But if ye forgive not Men their Trespases, neither will your Father forgive your Trespases.* And *John xiii. 17. If ye know these Things, happy are ye if ye do them.* This is so indispensable a Condition of the new Covenant, that believing without it will not do, nor be accepted ; if our Saviour knew the Terms on which he would admit Men into Life. *Why call ye me, Lord, Lord,* says he, *Luke vi. 46. and do not the Things which I say ?* It is not enough to believe him to be the *Messiah*, the Lord, without obeying him. For that these he speaks to here, were Believers, is evident from the parallel Place, *Matt. vii. 21--23.* where it is thus Recorded : *Not every one who says Lord, Lord, shall enter into the Kingdom of Heaven ; but he that doth the Will of my Father, which is in Heaven.* No Rebels, or refractory Disobedient, shall be admitted there ; though they have so far believed in *Jesus*, as to be able to do Miracles in his Name ; as is plain out of the following Words. *Many will say to me in that Day, Have we not Prophesied in thy Name, and in thy Name have cast out Devils ; and in thy Name have done many wonderful Works ? And then will I profess unto them, I never knew you, depart from me ye workers of Iniquity.*

This part of the new Covenant, the Apostles also, in their preaching the Gospel of the *Messiah*, ordinarily joined with the Doctrine of Faith.

St. Peter in his first Sermon, *Acts ii.* when they were pricked in Heart, and asked, *What shall we do ?* says, *v. 38. REPENT, and be Baptized, every one of you, in the Name of Jesus Christ, for the Remission of Sins.* The same he says to them again in his next Speech, *Acts iv. 26. Unto you first, God having raised up his Son Jesus, sent him to bless you. How was this done ? IN TURNING AWAY EVERY ONE FROM YOUR INIQUITIES.*

The same Doctrine they Preach to the High Priest and Rulers ; *Acts vi. 30. The God of our Fathers raised up Jesus, whom ye slew and hanged on a Tree. Him hath God exalted with his right Hand, to be a Prince and a Saviour for to give REPENTANCE to Israel, and Forgiveness of Sins ; and we are Witnesses of these Things, and so is also the Holy Ghost, whom God hath given to them that obey him.*

Acts xvii. 30. Paul tells the *Athenians*, that now under the Gospel, *God commandeth all Men every where to REPENT.*

Acts xx. 21. St. Paul in his last Conference with the Elders of *Ephesus*, professes to have taught them the whole Doctrine necessary to Salvation. *I have, says he, kept back nothing that was profitable unto you ; but have shewed you, and have taught you*

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you publickly, and from House to House; testifying both to the Jews and to the Greeks: And then gives an Account what his preaching had been, viz. *REPENTANCE* towards God, and Faith towards our Lord Jesus the Messiah. This was the Sum and Substance of the Gospel which St. Paul preached; and was all that he knew necessary to Salvation, viz. *Repentance, and believing Jesus to be the Messiah*: And so takes his last farewell of them, whom he should never see again, v. 32. in these Words, *And now Brethren, I commend you to God, and to the Word of his Grace, which is able to build you up, and to give you an Inheritance among all them that are sanctified*. There is an Inheritance conveyed by the Word and Covenant of Grace; but it is only to those who are sanctified.

Acts xxiv. 24 When Felix sent for Paul, that he and his Wife *Drusilla* might hear him, concerning the Faith in Christ; Paul reasoned of Righteousness, or Justice, and Temperance; the Duties we owe to others, and to our selves; and of the Judgment to come; till he made Felix to tremble. Whereby it appears, that *Temperance and Justice* were fundamental Parts of the Religion that Paul professed, and were contained in the Faith which he preached. And if we find the Duties of the moral Law not pressed by him every where; we must remember, that most of his Sermons left upon Record, were preached in their Synagogues to the Jews, who acknowledged their Obedience due to all the Precepts of the Law: And would have taken it amiss to have been suspected, not to have been more zealous for the Law than he. And therefore it was with reason that his Discourses were directed chiefly to what they yet wanted, and were averse to; the knowledge and embracing of Jesus their promised Messiah. But what his preaching generally was, if we will believe him himself, we may see *Acts xxvi.* where giving an Account to King *Agrippa* of his Life and Doctrine, he tells him, v. 20. *I shewed unto them of Damascus, and at Jerusalem, and throughout all the Coasts of Judea, and then to the Gentiles, that they should repent and turn to God, and do Works meet for Repentance*.

Thus we see, by the preaching of our Saviour and his Apostles, that he required of those who believed him to be the Messiah, and received him for their Lord and Deliverer, that they should live by his Laws: And that (though in Consideration of their becoming his Subjects, by Faith in him, whereby they believed and took him to be the Messiah, their former Sins should be forgiven) yet he would own none to be his, nor receive them as true Denizens of the new Jerusalem, into the Inheritance of eternal Life; but leave them to the Condemnation of the Unrighteous; who renounced not their former Miscarriages, and lived in a sincere Obedience to his Commands. What he expects from his Followers, he has sufficiently declared as a Legislator. And that they may not be deceived, by mistaking the Doctrine of Faith, Grace, Free-Grace, and the Pardon and Forgiveness of Sins and Salvation by him, (which was the great End of his Coming) he more than once declares to them; for what Omissions and Miscarriages he shall judge and condemn to Death, even those who have owned him, and done Miracles in his Name; when he comes at last to render to every one according to what he hath DONE in the Flesh; sitting upon his great and glorious Tribunal, at the end of the World.

The first place where we find our Saviour to have mentioned the day of Judgment, is *John v. 28, 29.* in these Words; *The Hour is coming, in which all that are in their Graves shall hear his [i.e. the Son of God's] Voice, and shall come forth; they that have DONE GOOD unto the Resurrection of Life; and they that have DONE EVIL, unto the Resurrection of Damnation*. That which puts the distinction, if we will believe our Saviour, is the having done Good or Evil. And he gives a reason of the necessity of his judging or condemning those who have done Evil, in the following Words, v. 30. *I can of my own self do nothing. As I hear I judge; And my Judgment is just: Because I seek not my own Will, but the Will of my Father who hath sent me*. He could not judge of himself; he had but a delegated Power of judging from the Father, whose Will he obeyed in it, and who was of purer Eyes than to admit any unjust Person into the Kingdom of Heaven.

Matt. vii. 22, 23. speaking again of that Day, he tells what his Sentence will be, *Depart from me ye WORKERS of Iniquity*. Faith in the penitent and sincerely Obedient, supplies the defect of their Performances; and so by Grace they are made just. But we may observe; none are sentenced or punished for Unbelief; but only for their Misdeeds. *They are Workers of Iniquity on whom the sentence is pronounced*.

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Matt. xiii. 14. At the end of the World, the Son of Man shall send forth his Angels; And they shall gather out of his Kingdom all Scandals, and them which DO INIQUITY; And cast them into a Furnace of Fire; There shall be weeping and gnashing of Teeth. And again, v. 49. The Angels shall sever the WICKED from among the JUST; and shall cast them into the Furnace of Fire.

Matt. xvi. 24. For the Son of Man shall come in the Glory of his Father, with his Angels: And then he shall Reward every Man according to his WORKS.

Luke xiii. 26. Then shall ye begin to say; We have eaten and drunk in thy Presence, and thou hast taught in our Streets. But he shall say, I tell you, I know you not; Depart from me, ye WORKERS of Iniquity.

Matt. xxv. 24-26. When the Son of Man shall come in his Glory; and before him shall be gathered all Nations; He shall set the Sheep on his right Hand, and the Goats on his left: Then shall the King say to them on his right Hand, Come ye blessed of my Father, inherit the Kingdom prepared for you, from the Foundation of the World; for, I was an hungred, and ye gave me Meat; I was thirsty, and ye gave me Drink; I was a Stranger, and ye took me in; Naked, and ye clothed me; I was Sick, and ye visited me; I was in Prison, and ye came unto me. Then shall the righteous answer him, saying, Lord, when saw we thee an hungred, and fed thee? &c. And the King shall answer, and say unto them; Verily, I say unto you, In as much as ye have done it unto one of the least of these my Brethren, ye have done it unto me. Then shall he say unto them on the left Hand, Depart from me, ye Cursed, into everlasting Fire, prepared for the Devil and his Angels. For I was an hungred, and ye gave me no Meat; I was thirsty, and ye gave me no Drink; I was a Stranger, and ye took me not in; Naked, and ye clothed me not; Sick and in Prison, and ye visited me not. In so much that ye did it not to one of these, ye did it not to me. And these shall go into everlasting Punishment: But the Righteous into Life eternal.

These, I think, are all the Places where our Saviour mentions the last Judgment; or describes his way of Proceeding in that great Day: Wherein, as we have observed, it is remarkable, that every where the Sentence follows, doing or not doing; without any mention of believing, or not believing. Not that any to whom the Gospel hath been preached, shall be saved, without believing Jesus to be the Messiah: For all being Sinners, and Transgressors of the Law, and so unjust; are all liable to Condemnation; unless they believe, and so through Grace are justified by God for this Faith, which shall be accounted to them for Righteousness. But the rest wanting this Cover, this allowance for their Transgressions, must answer for all their Actions: And being found Transgressors of the Law, shall by the Letter, and Sanction of that Law, be condemned, for not having paid a full Obedience to that Law: And not for want of Faith. That is not the Guilt, on which the Punishment is laid; though it be the want of Faith, which lays open their Guilt uncovered; and exposes them to the Sentence of the Law, against all that are Unrighteous.

The common Objection here, is; if all Sinners shall be condemned, but such as have a gracious allowance made them; and so are justified by God, for believing Jesus to be the Messiah, and so taking him for their King, whom they are resolved to obey, to the utmost of their Power; what shall become of all Mankind, who lived before our Saviour's time; who never heard of his Name; and consequently could not believe in him? To this, the Answer is so obvious and natural, that one would wonder how any reasonable Man should think it worth the urging. No Body was, or can be, required to believe, what was never proposed to him, to believe. Before the fulness of Time, which God from the Council of his own Wisdom had appointed to send his Son in, he had at several Times, and in different Manners, promised to the People of Israel, an extraordinary Person to come; who, raised from amongst themselves, should be their Ruler and Deliverer. The time, and other Circumstances of his Birth, Life, and Person, he had in sundry Prophecies so particularly described, and so plainly foretold, that he was well known, and expected by the Jews, under the Name of the Messiah, or anointed, given him in some of these Prophecies. All then that was required before his appearing in the World, was to believe what God had revealed; and to rely with a full assurance on God for the performance of his Promise; and to believe, that in due time he would send them the Messiah, this anointed King, this promised Saviour and Deliverer, according to his Word. This Faith in the promises of God; this relying and acquiescing in his Word and Faithfulness, the Almighty takes well at our Hands, as a great mark of Homage paid by us
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poor frail Creatures, to his *Goodness* and *Truth*, as well as to his *Power* and *Wisdom*; and accepts it as an acknowledgment of his peculiar Providence, and Benignity to us. And therefore our Saviour tells us, *John xii. 44. He that believes on me, believes not on me; But on him that sent me.* The Works of Nature shew his Wisdom and Power: But 'tis his peculiar Care of Mankind, most eminently discovered in his Promises to them, that shews his Bounty and Goodness; and consequently engages their Hearts in Love and Affection to him. This oblation of an Heart, fixed with dependance, on and affection to him, is the most acceptable Tribute we can pay him; the Foundation of true Devotion; and Life of all Religion. What a value he puts on this depending on his Word, and resting satisfied in his Promises, we have an Example in *Abraham*; whose Faith was counted to him for Righteousness; as we have before remarked out of *Rom. iv.* And his relying firmly on the Promise of God, without any doubt of its Performance, gave him the Name of the Father of the Faithful; and gained him so much favour with the Almighty, that he was called the *Friend of God*: The highest and most glorious Title can be bestowed on a Creature. The thing promised was no more, but a Son by his Wife *Sarah*; and a numerous Posterity by him, which should possess the Land of *Canaan*. These were but temporal Blessings; and (except the Birth of a Son) very remote; Such as he should never live to see, nor in his own Person have the Benefit of. But because he questioned not the Performance of it; but rested fully satisfied in the Goodness, Truth, and Faithfulness of God who had promised; it was counted to him for Righteousness. Let us see how *St. Paul* expresses it; *Rom. iv. 18-22. Who, against hope, believed in hope, that he might become the Father of many Nations; According to that which was spoken, so shall thy Seed be. And being not weak in his Faith, he considered not his own Body now dead, when he was above an hundred Years old; neither yet the deadness of Sarah's Womb. He staggered not at the Promise of God through unbelief, but was strong in Faith, giving Glory to God; And being fully persuaded, that what he had promised, he was able to perform. And THEREFORE, it was imputed to him for Righteousness.* *St. Paul* having here emphatically described the strength and firmness of *Abraham's* Faith, informs us, that he thereby gave glory to God; and therefore it was accounted to him for Righteousness. This is the way that God deals with poor frail Mortals. He is graciously pleased to take it well of them; and give it the place of Righteousness, and a kind of Merit in his sight: If they believe his Promises, and have a steadfast relying on his Veracity and Goodness. *St. Paul, Heb. xi. 6.* tells us; *Without Faith it is impossible to please God:* But at the same time tells us what Faith that is. *For, says he, He that cometh to God, must believe that he is; And that he is a rewarder of them that diligently seek him.* He must be persuaded of God's Mercy and good Will to those who seek to obey him; and rest assured of his rewarding those who rely on him, for whatever, either by the Light of Nature, or particular Promises, he has revealed to them of his tender Mercies; and taught them to expect from his Bounty. This Description of Faith (that we might not mistake what he means by that Faith, without which we cannot please God, and which recommended the Saints of Old) *St. Paul* places in the middle of the List of those, who were Eminent for their Faith; And whom he sets as Patterns to the converted *Hebrews*, under Persecution, to encourage them to persist in their Confidence of Deliverance by the Coming of *Jesus Christ*; And in their belief of the Promises they now had under the Gospel. By those examples he exhorts them not to draw back, from the hope, that was set before them; nor apostatize from the Profession of the Christian Religion. This is plain from *v. 35-38.* of the precedent Chapter: *Cast not away therefore your confidence, which hath great recompence of Reward. For ye have great need of persisting or perseverance; (for so the Greek Word signifies here, which our Translation renders Patience. Vid. Luke viii. 15.) That after ye have done the Will of God, ye might receive the Promise. For yet a little while, and he that shall come will come, and will not tarry. Now the just shall live by Faith. But if any man draw back, my Soul shall have no pleasure in him.*

The Examples of Faith, which *St. Paul* enumerates and proposes in the following Words, *Chap. xi.* plainly shew, that the Faith whereby those Believers of old pleased God, was nothing but a steadfast Relyance on the Goodness and Faithfulness of God, for those good things, which either the light of Nature, or particular Promises, had given them Grounds to hope for. Of what avail this Faith was with God, we may see, *v. 4.* By Faith *Abel* offered unto God a more excellent Sacrifice than *Cain*; by which he obtained witness that he was Righteous. *V. 5.* By Faith *Enoch* was translated, that he

he should not see Death: For before his translation he had this Testimony, that he pleased God. V. 7. Noah, being warned of God of things not seen as yet; being wary, by Faith prepared an Ark, to the saving of his House; By the which he condemned the World, and became Heir of the Righteousness which is by Faith. And what it was that God so graciously accepted and rewarded, we are told, v. 11. Through Faith also Sarah herself received strength to conceive seed, and was delivered of a Child, when she was past age. How she came to obtain this Grace from God, the Apostle tells us; Because she judged him Faithful who had promised. Those therefore who pleased God, and were accepted by him before the Coming of Christ, did it only by believing the Promises, and relying on the Goodness of God, as far as he had revealed it to them. For the Apostle, in the following Words, tells us, v. 13. These all died in Faith, not having received (the accomplishment of) the Promises; but having seen them afar off: And were persuaded of them, and embraced them. This was all that was required of them; to be persuaded of, and embrace the Promises which they had. They could be persuaded of no more than was proposed to them; Embrace no more than was revealed, according to the Promises they had received, and the Dispensations they were under. And if the Faith of things seen afar off; if their trusting in God for the Promises he then gave them; if a belief of the Messiah to come, were sufficient to render those who lived in the Ages before Christ, acceptable to God, and Righteous before him: I desire those, who tell us, that God will not, (nay, some go so far as to say) cannot accept any, who do not believe every Article of their particular Creeds and Systems, to consider, why God, out of his infinite Mercy, cannot as well justify Man now, for believing Jesus of Nazareth to be the promised Messiah, the King and Deliverer; as those heretofore, who believed only that God would, according to his Promise, in due time send the Messiah, to be a King and Deliverer.

There is another Difficulty often to be met with, which seems to have something of more weight in it: And that is, that though the Faith of those before Christ; (believing that God would send the Messiah, to be a Prince, and a Saviour to his People, as he had promised;) and the Faith of those since his time, (believing Jesus to be that Messiah, promised and sent by God) shall be accounted to them for Righteousness, Yet what shall become of all the rest of Mankind, who having never heard of the Promise or News of a Saviour; not a Word of a Messiah to be sent, or that was come, have had no thought or belief concerning him?

To this I answer; That God will require of every Man, According to what a Man hath, and not according to what he hath not. He will not expect the Improvement of Ten Talents, where he gave but One; nor require any one should believe a Promise, of which he has never heard. The Apostle's reasoning, Rom. x. 14. is very just: How shall they believe in him, of whom they have not heard? But though there be many, who being Strangers to the Common-wealth of Israel, were also Strangers to the Oracles of God committed to that People; many, to whom the Promise of the Messiah never came, and so were never in a capacity to believe or reject that Revelation: Yet God had, by the Light of Reason, revealed to all Mankind, who would make use of that Light, that he was Good and Merciful. The same spark of the Divine Nature and Knowledge in Man, which making him a Man, shewed him the Law he was under as a Man; shewed him also the way of atoning the merciful, kind, compassionate Author and Father of him and his Being, when he had transgressed that Law. He that made use of this Candle of the Lord, so far as to find what was his Duty, could not miss to find also the way to Reconciliation and Forgiveness, when he had failed of his Duty: Though if he used not his Reason this way; if he put out, or neglected this Light, he might, perhaps, see neither.

The Law is the eternal, immutable Standard of Right. And a part of that Law is, that a Man should forgive, not only his Children but his Enemies, upon their Repentance, asking Pardon, and Amendment. And therefore he could not doubt that the Author of this Law, and God of Patience and Consolation, who is rich in Mercy, would forgive his frail Off-spring; if they acknowledged their Faults, disapproved the Iniquity of their Transgressions, beg'd his Pardon, and resolved in earnest for the future to conform their Actions to this Rule, which they owned to be Just and Right. This way of Reconciliation, this hope of Attonement, the Light of Nature revealed to them: And the Revelation of the Gospel having said nothing to the contrary, leaves them to stand and fall to their own Father and Master, whose Goodness and Mercy is over all his Works.

The Reasonableness of Christianity,

I know some are forward to urge that place of the *Acts*, Chap. iv. as contrary to this. The Words, v. 10. and 12. stand thus: *Be it known unto you all, and to all the People of Israel, that by the Name of Jesus Christ of Nazareth, whom ye crucified, whom God raised from the Dead, even by him doth this Man, [i. e. The lame Man restored by Peter] stand here before you whole. This is the Stone which is set at nought by you Builders, which is become the Head of the Corner. Neither is there Salvation in any other: For there is none other Name under Heaven given among Men, in which we must be saved. Which, in short, is, that Jesus is the only true Messiah; neither is there any other Person, but he, given to be a Mediator between God and Man, in whose Name we may ask, and hope for Salvation.*

It will here possibly be asked, *Quorsum perditio hæc?* What need was there of a Saviour? What Advantage have we by *Jesus Christ*?

It is enough to justify the Fitness of any thing to be done, by resolving it into the *Wisdom of God*, who has done it; though our short Views, and narrow Understandings, may utterly incapacitate us to see that Wisdom, and to judge rightly of it. We know little of this visible, and nothing at all of the state of that intellectual World, wherein are infinite Numbers and Degrees of Spirits out of the reach of our Ken or Guess: And therefore know not what Transactions there were between God and our Saviour, in reference to his Kingdom. We know not what need there was to set up a Head and a Chieftain, in Opposition to the *Prince of this World*, the *Prince of the Power of the Air*, &c. Whereof there are more than obscure Intimations in Scripture. And we shall take too much upon us, if we shall call God's Wisdom or Providence to account, and pertly condemn for needless, all that our weak, and perhaps biased *Understandings*, cannot account for.

Though this general Answer be Reply enough to the forementioned Demand, and such as a rational Man, or fair Searcher after Truth, will acquiesce in; yet in this particular case, the Wisdom and Goodness of God has shewn himself so visibly to common Apprehensions, that it hath furnished us abundantly wherewithal to satisfy the curious and inquisitive, who will not take a Blessing, unless they be instructed what need they had of it, and why it was bestowed upon them. The great and many Advantages we receive by the coming of *Jesus the Messiah*, will shew, that it was not without need, that he was sent into the World.

The Evidence of our Saviour's Mission from Heaven is so great, in the multitude of Miracles he did before all sorts of People, that what he delivered cannot but be received as the Oracles of God, and unquestionable Verity. For the Miracles he did were so ordered by the divine Providence and Wisdom, that they never were, nor could be denied by any of the Enemies or Opposers of Christianity.

Though the Works of Nature, in every part of them, sufficiently evidence a Deity; yet the World made so little use of their Reason, that they saw him not, where even by the Impressions of himself he was easie to be found. Sense and Lust blinded their Minds in some, and a careless Inadvertency in others, and fearful Apprehensions in most (who either believed there were, or could not but suspect there might be, superior unknown Beings) gave them up into the Hands of their Priests, to fill their Heads with false Notions of the Deity, and their Worship with foolish Rites, as they pleased: And what Dread or Craft once began, Devotion soon made sacred, and Religion immutable. In this State of Darkness and Ignorance of the true God, Vice and Superstition held the World. Nor could any help be had, or hoped for from *Reason*; which could not be heard, and was judged to have nothing to do in the case: The Priests, every where, to secure their Empire, having excluded *Reason* from having any thing to do in Religion. And in the croud of wrong Notions, and invented Rites, the World had almost lost the sight of the one only true God. The rational and thinking part of Mankind, 'tis true, when they sought after him, found the one Supreme, invisible God: But if they acknowledged and worshipped him, it was only in their own Minds. They kept this Truth locked up in their own Breasts as a Secret, nor ever durst venture it amongst the People, much less amongst the Priests, those wary Guardians of their own Creeds and profitable Inventions. Hence we see that *Reason*, speaking never so clearly to the wise and virtuous, had never Authority enough to prevail on the Multitude, and to persuade the Societies of Men, that there was but one God, that alone was to be owned and worshipped. The Belief and Worship of one God, was the National Religion of the *Israelites* alone: And if we will consider it, it was introduced and supported amongst the People by *Revelation*. They

were

were in *Goshen*, and had Light, whilst the rest of the World were in almost *Egyptian* Darkness, without God in the World. There was no part of Mankind, who had quicker Parts, or improved them more; that had a greater light of Reason, or followed it farther in all sorts of Speculations than the *Athenians*: And yet we find but one *Socrates* amongst them, that opposed and laughed at their Polytheism, and wrong Opinions of the Deity; and we see how they rewarded him for it. Whatsoever *Plato*, and the soberest of the Philosophers thought of the Nature and Being of the One God, they were fain, in their outward Professions and Worship, to go with the Herd, and keep to the Religion established by Law: Which what it was, and how it had disposed the Minds of these knowing, and quick-sighted *Grecians*, *St. Paul* tells us, *Acts* xvii. 22---29. *Ye Men of Athens*, says he, *I perceive that in all Things ye are too superstitious. For as I passed by, and beheld your Devotions, I found an Altar with this Inscription, TO THE UNKNOWN GOD. Whom therefore ye ignorantly worship, him declare I unto you. God that made the World, and all Things therein, seeing that he is Lord of Heaven and Earth, dwelleth not in Temples made with Hands: Neither is worshipped with Mens Hands, as though he needed any thing, seeing he giveth unto all Life, and Breath, and all Things; and hath made of one Blood all the Nations of Men, for to dwell on the face of the Earth; and hath determined the Times before appointed, and the Bounds of their Habitations; That they should seek the Lord, if haply they might feel him out, and find him, though he be not far from every one of us.* Here he tells the *Athenians*, that they, and the rest of the World (given up to Superstition) whatever Light there was in the Works of Creation and Providence, to lead them to the true God, yet they few of them found him. He was every where near them; yet they were but like People groping and feeling for something in the dark, and did not see him with a full clear Day-light; But thought the Godhead like to Gold, and Silver, and Stone, graven by Art and Man's Device.

In this state of Darkness and Error, in reference to the True God, our Saviour found the World. But the clear Revelation he brought with him, dissipated this Darkness; made the One Invisible True God known to the World: And that with such Evidence and Energy, that Polytheism and Idolatry hath no where been able to withstand it: But wherever the preaching of the Truth he delivered, and the Light of the Gospel hath come, those Mists have been dispelled. And in effect we see that since our Saviour's time, the Belief of One God has prevailed and spread it self over the face of the Earth. For even to the Light that the Messiah brought into the World with him, we must ascribe the owning, and Profession of One God, which the *Mahometan* Religion had derived and borrowed from it. So that in this sense it is certainly and manifestly true of our Saviour, what *St. John* says of him; *1 John* iii. 8. *For this Purpose the Son of God was manifested, that he might destroy the Works of the Devil.* This Light the World needed, and this Light it received from him: That there is but One God, and he Eternal, Invisible; not like to any visible Objects, nor to be represented by them.

If it be asked, whether the Revelation to the Patriarchs by *Moses*, did not teach this, and why that was not enough? The Answer is obvious; that however clearly the Knowledge of One Invisible God, maker of Heaven and Earth, was revealed to them; yet that Revelation was shut up in a little corner of the World; amongst a People by that very Law, which they received with it, excluded from a Commerce and Communication with the rest of Mankind. The Gentile World in our Saviour's time, and several Ages before, could have no Attestation of the Miracles, on which the *Hebrews* built their Faith, but from the *Jews* themselves; a People not known to the greatest part of Mankind; Contemned and thought vilely of by those Nations that did know them; and therefore very unfit and unable to propagate the Doctrine of One God in the World, and diffuse it through the Nations of the Earth, by the strength and force of that ancient Revelation, upon which they had received it. But our Saviour, when he came, threw down this Wall of Partition; and did not confine his Miracles or Message to the Land of *Canaan*, or the Worshipers at *Jerusalem*. But he himself preached at *Samaria*, and did Miracles in the Borders of *Tyre* and *Sidon*, and before Multitudes of People gathered from all Quarters. And after his Resurrection, sent his Apostles amongst the Nations, accompanied with Miracles; which were done in all Parts so frequently, and before so many Witnesses of all sorts, in broad Day-light, that, as I have before observed, the Enemies of Christianity have never dared to deny them; no, not *Julian* himself: Who neither wanted Skill nor

Power to enquire into the Truth ; nor would have failed to have proclaimed and exposed it, if he could have detected any Falshood in the History of the Gospel ; or found the least ground to question the Matter of Fact published of Christ, and his Apostles. The Number and Evidence of the Miracles done by our Saviour and his Followers, by the power and force of Truth, bore down this mighty and accomplished Emperor, and all his Parts, in his own Dominions. He durst not deny so plain Matter of Fact ; which being granted, the truth of our Saviour's Doctrine and Mission unavoidably follows ; notwithstanding whatsoever artful Suggestions his Wit could invent, or Malice should offer, to the contrary.

2. Next to the Knowledge of one God ; Maker of all Things ; a clear *Knowledge of their Duty* was wanting to Mankind. This part of Knowledge, though cultivated with some Care, by some of the heathen Philosophers ; yet got little footing among the People. All Men indeed, under pain of displeasing the Gods, were to frequent the Temples : Every one went to their Sacrifices and Services : But the Priests made it not their Business to teach them *Virtue*. If they were diligent in their Observations and Ceremonies ; punctual in their Feasts and Solemnities, and the Tricks of Religion ; the holy Tribe assured them, the Gods were pleased ; and they looked no farther. Few went to the Schools of the Philosophers, to be instructed in their Duties ; and to know what was Good and Evil in their Action. The Priests sold the better Pennyworths, and therefore had all the Custom. Lustrations and Processions were much easier than a clean Conscience, and a steady course of Virtue ; and an expiatory Sacrifice, that attoned for the want of it, was much more convenient, than a strict and holy Life. No wonder then, that Religion was every where distinguished from, and preferred to *Virtue* ; and that it was dangerous Heresie and Prophaneness to think the contrary. So much *Virtue* as was necessary to hold Societies together ; and to contribute to the quiet of Governments, the Civil Laws of Commonwealths taught, and forced upon Men that lived under Magistrates. But these Laws, being for the most part made by such, who had no other Aims by their own Power, reached no farther than those things, that would serve to tie Men together in subjection ; or at most, were directly to conduce to the Prosperity and temporal Happiness of any People. But *natural Religion* in its full extent, was no where, that I know, taken care of by the force of natural Reason. It should seem by the little that has hitherto been done in it, that 'tis too hard a Task for unassisted Reason, to establish Morality in all its Parts upon its true Foundations, with a clear and convincing Light. And 'tis at least a surer and shorter Way, to the Apprehensions of the vulgar, and mass of Mankind, that one manifestly sent from God, and coming with visible Authority from him, should, as a King and Law-maker, tell them their Duties ; and require their Obedience ; than leave it to the long, and sometimes intricate Deductions of Reason, to be made out to them. Such trains of Reasonings the greatest part of Mankind have neither leisure to weigh ; nor, for want of Education and Use, Skill to judge of. We see how unsuccessful in this, the Attempts of Philosophers were before our Saviour's time. How short their several Systems came of the perfection of a true and compleat *Morality* is very visible. And if, since that, the Christian Philosophers have much outdone them ; yet we may observe, that the first knowledge of the Truths they have added, are owing to Revelation : Though as soon as they are heard and considered, they are found to be agreeable to Reason ; and such as can by no Means be contradicted. Every one may observe a great many Truths, which he receives at first from others, and readily assents to, as consonant to Reason, which he would have found it hard, and perhaps beyond his Strength to have discovered himself. Native and original Truth, is not so easily wrought out of the Mine, as we, who have it delivered, ready dug and fashioned into our Hands, are apt to imagine. And how often at fifty or threescore Years old are thinking Men told, what they wonder how they could miss thinking of ? Which yet their own Contemplations did not, and possibly never would have helped them to. Experience shews that the knowledge of Morality, by meer natural Light, (how agreeable soever it be to it) makes but a slow Progress, and little advance in the World. And the reason of it is not hard to be found in Men's Necessities, Passions, Vices, and mistaken Interests, which turn their Thoughts another way : And the designing Leaders, as well as following Herd, find it not to their Purpose to imploy much of their Meditations this way. Or whatever else was the Cause, 'tis plain in Fact, that human Reason unassisted, failed Men in its great and proper business of *Morality*. It never from un-

questionable

questionable Principles, by clear Deductions, made out an entire Body of the *Law of Nature*. And he that shall collect all the moral Rules of the Philosophers, and compare them with those contained in the New Testament, will find them to come short of the *Morality* delivered by our Saviour, and taught by his Apostles; a College made up for the most part of ignorant, but inspired Fishermen.

Though yet, if any one should think, that out of the Sayings of the wise Heathens; before our Saviour's time, there might be a Collection made of all those Rules of *Morality*, which are to be found in the Christian Religion; yet this would not at all hinder, but that the World nevertheless stood as much in need of our Saviour, and the *Morality* delivered by him. Let it be granted (though not true) that all the *Moral Precepts* of the Gospel were known by some Body or other, amongst Mankind, before. But where, or how, or of what use, is not considered. Suppose they may be picked up here and there; some from *Solon* and *Bias* in *Greece*; others from *Tully* in *Italy*: And to compleat the Work, let *Confutius*, as far as *China*, be consulted; and *Anacarsis* the *Scythian* contribute his Share. What will all this do, to give the World a compleat *Morality*, that may be to Mankind, the unquestionable Rule of Life and Manners? I will not here urge the impossibility of collecting from Men, so far distant from one another, in Time, and Place, and Languages. I will suppose there was a *Stobæus* in those Times, who had gathered the *moral Sayings* from all the Sages of the World. What would this amount to, towards being a steady Rule; a certain Transcript of a Law that we are under? Did the saying of *Aristippus*, or *Confutius*, give it an Authority? Was *Zeno* a Law-giver to Mankind? If not, what he or any other Philosopher delivered, was but a saying of his. Mankind might hearken to it, or reject it, as they pleased; or as it suited their Interest, Passions, Principles or Humours. They were under no Obligation: The Opinion of this or that Philosopher, was of no Authority. And if it were, you must take all he said under the same Character. All his Dictates must go for Law, certain and true; or none of them. And then, If you will take any of the moral Sayings of *Epicurus* (many whereof *Seneca* quotes with Esteem and Approbation) for Precepts of the *Law of Nature*; you must take all the rest of his Doctrine for such too; or else his Authority ceases: And so no more is to be received from him, or any of the Sages of old, for parts of the *Law of Nature*, as carrying with it an Obligation to be obeyed, but what they prove to be so. But such a Body of *Ethicks*, proved to be the Law of Nature, from Principles of Reason, and reaching all the Duties of Life; I think no Body will say the World had before our Saviour's time. 'Tis not enough, that there were up and down scattered Sayings of wise Men, conformable to right Reason. The Law of Nature, is the Law of Convenience too: And 'tis no wonder, that those Men of Parts, and studious of Virtue; (who had occasion to think on any particular part of it,) should by Meditation light on the right, even from the observable Convenience and Beauty of it; without making out its Obligation from the true Principles of the Law of Nature, and Foundations of *Morality*. But these incoherent Apophthegms of Philosophers, and wise Men; however excellent in themselves, and well intended by them, could never make a *Morality*, whereof the World could be convinced, could never rise to the force of a Law that Mankind could with certainty depend on. Whatsoever should thus be universally useful, as a Standard to which Men should conform their Manners, must have its Authority either from Reason or Revelation. 'Tis not every Writer of Morals, or Compiler of it from others, that can thereby be erected into a Law-giver to Mankind; and a Dictator of Rules, which are therefore valid, because they are to be found in his Books; under the authority of this or that Philosopher. He that any one will pretend to set up in this kind, and have his Rules pass for authentick Directions, must shew, that either he builds his Doctrine upon Principles of Reason, self-evident in themselves; and that he deduces all the parts of it from thence, by clear and evident Demonstration: Or must shew his Commission from Heaven, that he comes with Authority from God, to deliver his Will and Commands to the World. In the former way, no body that I know before our Saviour's time, ever did, or went about to give us a *Morality*. 'Tis true there is a *Law of Nature*; but who is there that ever did, or undertook to give it us all entire, as a Law; no more, nor no less, than what was contained in; and had the Obligation of that Law? Who ever made out all the parts of it, put them together, and shewed the World their Obligation? Where was there any such Code, that Mankind might have recourse to; as their unerring Rule, before our Saviour's

Saviour's time? If there was not, 'tis plain, there was need of one to give us such a *Morality*; such a Law, which might be the sure guide of those who had a desire to go right; and if they had a Mind, need not mistake their Duty, but might be certain when they had performed, when failed in it. Such a *Law of Morality* Jesus Christ hath given us in the New Testament; but by the latter of these ways, by Revelation. We have from him a full and sufficient Rule for our direction, and conformable to that of Reason. But the truth and obligation of its Precepts have their force, and are put past doubt to us, by the evidence of his Mission. He was sent by God: His Miracles shew it; and the Authority of God in his Precepts cannot be questioned. Here *Morality* has a sure Standard, that Revelation vouches, and Reason cannot gainsay, nor question; but both together witness to come from God the great Law maker. And such an one as this out of the New Testament, I think the World never had, nor can any one say is any where else to be found. Let me ask any one, who is forward to think that the Doctrine of *Morality* was full and clear in the World, at our Saviour's Birth; whether would he have directed *Brutus* and *Cassius*, (both Men of Parts and Virtue, the one whereof believed, and the other disbelieved a future Being) to be satisfied in the Rules and Obligations of all the parts of their Duties; if they should have asked him where they might find the Law they were to live by, and by which they should be charged or acquitted as guilty or innocent? If to the sayings of the Wise, and the Declarations of Philosophers, he sends them into a wild Wood of uncertainty, to an endless maze, from which they should never get out: If to the Religions of the World, yet worse: And if to their own Reason, he refers them to that which had some light and certainty; but yet had hitherto failed all Mankind in a perfect Rule; and we see, resolved not the Doubts that had risen amongst the studious and thinking Philosophers; nor had yet been able to convince the civilized parts of the World, that they had not given, nor could, without a Crime, take away the Lives of their Children, by exposing them.

If any one shall think to excuse human Nature, by laying blame on Men's *Negligence*, that they did not carry *Morality* to an higher pitch; and make it out entire in every part, with that clearness of Demonstration which some think it capable of; he helps not the matter. Be the cause what it will, our Saviour found Mankind under a Corruption of Manners and Principles, which Ages after Ages had prevailed, and must be confessed was not in a way or tendency to be mended. The Rules of *Morality* were in different Countries and Sects, different. And natural Reason no where had, nor was like to Cure the Defects and Errors in them. Those just measures of Right and Wrong, which necessity had any where introduced, the Civil Laws prescribed, or Philosophy recommended, stood not on their true Foundations. They were looked on as Bonds of Society, and Conveniences of common Life, and laudable Practises. But where was it that their Obligation was thoroughly known and allowed, and they received as Precepts of a Law; of the highest Law, the Law of Nature? That could not be, without a clear knowledge and acknowledgment of the Law-maker, and the great Rewards and Punishments, for those that would or would not obey him. But the Religion of the Heathens, as was before observed, little concerned itself in their Morals. The Priests, that delivered the Oracles of Heaven, and pretended to speak from the Gods, spoke little of Virtue and a good Life. And on the other side, the Philosophers, who spoke from Reason, made not much mention of the Deity in their *Ethicks*. They depended on Reason and her Oracles; which contain nothing but Truth: But yet some parts of that Truth lie too deep for our Natural Powers easily to reach, and make plain and visible to Mankind, without some Light from above to direct them. When Truths are once known to us, though by Tradition, we are apt to be favourable to our own Parts; and ascribe to our own Understandings the Discovery of what, in reality, we borrowed from others: Or, at least, finding we can prove, what at first we learnt from others, we are forward to conclude it an obvious Truth, which, if we had sought, we could not have missed. Nothing seems hard to our Understandings, that is once known: And because what we see we see with our own Eyes, we are apt to over-look or forget the help we had from others, who shewed it us, and first made us see it, as if we were not at all beholden to them for those Truths they opened the way to, and lead us into. For Knowledge being only of Truths that are perceived to be so, we are favourable enough to our own Faculties; to conclude, that they of their own Strength would have attain'd those

those Discoveries, without any foreign assistance; and that we know those Truths, by the strength and native Light of our own Minds, as they did from whom we received them by theirs, only they had the luck to be before us. Thus the whole stock of human Knowledge is claimed by every one, as his private Possession, as soon as he (profiting by others Discoveries) has got it into his own Mind: And so it is; but not properly by his own single Industry, nor of his own Acquisition. He studies, 'tis true, and takes pains to make a Progress in what others have delivered: But their pains were of another sort, who first brought those Truths to light, which he afterwards derives from them. He that travels the Roads now, applauds his own Strength and Legs, that have carried him so far in such a scantling of time; and ascribes all to his own Vigor, little considering how much he owes to their pains, who cleared the Woods, drained the Bogs, built the Bridges, and made the Ways passable; without which he might have toiled much with little progress. A great many things which we have been bred up in the Belief of from our Cradles, (and are Notions grown Familiar, and as it were Natural to us, under the Gospel,) we take for unquestionable obvious Truths, and easily demonstrable; without considering how long we might have been in doubt or ignorance of them, had Revelation been silent. And many are beholden to Revelation, who do not acknowledge it. 'Tis no diminishing to Revelation, that Reason gives its Suffrage too to the Truths Revelation has discovered. But 'tis our Mistake to think, that because Reason confirms them to us, we had the first certain Knowledge of them from thence, and in that clear Evidence we now possess them. The contrary is manifest, in the *defective Morality of the Gentiles*, before our Saviour's time; and the want of Reformation in the Principles and Measures of it, as well as Practice. Philosophy seemed to have spent its strength, and done its utmost: Or if it should have gone farther, as we see it did not; and from undeniable Principles given us *Ethicks* in a Science like *Mathemathicks* in every part demonstrable, this yet would not have been so effectual to Man in this imperfect state, nor proper for the Cure. The greatest part of Mankind want leisure or capacity for Demonstration; nor can carry a train of Proofs, which in that way they must always depend upon for Conviction, and cannot be required to assent to till they see the Demonstration. Wherever they stick, the Teachers are always put upon Proof, and must clear the Doubt by a Thread of coherent Deductions from the first Principle, how long, or how intricate soever that be. And you may as soon hope to have all the Day-Labourers and Tradesmen, the Spinsters and Dairy Maids perfect Mathematicians, as to have them perfect in *Ethicks* this way. Hearing plain Commands, is the sure and only course to bring them to Obedience and Practice. The greatest part cannot know; and therefore they must believe. And I ask, whether one coming from Heaven in the Power of God, in full and clear evidence and demonstration of Miracles, giving plain and direct Rules of *Morality* and Obedience, be not likelier to enlighten the bulk of Mankind, and set them right in their Duties, and bring them to do them, than by reasoning with them from general Notions and Principles of human Reason? And were all the Duties of human Life clearly demonstrated; yet I conclude, when well considered, that Method of teaching Men their Duties, would be thought proper only for a few, who had much Leisure, improved Understandings, and were used to abstract Reasonings. But the Instruction of the People were best still to be left to the Precepts and Principles of the Gospel. The healing of the Sick, the restoring sight to the Blind by a Word, the raising, and being raised from the Dead, are matters of Fact, which they can without difficulty conceive, and that he who does such things, must do them by the assistance of a Divine Power. These things lye level to the ordinarie Apprehension: He that can distinguish between sick and well, lame and sound, dead and alive, is capable of this Doctrine. To one who is once persuaded that Jesus Christ was sent by God to be a King, and a Saviour of those who do believe in him, all his Commands become Principles; there needs no other Proof for the truth of what he says, but that he said it. And then there needs no more but to read the inspired Books, to be instructed: All the Duties of *Morality* lye there clear, and plain, and easy to be understood. And here I appeal, whether this be not the surest, the safest, and most effectual way of teaching: Especially if we add this farther consideration; that as it suits the lowest Capacities of reasonable Creatures, so it reaches and satisfies, nay, enlightens the highest. The most elevated Understandings cannot but submit to the Authority of this Doctrine as Divine; which coming from the Mouths of a company of illiterate Men, hath not only the attestation

of

The Reasonableness of Christianity,

of Miracles, but reason to confirm it: Since they delivered no Precepts but such, as though Reason of itself had not clearly made out, yet it could not but assent to when thus discovered, and think itself indebted for the Discovery. The Credit and Authority our Saviour and his Apostles had over the Minds of Men, by the Miracles they did, tempted them not to mix (as we find in that of all the Sects and Philosophers, and other Religions) any Conceits, any wrong Rules, any thing tending to their own By-Interest, or that of a Party, in their Morality. No Taint of Prepossession or Phantasy; no Footsteps of Pride or Vanity; no Touch of Ostentation or Ambition, appears to have a hand in it. It is all pure, all sincere; nothing too much, nothing wanting; but such a compleat Rule of Life, as the wisest Men must acknowledge, tends entirely to the Good of Mankind, and that all would be happy, if all would practise it.

3. The outward Forms of *worshipping the Deity*, wanted a Reformation. Stately Buildings, costly Ornaments, peculiar and uncouth Habits, and a numerous huddle of pompous, phantastical, cumbersome Ceremonies, every where attended divine Worship. This, as it had the peculiar Name, so it was thought the principal Part, if not the whole of Religion. Nor could this possibly be amended whilst the Jewish Ritual stood; and there was so much of it mixed with the Worship of the true God. To this also our Saviour, with the knowledge of the infinite, invisible, supreme Spirit, brought a Remedy, in a plain, spiritual, and suitable Worship. *Jesus* says to the Woman of Samaria, *The Hour cometh, when ye shall neither in this Mountain, nor yet at Jerusalem, worship the Father. But the true worshippers, shall worship the Father, both in Spirit and in Truth; for the Father seeketh such to worship.* To be worshipped in Spirit and in Truth, with Application of Mind, and Sincerity of Heart, was what God henceforth only required. Magnificent Temples, and Confinement to certain Places, were now no longer necessary for his Worship, which by a pure Heart might be performed any where. The Splendor and Distinction of Habits, and Pomp of Ceremonies, and all outside Performances, might now be spared. God who was a Spirit, and made known to be so, required none of those, but the Spirit only; and that in publick Assemblies, (where some Actions must lie open to the view of the World) all that could appear and be seen, should be done decently, and in order, and to Edification. Decency, Order, and Edification, were to regulate all their publick Acts of Worship; and beyond what these required, the outward Appearance, (which was of little value in the Eyes of God) was not to go. Having shut out Indecency and Confusion out of their Assemblies, they need not be solicitous about useless Ceremonies. Praises and Prayer, humbly offered up to the Deity, was the Worship he now demanded; and in these every one was to look after his own Heart, and know that it was that alone which God had regard to, and accepted.

4. Another great Advantage received by our Saviour, is the great Encouragement he brought to a virtuous and pious Life: Great enough to surmount the Difficulties and Obstacles that lie in the way to it, and reward the Pains and Hardships of those who stuck firm to their Duties, and suffered for the Testimony of a good Conscience. The Portion of the Righteous has been in all Ages taken notice of, to be pretty scanty in this World. Virtue and Prosperity do not often accompany one another; and therefore Virtue seldom had many Followers. And 'tis no wonder she prevailed not much in a State, where the Inconveniencies that attended her were visible, and at hand, and the Rewards doubtful and at a distance. Mankind, who are and must be allowed to pursue their Happiness, nay, cannot be hindered, could not but think themselves excused from a strict Observation of Rules, which appeared so little to consist with their chief End, Happiness, whilst they kept them from the Enjoyments of this Life; and they had little Evidence and Security of another. 'Tis true, they might have argued the other way, and concluded, That, because the good were most of them ill treated here, there was another place where they should meet with better usage; but 'tis plain they did not. Their Thoughts of another Life were at best obscure, and their Expectations uncertain. Of *Manes*, and Ghosts, and the Shades of departed Men, there was some talk; but little certain, and less minded. They had the Names of *Styx* and *Acheron*, of Elysian Fields, and Seats of the Blessed: But they had them generally from their Poets, mixed with their Fables. And so they looked more like the Inventions of Wit, and Ornaments of Poetry, than the serious Persuasions of the grave and the sober. They came to them bundled up amongst their Tales, and for Tales they took them. And that which rendered them more suspected, and less useful

ful to Virtue, was, that the Philosophers seldom set on their Rules on Mens Minds and Practises, by Consideration of another Life. The chief of their Arguments were from the Excellency of Virtue; and the highest they generally went, was the exalting of human Nature, whose Perfection lay in Virtue. And if the Priest at any time talked of the Ghosts below, and a Life after this, it was only to keep Men to their superstitious and idolatrous Rites, whereby the use of this Doctrine was lost to the credulous Multitude, and its belief to the quicker sighted, who suspected it presently of Priestcraft. Before our Saviour's time, the Doctrine of a future State, though it were not wholly hid, yet it was not clearly known in the World. 'Twas an imperfect View of Reason, or, perhaps, the decay'd Remains of an ancient Tradition, which rather seemed to float on Mens Phantries, than sink deep into their Hearts. It was something, they knew not what, between being and not being. Something in Man they imagined might scape the Grave; but a perfect complete Life of an eternal Duration, after this, was what entred little into their Thoughts, and less into their Persuasions. And they were so far from being clear herein, that we see no Nation of the World publickly professed it, and built upon it: No Religion taught it, and 'twas no where made an Article of Faith, and Principle of Religion till Jesus Christ came; of whom it is truly said, that he, at his appearing, *brought Life and Immortality to Light*. And that not only in the clear Revelation of it, and in Instances shewn of Men raised from the Dead; but he has given us an unquestionable Assurance and Pledge of it, in his own Resurrection and Ascension into Heaven. How hath this one Truth changed the Nature of Things in the World, and given the Advantage to Piety over all that could tempt or deter Men from it? The Philosophers, indeed, shewed the Beauty of Virtue; they set her off so as drew Mens Eyes and Approbation to her: But leaving her unendowed; very few were willing to espouse her. The Generality could not refuse her their Esteem and Commendation, but still turned their Backs on her, and forsook her, as a match not for their turn. But now there being put into the Scales, on her side, *an exceeding and immortal weight of Glory*; Interest is come about to her, and Virtue now is visibly, the most enriching Purchase, and by much the best Bargain. That she is the Perfection and Excellency of our Nature; that she is herself a Reward, and will recommend our Names to future Ages, is not all that can now be said for her. 'Tis not strange that the learned Heathens satisfied not many with such airy Commendations. It has another Relish and Efficacy, to persuade Men that if they live well here, they shall be happy hereafter. Open their Eyes upon the endless, unspeakable Joys of another Life, and their Hearts will find something solid and powerful to move them. The view of Heaven and Hell will cast a Slight upon the short Pleasures and Pains of this present State, and give Attractions and Encouragements to Virtue, which Reason and Interest, and the Care of our selves, cannot but allow and prefer. Upon this Foundation, and upon this only, Morality stands firm, and may defy all Competition. This makes it more than a Name, a substantial Good, worth all our Aims and Endeavours; and thus the Gospel of Jesus Christ has delivered it to us.

5. To these I must add one Advantage more by Jesus Christ, and that is the Promise of Assistance. If we do what we can, he will give us his Spirit to help us to do what, and how we should. 'Twill be idle for us, who know not how our own Spirits move and act us, to ask in what manner the Spirit of God shall work upon us. The Wisdom that accompanies that Spirit, knows, better than we, how we are made, and how to work upon us. If a wise Man knows how to prevail on his Child, to bring him to what he desires, can we suspect, that the Spirit and Wisdom of God should fail in it, though we perceive or comprehend not the ways of his Operation? Christ has promised it, who is faithful and just, and we cannot doubt of the Performance. 'Tis not requisite on this occasion, for the inhancing of this Benefit, to enlarge on the Frailty of our Minds, and Weakness of our Constitutions; how liable to mistakes, how apt to go astray, and how easily to be turned out of the Paths of Virtue. If any one needs go beyond himself, and the Testimony of his own Conscience in this point; if he feels not his own Errors and Passions always tempting, and often prevailing, against the strict Rules of his Duty, he need but look abroad into any Age of the World to be convinced. To a Man under the Difficulties of his Nature, beset with Temptations, and hedged in with prevailing Custom; 'tis no small Encouragement to set himself seriously on the Courses of Virtue, and Pra-

stice of true Religion, that he is from a sure Hand, and an almighty Arm, promised Assistance to support and carry him through.

There remains yet something to be said to those who will be ready to object, If the belief of Jesus of *Nazareth* to be the *Messiah*, together with those concomitant Articles of his Resurrection, Rule, and coming again to judge the World, be all the Faith required as necessary to Justification, to what purpose were the Epistles written; I say, if the Belief of those many Doctrines contained them, be not also necessary to Salvation? And if what is there delivered, a Christian may believe or disbelieve, and yet nevertheless be a Member of Christ's Church, and one of the Faithful?

To this, I answer, That the Epistles were written upon several occasions: And he that will read them as he ought, must observe what 'tis in them is principally aimed at; find what is the Argument in hand, and how managed; if he will understand them right, and profit by them. The observing of this will best help us to the true meaning and mind of the Writer: For that is the Truth which is to be received and believed; and not scattered Sentences in Scripture-Language, accommodated to our Notions and Prejudices. We must look into the drift of the Discourse, observe the coherence and connexion of the Parts, and see how it is consistent with it self, and other parts of Scripture; if we will conceive it right. We must not cull out, as best suits our System, here and there a Period or a Verse; as if they were all distinct and independent Aphorisms; and make these the Fundamental Articles of the Christian Faith, and necessary to Salvation, unless God has made them so. There be many Truths in the Bible, which a good Christian may be wholly ignorant of, and so not believe; which, perhaps, some lay great stress on, and call fundamental Articles, because they are the distinguishing Points of their Communion. The Epistles, most of them, carry on a Thread of Argument, which in the Style they are writ, cannot every where be observed without great Attention. And to consider the Texts, as they stand and bear a part in that, is to view them in their due light, and the way to get the true sense of them. They were writ to those who were in the Faith, and true Christians already: And so could not be designed to teach them the Fundamental Articles and Points necessary to Salvation. The Epistle to the *Romans* was writ to all *that were at Rome, beloved of God, called to be Saints, whose Faith was spoken of through the World*, Chap. i. 7, 8. To whom St. Paul's first Epistle to the *Corinthians* was, he shews, Chap. i. 2, 4, &c. *Unto the Church of God which is at Corinth, to them that are sanctified in Christ Jesus, called to be Saints; with all them that in every place call upon the Name of Jesus Christ our Lord, both theirs and ours. I thank my God always on your behalf, for the grace of God which is given you by Jesus Christ; That in every thing ye are enriched by him in all utterance, and in all knowledge: Even as the Testimony of Christ was confirmed in you. So that ye come behind in no Gift; waiting for the coming of the Lord Jesus Christ. And so likewise the second was, To the Church of God at Corinth, with all the Saints in Achaia*, Chap. i. 1. His next is to the Churches of *Galatia*. That to the *Ephesians* was, *To the Saints that were at Ephesus, and to the faithful in Christ Jesus*. So likewise, *To the Saints and faithful Brethren in Christ at Colosse, who had Faith in Christ Jesus, and love to the Saints. To the Church of the Thessalonians. To Timothy his Son in the Faith. To Titus his own Son, after the common Faith. To Philemon his dearly beloved, and Fellow-labourer. And the Author to the Hebrews calls those he writes to, Holy Brethren, partakers of the heavenly Calling*, Chap. iii. 1. From whence it is evident, that all those whom St. Paul writ to, were *Brethren, Saints, faithful in the Church, and so Christians already*; and therefore wanted not the Fundamental Articles of the Christian Religion; without a Belief of which they could not be saved: Nor can it be supposed, that the sending of such Fundamentals was the reason of the Apostle's Writing to any of them. To such also St. Peter writes, as is plain from the first Chapter of each of his Epistles. Nor is it hard to observe the like in St. James and St. John's Epistles. And St. Jude directs his thus: *To them that are sanctified by God the Father, and preserved in Jesus Christ, and called*. The Epistles therefore being all written to those who were already Believers and Christians, the occasion and end of writing them, could not be to instruct them in that which was necessary to make them Christians. This 'tis plain they knew and believed already; or else they could not have been Christians and Believers. And they were writ upon particular Occasions; and without those Occasions, had not been writ; and so cannot be thought necessary to Salvation: Though they

they resolving Doubts, and reforming Mistakes, are of great advantage to our Knowledge and Practice. I do not deny, but the great Doctrines of the Christian Faith are dropt here and there, and scattered up and down in most of them. But 'tis not in the Epistles we are to learn what are the fundamental Articles of Faith, where they are promiscuously, and without distinction mixed with other Truths in Discourses that were (though for Edification indeed, yet) only Occasional. We shall find and discern those great and necessary Points best in the preaching of our Saviour and the Apostles, to those who were yet Strangers, and ignorant of the Faith, to bring them in, and convert them to it. And what that was, we have seen already out of the History of the Evangelists, and the *Acts*; where they are plainly laid down, so that no Body can mistake them. The Epistles to particular Churches, besides the main Argument of each of them, (which was some present Concernment of that particular Church to which they severally were address'd) do in many places explain the Fundamentals of the Christian Religion, and that wisely; by proper Accommodations to the Apprehensions of those they were writ to, the better to make them imbibe the Christian Doctrine, and the more easily to comprehend the Method, Reasons, and Grounds of the great work of Salvation. Thus we see in the Epistle to the *Romans*, Adoption (a Custom well known amongst those of *Rome*) is much made use of, to explain to them the Grace and Favour of God, in giving them eternal Life; to help them to conceive how they became the Children of God, and to assure them of a share in the Kingdom of Heaven, as Heirs to an Inheritance. Whereas the setting out, and confirming the Christian Faith to the *Hebrews*, in the Epistle to them, is by Allusions and Arguments, from the Ceremonies, Sacrifices, and Oeconomy of the Jews, and References to the Records of the old Testament. And as for the general Epistles, they, we may see, regard the State and Exigencies, and some Peculiarities of those Times. These holy Writers, inspired from above, writ nothing but Truth; and in most places very weighty Truths to us now; for the expounding, clearing, and confirming of the Christian Doctrine, and establishing those in it who had embraced it. But yet every Sentence of theirs must not be taken up, and looked on as a fundamental Article necessary to Salvation; without an explicit belief whereof, no Body could be a Member of Christ's Church here, nor be admitted into his eternal Kingdom hereafter. If all, or most of the Truths declared in the Epistles, were to be received and believed as fundamental Articles, what then became of those Christians who were fallen asleep? (as *St. Paul* witnesses in his first to the *Corinthians*, many were) before these things in the Epistles were revealed to them? Most of the Epistles not being written till above twenty Years after our Saviour's Ascension, and some after thirty.

But farther, therefore, to those who will be ready to say, May those Truths delivered in the Epistles, which are not contained in the preaching of our Saviour and his Apostles, and are therefore by this Account not necessary to Salvation, be believed or disbelieved without any danger? May a Christian safely question or doubt of them?

To this I answer; That the Law of Faith, being a Covenant of free Grace, God alone can appoint what shall be necessarily believed by every one whom he will justify. What is the Faith which he will accept and account for Righteousness, depends wholly on his good Pleasure. For 'tis of Grace, and not of Right, that this Faith is accepted. And therefore he alone can set the Measures of it: And what he has so appointed and declared, is alone necessary. No Body can add to these fundamental Articles of Faith; nor make any other necessary, but what God himself hath made and declared to be so. And what these are which God requires of those who will enter into, and receive the Benefits of the new Covenant, has already been shewn. An explicate belief of these is absolutely required of all those to whom the Gospel of Jesus Christ is preached, and Salvation through his Name proposed.

The other parts of Divine Revelation are Objects of Faith, and are so to be received. They are Truths whereof no one can be rejected; none that is once known to be such, may or ought to be disbelieved. For to acknowledge any Proposition to be of divine Revelation and Authority, and yet to deny or disbelieve it, is to offend against this fundamental Article and Ground of Faith, that God is true. But yet a great many of the Truths revealed in the Gospel, every one does, and must confess; a Man may be ignorant of; nay, disbelieve, without danger to his Salvation:

tion: As is evident in those, who allowing the Authority, differ in the Interpretation and Meaning of several Texts of Scripture, not thought Fundamental: In all which 'tis plain the contending Parties, on one side or t'other, are ignorant of, nay, disbelieve the Truths delivered in holy Writ; unless Contrarieties and Contradictions can be contained in the same Words, and divine Revelation can mean contrary to it self.

I though all divine Revelation requires the obedience of Faith; yet every Truth of inspired Scriptures is not one of those, that by the Law of Faith is required to be explicitly believed to Justification. What those are, we have seen by what our Saviour and his Apostles proposed to, and required in those whom they converted to the Faith. Those are Fundamentals, which 'tis not enough not to disbelieve: Every one is required actually to assent to them. But any other Proposition contained in the Scripture, which God has not thus made a necessary part of the Law of Faith, (without an actual assent to which he will not allow any one to be a Believer) a Man may be ignorant of, without hazarding his Salvation by a defect in his Faith. He believes all that God has made necessary for him to believe, and assent to: And as for the rest of divine Truths, there is nothing more required of him, but that he receive all the parts of divine Revelation, with a Docility and Disposition prepared to imbrace, and assent to all Truths coming from God; and submit his Mind to whatsoever shall appear to him to bear that Character. Where he, upon fair Endeavours, understands it not; how can he avoid being ignorant? And where he cannot put several Texts, and make them consist together; what Remedy? He must either interpret one by the other, or suspend his Opinion. He that thinks that more is, or can be required, of poor frail Man in Matters of Faith, will do well to consider what Absurdities he will run into. God out of the infiniteness of his Mercy, has dealt with Man as a compassionate and tender Father. He gave him Reason, and with it a Law: That could not be otherwise than what Reason should dictate; unless we should think, that a reasonable Creature should have an unreasonable Law. But considering the frailty of Man, apt to run into Corruption and Misery, he promised a Deliverer, whom in his good time he sent; and then declared to all Mankind, that whoever would believe him to be the Saviour promised, and take him now raised from the dead, and constituted the Lord and Judge of all Men, to be their King and Ruler, should be saved. This is a plain intelligible Proposition; and the all-merciful God seems herein to have consulted the poor of this World, and the bulk of Mankind. These are Articles that the labouring and illiterate Man may comprehend. This is a Religion suited to vulgar Capacities; and the state of Mankind in this World, destined to Labour and Travel. The Writers and Wranglers in Religion fill it with Niceties, and dress it up with Notions, which they make necessary and fundamental parts of it; as if there were no way into the Church, but through the Academy or Lyceum. The greatest part of Mankind have not leisure for Learning and Logick, and superfine Distinctions of the Schools. Where the Hand is used to the Plough and the Spade, the Head is seldom elevated to sublime Notions, or exercised in mysterious Reasoning. 'Tis well if Men of that Rank (to say nothing of the other Sex) can comprehend plain Propositions, and a short Reasoning about Things familiar to their Minds, and nearly allied to their daily Experience. Go beyond this, and you amaze the greatest part of Mankind: And may as well talk *Arabick* to a poor day Labourer, as the Notions and Language that the Books and Disputes of Religion are filled with; and as soon you will be understood. The Dissenting Congregations are supposed by their Teachers to be more accurately instructed in Matters of Faith, and better to understand the Christian Religion, than the vulgar Conformists, who are charged with great Ignorance; how truly I will not here determine. But I ask them to tell me seriously, whether half their People have leisure to study? Nay, Whether one in ten of those who come to their Meetings in the Country, if they had time to study them, do or can understand, the Controversies at this time so warmly managed amongst them, about Justification, the subject of this present Treatise. I have talked with some of their Teachers, who confess themselves not to understand the Difference in debate between them. And yet the Points they stand on, are reckon'd of so great Weight, so material, so fundamental in Religion, that they divide Communion, and separate upon them. Had God intended that none but the learned Scribe, the Dis-

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puter or wise of this World, should be Christians, or be saved, thus Religion should have been prepared for them, filled with Speculations and Niceties, obscure Terms and abstract Notions. But Men of that Expectation, Men furnished with such Acquisitions, the Apostle tells us, *1 Cor. i.* are rather shut out from the simplicity of the Gospel; to make way for those Poor, Ignorant, Illiterate, who heard and believed Promises of a Deliverer, and believed Jesus to be him; who could conceive a Man dead and made alive again, and believe that he should at the end of the World, come again and pass Sentence on all Men, according to their Deeds. That the Poor had the Gospel preached to them; Christ makes a Mark as well as Business of his Mission, *Mat. xi. 5.* And if the Poor had the Gospel preached to them, it was, without doubt, such a Gospel as the Poor could understand, plain and intelligible: And so it was, as we have seen, in the preachings of Christ and his Apostles.



A
VINDICATION
OF THE
REASONABLENESS
OF
CHRISTIANITY, &c.
From Mr. *Edwards's*
REFLECTIONS.

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MY Book had not been long out, before it fell under the Correction of the Author of a Treatise, Entituled, *Some Thoughts concerning the several Causes and Occasions of Atheism, especially in the present Age.* No contemptible Adversary I'll assure you; since, as it seems, he has got the Faculty to heighten every thing that displeases him into the capital Crime of Atheism; and breaths against those who come in his way a Pestilential Air, whereby every the least Distemper is turned into the Plague, and becomes Mortal. For whoever does not just say after Mr. Edwards, cannot, 'tis evident, escape being an Atheist, or a Promoter of Atheism. I cannot but approve of any ones Zeal to guard and secure that great and fundamental Article of all Religion and Morality, That there is a God: But Atheism being a Crime, which for its Madneſs as well as Guilt, ought to shut a Man out of all Sober and Civil Society, should be very warily charged on any one by Deductions and Consequences which he himself does not own, or at least do not manifestly and unavoidably flow from what he asserts. This Caution, Charity, I think, obliges us to: And our Author would possibly think himself hardly dealt with, if, for neglecting some of those Rules he himself gives, p. 31, and 34. against Atheism, he should be pronounced a Promoter of it: As rational a Charge, I imagine, as some of those he makes; and as fitly put together, as the *Treatise of the Reasonableness of Christianity*, &c. brought in among the Causes of Atheism. However, I shall not much complain of him, since he joyns me, p. 104. with no worse Company than two eminently Pious and Learned * Prelates of our * Bp. Tyr. Church, whom he makes favourers of the same Conceit, as he calls it. But what has ^{lor,} and the that Conceit to do with Atheism? Very much. That Conceit is of Kin to Socinian- Author of nism, and Socinianism to Atheism. Let us hear Mr. Edwards himself. He says, p. 113. ^{The Naked Truth.} I am all over Socinianized: And therefore my Book, fit to be placed among the Causes of Atheism. For in the 64. and following Pages, he endeavours to shew, That a Socinian is an Atheist, or lest that should seem harsh, one that favours the Cause of Atheism, p. 75. For so he has been pleased to mollifie, now it is published as a Treatise, what was much more harsh, and much more confident in it, when it was preached as a Sermon. In this abatement he seems a little to comply with his own Advice against his fourth Cause of Atheism; which we have in these Words, pag. 34. *Wherefore that we may effectually prevent this Folly in our selves, let us banish Presumption, Confidence, and Self-conceit; let us extirpate all Pride and Arrogance: Let us not list our selves in the Number of Capricious Opiniators.*

I shall leave the *Socinians* themselves to answer his Charge against them, and shall examine his Proof of my being a *Socinian*. It stands thus, pag. 112. *When he [the Author of the Reasonableness of Christianity, &c.] proceeds to mention the Advantages and Benefits of Christ's coming into the world, and appearing in the Flesh, he hath not one Syllable of his satisfying for us, or by his Death purchasing Life or Salvation, or any thing that sounds like it. This and several other things shew that he is all over Socinianized.* Which in effect is, that because I have not set down all that this Author perhaps would have done, therefore I am a *Socinian*. But what if I should say, I set down as much as my Argument required, and yet am no *Socinian*? Would he from my Silence and Omission give me the Lye, and say, I am one? Surmizes that may be overturned by a single Denial, are poor Arguments, and such as some Men would be ashamed of: At least, if they are to be permitted to Men of this Gentleman's Skill and Zeal, who knows how to make a good use of Conjectures, Suspicions, and uncharitable Censures in the Cause of God; yet even there too (if the Cause of God can need such Arts) they require a good Memory to keep them from recoiling upon the Author. He might have taken notice of these Words in my Book, (p. 497. of this Vol.) "From this Estate of Death JESUS CHRIST RESTORES all Mankind to Life. And a little lower, "The Life which Jesus Christ restores to all Men. And p. 519. "He that hath incurred Death for his own Transgression, cannot LAY DOWN HIS LIFE FOR ANOTHER, as our Saviour promises he did. This methinks SOUNDS SOMETHING LIKE *Christ's purchasing Life for us by his Death.* But this Reverend Gentleman has an answer ready, it was not in the place he would have had it in, it was not where I mention the Advantages and Benefits of Christ's coming. And therefore, I not having one Syllable of Christ's purchasing Life and Salvation for us by his Death, or any thing that sounds like it: This, and several other things that might be offered, shew that I am all over *Socinianized*. A very clear and ingenuous Proof, and let him enjoy it.

But what will become of me, that I have not mentioned *Satisfaction*!

Possibly this Reverend Gentleman would have had Charity enough for a known Writer of the Brotherhood, to have found it by an *Inuendo* in those Words above quoted, of laying down his Life for another. But every thing is to be strained here the other way. For the Author of *The Reasonableness of Christianity, &c.* is of necessity to be represented as a *Socinian*; or else his Book may be read, and the Truths in it, which Mr. Edwards likes not, be received, and People put upon examining. Thus one, as full of happy Conjectures and Suspicions as this Gentleman, might be apt to argue. But what if the Author designed his Treatise, as the Title shews, chiefly for those who were not yet thoroughly or firmly Christians, proposing to work on those who either wholly disbelieved, or doubted of the Truth of the Christian Religion? Would any one blame his Prudence, if he mentioned only those Advantages which all Christians are agreed in? Might he not remember and observe that Command of the Apostle, *Rom. xiv. 1. Him that is weak in the Faith, receive ye, but not to doubtful Disputations,* without being a *Socinian*? Did he amiss, that he offered to the Belief of those who stood off, that, and only that, which our Saviour and his Apostles preached for the reducing the unconverted World; And would any one think he in earnest went about to persuade Men to be Christians, who should use that as an Argument to recommend the Gospel, which he has observ'd Men to lay hold on as an Objection against it? To urge such Points of Controversy as necessary Articles of Faith, when we see our Saviour and the Apostles in their Preaching urged them not as necessary to be believed, to make Men Christians; is (by our own Authority) to add Prejudices to Prejudices, and to block up our own way to those Men whom we would have access to, and prevail upon. But some Men had rather you should write Booty, and cross your own Design of removing Mens Prejudices to Christianity, than leave out one tittle of what they put into their Systems. To such, I say, convince but Men of the Mission of Jesus Christ, make them but see the Truth, Simplicity and Reasonableness of what he himself taught, and required to be believed by his Followers; and you need not doubt, but, being once fully persuaded of his Doctrine, and the Advantages which all Christians agree are received by him, such Converts will not lay by the Scriptures, but by a constant Reading and Study of them, get all the Light they can from this divine Revelation, and nourish themselves up in the Words of Faith, and of good Doctrine, as St. Paul speaks to *Timothy*. But some Men will not bear it, that any one should speak of Religion, but according to the Model that they

they themselves have made of it. Nay, though he proposes it upon the very Terms, and in the very Words which our Saviour and his Apostles preached it in, yet he shall not escape Censures, and the severest Insinuations. To deviate in the least, or to omit any thing contained in their Articles, is Heresie under the most invidious Names in fashion, and 'tis well if he escapes being a downright Atheist. Whether this be the way for Teachers to make themselves hearkened to, as Men in earnest in Religion, and really concerned for the Salvation of Mens Souls, I leave them to consider. What success it has had towards perswading Men of the Truth of Christianity, their own Complaints of the prevalency of Atheism on the one hand, and the Number of Deists on the other, sufficiently shew.

Another thing laid to my Charge, p. 105, and 107. is my *forgetting, or rather wilful omitting some plain and obvious Passages, and some famous Testimonies in the Evangelists*; namely, *Mat. xxviii. 19. Go teach all Nations, baptizing them in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. And John i. 1. In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God. And verse 14. And the Word was made Flesh.* Mine it seems in this Book, are all Sins of Omission. And yet when it came out, the buz, and flutter and noise which was made, and the Reports which were raised, would have perswaded the World that it subverted all Morality, and was designed against the Christian Religion. I must confess Discourses of this kind, which I met with spread up and down, at first amazed me; knowing the sincerity of those Thoughts which perswaded me to publish it, (not without some hope of doing some Service to decaying Piety, and mistaken and slandered Christianity.) I satisfied my self against those Heats with this Assurance, that if there was any thing in my Book, against what any one called Religion, it was not against the Religion contained in the Gospel. And for that I appeal to all Mankind.

But to return to Mr. Edwards in particular, I must take leave to tell him, that if omitting *plain and obvious Passages, and famous Testimonies in the Evangelists*, be a fault in me, I wonder why he, among so many of this Kind that I am guilty of, mentions so few. For I must acknowledge I have omitted more, nay, many more, that are *plain and obvious Passages, and famous Testimonies in the Evangelists*, than those he takes notice of. But if I have left out none of those *Passages or Testimonies* which contain what our Saviour and his Apostles preached, and required assent to, to make Men Believers, I shall think my Omissions (let them be what they will) no Faults in the present Case. Whatever Doctrines Mr. Edwards would have to be believed, if they are such as our Saviour and his Apostles required to be believed to make a Man a Christian, he will be sure to find them in those *Preachings and famous Testimonies* of our Saviour and his Apostles that I have quoted. And if they are not there, he may rest satisfied, that they were not proposed by our Saviour and his Apostles, as necessary to be believed, to make Men Christ's Disciples.

If the Omission of other Texts in the Evangelists (which are all true also, and no one of them to be disbelieved) be a fault, it might have been expected that Mr. Edwards should have accused me for leaving out *Mat. i. 18, to 23. and Mat. xvii. 24, 35, 50, 60.* for these are *plain and obvious Passages, and famous Testimonies in the Evangelists*; and such whereon these Articles of the Apostles Creed, *viz. born of the Virgin Mary, suffered under Pontius Pilate, was crucified, dead, and buried*, are founded. These being Articles of the Apostles Creed, are look'd upon as *fundamental Doctrines*: And one would wonder why Mr. Edwards so quietly passes by their Omission; did it not appear that he was so intent on fixing his Imputation of *Socinianism* upon me, that rather than miss that, he was content to drop the other Articles of his Creed. For I must observe to him, that if he had blamed me for the Omission of the places last quoted out of St. Matthew (as he had as much reason as for any other) it would plainly have appeared how idle and ill-grounded his charging *Socinianism* on me was. But at any rate he was to give the Book an ill Name; not because it was *Socinian*; for he has no more reason to charge it with *Socinianism* for the Omissions he mentions, than the Apostles Creed. 'Tis therefore well for the Compilers of that Creed, that they lived not in Mr. Edwards's Days: For he would, no doubt, have found them *all over Socinianized*, for omitting the Texts he quotes, and the Doctrines he collects out of *John i. and John xiv. p. 107, 108.* *Socinianism* then is not the fault of the Book, whatever else it be. For I repeat it again, there is not one word of *Socinianism* in it. I that am not so good at Conjectures as Mr. Edwards, shall leave

it to him to say, or to those who can bear the plainness and simplicity of the Gospel; to guess, what its fault is.

Some Men are shrewd Guessers, and others would be thought to be so: But he must be carried far by his forward Inclination, who does not take notice, that the World is apt to think him a Diviner, for any thing rather than for the sake of Truth, who sets up his own Suspicions against the direct Evidence of Things; and pretends to know other Mens Thoughts and Reasons better than they themselves. I had said, that the Epistles being writ to those who were already Believers, could not be supposed to be writ to them to teach them Fundamentals, without which they could not be Believers.

And the Reason I gave why I had not gone through the Writings in the Epistles, to collect the fundamental Articles of Faith, as I had through the Preachings of our Saviour and his Apostles, was, because those fundamental Articles were in those Epistles promiscuously, and without distinction, mixed with other Truths. And therefore we shall find and discern those great and necessary Points best in the Preachings of our Saviour and the Apostles, to those who were yet ignorant of the Faith, and unconverted. This, as far as I know my own Thoughts, was the reason why I did (as Mr. Edwards complains, p. 109.) *not proceed to the Epistles, and not give an Account of them, as I had done of the Gospels and Acts.* This I imagined I had in the close of my Book so fully and clearly expressed, particularly p. 502. of this Vol. that I supposed no body, how willing soever, could have mistaken me. But this Gentleman is so much better acquainted with me than I am with myself; sees so deeply into my Heart, and knows so perfectly every thing that passes there; that he with assurance tells the World, p. 109. *That I purposely omitted the Epistolary Writings of the Apostles, because they are fraught with other fundamental Doctrines besides that one which I mention.* And then he goes on to enumerate those fundamental Articles, p. 110, 111. viz. *The Corruption and Degeneracy of human Nature, with the true Original of it (the Defection of our first Parents) the Propagation of Sin and Mortality, our Restoration and Reconciliation by Christ's Blood, the Eminency and Excellency of his Priesthood, the Efficacy of his Death, the full Satisfaction made thereby to divine Justice, and his being made an All-sufficient Sacrifice for Sin. Christ's Righteousness, our Justification by it, Election, Adoption, Sanctification, saving Faith, the Nature of the Gospel, the new Covenant, the riches of God's Mercy in the way of Salvation by Jesus Christ, the certainty of the Resurrection of human Bodies, and of the future Glory.*

Give me leave now to ask you seriously whether these, which you have here set down under the Title of *fundamental Doctrines*, are such (when reduced to Propositions) that every one of them is required to be believed to make a Man a Christian, and such, as without the actual belief thereof, he cannot be saved. If they are not so every one of them, you may call them *fundamental Doctrines* as much as you please, they are not of those Doctrines of Faith I was speaking of, which are only such as are required to be actually believed to make a Man a Christian. If you say, some of them are such necessary Points of Faith, and others not, you by this specious List of well-sounding, but unexplained Terms arbitrarily collected, only make good what I have said, viz. that the necessary Articles of Faith are in the Epistles promiscuously delivered with other Truths, and therefore they cannot be distinguished but by some other Mark than being barely found in the Epistles. If you say, that they are all of them necessary Articles of Faith, I shall then desire you to reduce them to so many plain Doctrines, and then prove them to be every one of them required to be believed by every Christian Man to make him a Member of the Christian Church. For to begin with the first, 'tis not enough to tell us, as you do, that *the Corruption and Degeneracy of human Nature, with the true Original of it, (the Defection of our first Parents) the Propagation of Sin and Mortality, is one of the great Heads of Christian Divinity.* But you are to tell us what are the Propositions we are required to believe concerning this Matter: For nothing can be an Article of Faith, but some Proposition; and then it will remain to be proved, that these Articles are necessary to be believed to Salvation. The Apostles Creed was taken, in the first Ages of the Church, to contain all things necessary to Salvation; I mean, necessary to be believed: But you have now better thought on it, and are pleased to enlarge it, and we, no doubt, are bound to submit to your Orthodoxy.

The List of Materials for his Creed (for the Articles are not yet formed) Mr. Edwards closes, p. 111. with these words, *These are the Matters of Faith contained in the*

the Epistles, and they are Essential and Integral parts of the Gospel it self. What, just these? Neither more nor less? If you are sure of it, pray let us have them speedily, for the reconciling of Differences in the Christian Church, which has been so cruelly torn about the Articles of the Christian Faith, to the great Reproach of Christian Charity, and Scandal of our true Religion.

Mr. Edwards having thus, with two learned Terms of *Essential* and *Integral* Parts, sufficiently proved the Matter in Question, *viz.* That all those, he has set down, are Articles of Faith necessary to be believed to make a Man a Christian, he grows warm at my omission of them. This I cannot complain of as unnatural: The Spirit of Creed-making always arising from an heat of Zeal for our own Opinions, and warm Endeavours, by all ways possible to decry and bear down those who differ in a tittle from us. What then could I expect more gentle and candid, than what Mr. Edwards has subjoined in these Words? *And therefore it is no wonder, that our Author, being sensible of this (viz. That the Points he has named were Essential and Integral parts of the Gospel) would not vouchsafe to give us an Abstract of those inspired writings [the Epistles] but passes them by with some Contempt.* Sir, when your Angry Fit is over, and the abatement of your Passion has given way to the return of your Sincerity, I shall beg you to read this passage in 539. pag. of this Vol. "These Holy Writers (*viz.* the Pen-men of the Scriptures) **INSPIRED** from above, writ nothing but Truth, and in "most places very weighty Truths to us now, for the expounding, clearing, and confirming of the Christian Doctrine; and establishing those in it who had embraced it. And again, pag. 539. "The other parts of **DIVINE REVELATION** are Objects "of Faith, and are so to be received. They are Truths, of which none that is once "known to be such, *i. e.* revealed, may or ought to be disbelieved. And if this does not satisfy you that I have as high a Veneration for the Epistles, as you or any one can have, I require you to publish to the World those passages which shew my Contempt of them. In the mean time I shall desire my Reader to examine what I have writ concerning the Epistles, which is all contained between p. 537, and 540. of this Vol. and then to judge, whether I have made bold with the Epistles in what I have said of them, or this Gentleman made bold with Truth in what he has writ of me. Human Frailty will not, I see, easily quit his hold; what it loses in one part, it will be ready to regain in another; and not be hindered from taking Reprizals, even on the most privileged sort of Men. Mr. Edwards who is entrenched in Orthodoxy, and so is as safe in Matters of Faith almost as Infallibility it self, is yet as apt to Err as others in Matter of Fact.

But he has not yet done with me about the Epistles: All his fine Draught of my slighting that part of the Scripture will be lost, unless the last strokes compleat it into *Socinianism*. In his following Words you have the Conclusion of the whole Matter. His Words are these. *And more especially, if I may Conjecture, (by all means, Sir; Conjecturing is your proper Talent; you have hitherto done nothing else; and I will say that for you, you have a lucky Hand at it.) He doth this, (i. e. pass by the Epistles with Contempt) because he knew that there are so many and frequent, and those so illustrious and eminent Attestations to the Doctrine of the ever to be adored Trinity, in these Epistles.* Truly, Sir, if you will permit me to know what I know, as well as you do allow your self to conjecture what you please, you are out for this once. The Reason why I went not through the Epistles, as I did the Gospels and the Acts, was that very Reason I printed, and that will be found so sufficient a one to all considerate Readers, that I believe they will think you need not strain your Conjectures for another. And if you think it be so easie to distinguish Fundamentals from not Fundamentals in the Epistles, I desire you to try your Skill again, in giving the World a perfect Collection of Propositions out of the Epistles, that contain all that is required, and no more than what is absolutely required to be believed by all Christians, without which Faith they cannot be of Christ's Church. For I tell you, notwithstanding the shew you have made, you have not yet done it, nor will you affirm that you have.

His next Page, *viz.* 112. is made up of the same, which he calls, not uncharitable Conjectures. *I expound, he says, John xiv. 9, &c. after the Antitrinitarian Mode: And I make Christ and Adam to be Sons of God, in the same sense, and by their Birth, as the Racovians generally do.* I know not but it may be true, that the *Antitrinitarians* and *Racovians* understand those places as I do: But 'tis more than I know that they do so. I took not my sense of those Texts from those Writers, but from the Scripture it self, giving Light to its own meaning, by one place compared with another:

ther: What in this way appears to me its true meaning, I shall not decline, because I am told, that it is so understood by the *Racovians*, whom I never yet read; nor embrace the contrary, though the generality of Divines I more converse with, should declare for it. If the sense wherein I understand those Texts be a mistake, I shall be beholding to you if you will set me right. But they are not popular Authorities, or frightful Names, whereby I judge of Truth or Falshood. You will now, no doubt, applaud your Conjectures; the Point is gained, and I am openly a *Socinian*, since I will not disown that I think the *Son of God* was a Phrase that among the Jews in our Saviour's time was used for the *Messiah*, though the *Socinians* understand it in the same sense; and therefore I must certainly be of their Persuasion in every thing else. I admire the acuteness, force, and fairness of your Reasoning, and so I leave you to triumph in your Conjectures. Only I must desire you to take notice, that that Ornament of our Church, and every way eminent Prelate, the late Archbishop of *Canterbury*, understood that Phrase in the same sense that I do, without being a *Socinian*. You may read what he says concerning *Nathanael*, in his first *Sermon of Sincerity*, published this year. His words are these, p. 4. *And being satisfied that he [our Saviour] was the Messiah, he presently owned him for such, calling him the SON OF GOD, and the King of Israel.*

Though this Gentleman know my Thoughts as perfectly as if he had for several years past lain in my Bosom, yet he is mightily at a loss about my Person: As if it at all concerned the Truth contained in my Book, what hand it came from. However, the Gentleman is mightily perplexed about the Author. Why, Sir? What if it were writ by a Scribler of *Bartholomew Fair* Drolls, with all that flourish of Declamatory Rhetorick, and all that smartness of Wit and Jest about *Capt. Tom. Unitarians, Units, and Cyphers*, &c. Which are to be found between 115 and 123 Pages of a Book that came out during the merry time of Rope-Dancing, and Puppet-Plays? What is Truth, would, I hope, nevertheless be Truth in it, however odly spruced up by such an Author: Though perhaps 'tis likely some would be apt to say, such Merriment became not the Gravity of my Subject, and that I writ not in the stile of a Graduate in Divinity. I confess, (as Mr. *Edwards* rightly says) my fault lies on the other side, in a want of *Vivacity and Elevation*: And I cannot wonder that one of his Character and Palate, should find out and complain of my flatness, which has so overcharged my Book with plain and direct Texts of Scripture in a matter capable of no other Proofs. But yet I must acknowledge his excess of Civility to me; he shews me more kindness than I could expect or wish, since he prefers what I say to him myself, to what is offered to him from the Word of God; and makes me this Complement, that I begin to mend, about the Close; i. e. when I leave off quoting of Scripture: And the dull Work was done, of going through the *History of the Evangelists and Acts*, which he computes, p. 105. to take up three quarters of my Book. Does not all this deserve at least that I should in return take some care of his Credit? Which I know not how better to do, than by entreating him, that when he takes next in hand such a Subject as this is, wherein the Salvation of Souls is concerned, he would treat it a little more seriously, and with a little more Candor; lest Men should find in his Writings another cause of Atheism, which in this Treatise he has not thought fit to mention. Ostentation of Wit in general he has made a Cause of Atheism, p. 28. But the World will tell him, That frothy light Discourses concerning the serious Matters of Religion; and Ostentation of trifling and misbecoming Wit in those who come as Ambassadors from God, under the Title of Successors of the Apostles, in the great Commission of the Gospel is none of the least Causes of Atheism.

Some Men have so peculiar a way of arguing, that one may see it influences them in the repeating another Man's reasoning, and seldom fails to make it their own. In the next Paragraph I find these Words: *What makes him contend for one single Article, with the exclusion of all the rest? He pretends it is this, That all Men ought to understand their Religion.* This, I confess, is a Reasoning I did not think of; nor would it hardly, I fear, have been used but by one, who had first took up his Opinion from the Recommendation of Fashion or Interest, and then sought Topicks to make it good. Perhaps the Deference due to your Character excused you from the trouble of quoting the Page where I pretend, as you say; and it is so little like my way of Reasoning, that I shall not look for it in a Book where I remember nothing of it, and where, without your Direction, I fear the Reader will scarce find it. Though I have not that vivacity of Thought, that elevation of Mind, which Mr. *Edwards* demands,

mands, yet common sense would have kept me from contending that there is but one Article, because all Men ought to understand their Religion. Numbers of Propositions may be harder to be remembred, but 'tis the abstruceness of the Notions, or obscurity, inconsistency, or doubtfulness of the Terms or Expressions that makes them hard to be understood: And one single Proposition may more perplex the Understanding than twenty other. But where did you find *I contended for one single Article*, so as to *exclude all the rest*? You might have remembred, that I say, p. 483. That the Article of the One only true God, was also necessary to be believed. This might have satisfied you, that I did not so contend for one Article of Faith, as to be at defiance with more than one. However you insist on the Word *one* with great vigour, from p. 108, to 121. And you did well, you had else lost all the force of that killing stroke, reserved for the Close, in that sharp Jest of Unitarians; and a clinch or two more of great moment.

Having found by a careful perusal of the Preachings of our Saviour and his Apostles, that the Religion they proposed, consisted in that short, plain, easie, and intelligible Summary which I set down, p. 540. in these Words: "Believing Jesus to be the Saviour promised, and taking him now raised from the Dead, and constituted the Lord and Judge of Men, to be their King and Ruler. I could not forbear magnifying the Wisdom and Goodness of God (which infinitely exceeds the thoughts of ignorant, vain, and narrow-minded Man) in these following Words. "The All-merciful God seems herein to have consulted the Poor of this World, and the Bulk of Mankind: THESE ARE ARTICLES that the labouring and illiterate Men may comprehend. Having thus plainly mentioned more than one Article, I might have taken it amiss, that Mr. Edwards should be at so much pains as he is, to blame me for *contending for one Article*; because I thought more than *one* could not be understood; had he not had many fine things to say in his Declamation upon one Article, which affords him so much Matter, that less than seven Pages could not hold it. Only here and there, as Men of Oratory often do, he mistakes the Business, as p. 115. where he says, *I urge, that there must be nothing in Christianity that is not plain and exactly levelled to all Mens Mother wit*. I desire to know where I said so, or that *the very manner of every thing in Christianity must be clear and intelligible, every thing must be presently comprehended by the weakest Noddle, or else it's no part of Religion, especially of Christianity*; as he has it, p. 119. I am sure it is not in pag. 530, 537, 538. of my Book: These, therefore to convince him that I am of another Opinion, I shall desire somebody to read to Mr. Edwards: For he himself reads my Book with such Spectacles, as make him find Meanings and Words in it, neither of which I put there. He should have remembred, that I speak not of all the Doctrines of Christianity, nor all that is published to the World in it; but of those Truths only, which are absolutely required to be believed to make any one a Christian. And these I find are so plain and easie, that I see no Reason why every body, with me, should not magnifie the Goodness and Condescension of the Almighty; who having out of his free Grace proposed a new Law of Faith to sinful and lost Man, hath by that Law required no harder terms, nothing as absolutely necessary to be believed, but what is suited to vulgar Capacities, and the Comprehension of illiterate Men.

You are a little out again, p. 118. where you ironically say, as if it were my sense, *Let us have but one Article, though it be with defiance to all the rest*. Jestng apart, Sir. This is a serious Truth, That what our Saviour and his Apostles preached, and admitted Men into the Church for believing, is all that is absolutely required to make a Man a Christian. But this is without any *Defiance of all the rest*, taught in the Word of God. This excludes not the Belief of any of those many other Truths contained in the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments, which it is the Duty of every Christian to study, and thereby build himself up on our most Holy Faith; receiving with stedfast Belief, and ready Obedience all those things which the Spirit of Truth hath therein revealed. But that *all the rest* of the inspired Writings, or, if you please, *Articles*, are of equal necessity to be believed to make a Man a Christian, with what was preached by our Saviour and his Apostles; that I deny. A Man, as I have shewn, may be a Christian and a Believer without actually believing them; because those whom our Saviour and his Apostles, by their Preaching and Discourses, converted to the Faith, were made Christians and Believers barely upon the receiving what they preached to them.

I hope

I hope it is no Derogation to the Christian Religion, to say, that the Fundamentals of it, *i. e.* all that is necessary to be believed in it by all Men, is easy to be understood by all Men. This I thought my self authorized to say by the very easy, and very intelligible Articles insisted on by our Saviour and his Apostles, which contain nothing but what could be understood by the *Bulk of Mankind*; a Term which, I know not why, Mr. Edwards p. 117. is offended at, and thereupon is, after his fashion, sharp upon me about Captain Tom and his *Myrmidons*, for whom he tells me I am going to make a Religion. The making of Religions and Creeds I leave to others. I only set down the Christian Religion, as I find our Saviour and his Apostles preached it, and preached it to, and left it for the ignorant and unlearned Multitude. For I hope you do not think, how contemptibly soever you speak of the venerable Mob, as you are pleased to dignifie them, p. 117. that the Bulk of Mankind, or in your Phrase, the *Rabble*, are not concerned in Religion, or ought to understand it, in order to their Salvation. Nor are you, I hope, acquainted with any, who are of that *Muscovite* Divine's Mind, who, to one that was talking to him about Religion, and the other World, replied, That for the *Czar* indeed, and *Bojars*, they might be permitted to raise their Hopes to Heaven, but that for such poor Wretches as he, they were not to think of Salvation.

I remember the *Pharisees* treated the common People with Contempt, and said, Have any of the Rulers, or of the *Pharisees* believed in him? But this People, who knoweth not the Law, are cursed. But yet these, who, in the Censure of the *Pharisees*, were cursed, were some of the Poor, or if you please to have it so, the Mob, to whom the Gospel was preached by our Saviour, as he tells *John's* Disciples, *Mat. xi. 5.*

Pardon me, Sir, that I have here laid these Examples and Considerations before you; a little to prevail with you, not to let loose such a Torrent of Wit and Eloquence against the *Bulk of Mankind* another time, and that for a mere Fancy of your own: For I do not see how they here came in your way; but that you were resolved to set up something to have a fling at, and shew your Parts, in what you call your Different strain, though besides the purpose. I know no body was going to ask the Mob, what you must believe? And as for me, I suppose you will take my word for it, that I think no Mob, (no, not your venerable Mob) is to be asked, what I am to believe; nor that Articles of Faith are to be received by the Vote of Club-men, or any other sort of Men you will name instead of them.

In the following words, pag. 115. you ask, *Whether a Man may not understand those Articles of Faith which you mentioned out of the Gospels and Epistles, if they be explained to him, as well as that one I speak of?* 'Tis as the Articles are, and as they are explained. There are Articles that have been some Hundreds of Years explaining; which, there are many, and those not of the most illiterate, who profess they do not yet understand. And to instance in no other but *He descended into Hell*, the learned are not yet agreed in the Sense of it, tho' great pains has been taken to explain it.

Next, I ask, who are to explain your Articles? The Papists will explain some of them one way, and the Reformed another. The Remonstrants, and Anti-Remonstrants give them different Senses. And probably the *Trinitarians* and *Unitarians* will profess, that they understand not each others Explications. And at last, I think it may be doubted whether any Articles, which need Mens Explications, can be so clearly and certainly understood, as one which is made so very plain by the Scripture itself, as not to need any Explication at all. Such is this, that *Jesus is the Messiah*. For though you learnedly tell us, that *Messiah* is a Hebrew Word, and no better understood by the Vulgar than Arabick; yet I guess it is so fully explained in the New Testament, and in those places I have quoted out of it, that no body, who can understand any ordinary Sentence in the Scripture, can be at loss about it. And 'tis plain, it needs no other Explication, than what our Saviour and the Apostles gave it in their Preaching; for as they preached it, Men received it, and that sufficed to make them Believers.

To conclude, when I heard that this learned Gentleman, who had a Name for his Study of the Scriptures, and Writings on them, had done me the Honour to consider my Treatise, I promised my self, that his Degree, Calling, and Fame in the World, would have secured to me something of Weight in his Remarks, which might have convinced me of my Mistakes; and if he had found any in it, justified my quitting of them.

them. But having examined what in his concerns my Book, I, to my wonder, find, that he has only taken pains to give it an ill Name, without so much as attempting to refute any one Position in it; how much soever he is pleased to make a noise against several Propositions, which he might be free with, because they are his own: And I have no reason to take it amiss, if he has shewn his Zeal and Skill against them. He has been so favourable to what is mine, as not to use any one Argument against any Passage in my Book. This, which I take for a publick Testimony of his Approbation, I shall return him my Thanks for, when I know whether I owe it to his Mistake, Conviction, or Kindness. But if he writ only for his Bookseller's sake, he alone ought to thank him.

After the foregoing Papers were sent to the Press, The *Witnesses to Christianity*, of the reverend and learned Dr. Patrick, now Lord Bishop of Ely, fell into my hands. I regretted the not having seen it before I writ my Treatise of the *Reasonableness of Christianity*, &c. I should then possibly, by the Light given me by so good a Guide, and so great a Man, with more Confidence directly have fallen into the Knowledge of Christianity; which in the way I sought it, in its Source, required the comparing of Texts with Texts, and the more than once reading over the *Evangelists* and *Acts*, besides other parts of Scripture. But I had the ill luck not to see that Treatise till so few Hours since, that I have had time only to read as far as the end of the Introduction, or first Chapter: And there Mr. Edwards may find, that this pious Bishop (whose Writings shew he studies, as well as his Life that he believes the Scriptures) owns what Mr. Edwards is pleased to call a *plausible Conceit*, which, he says, *I give over and over again in these formal Words, viz. That nothing is required to be believed by any Christian Man, but this, That Jesus is the Messiah.*

The Liberty Mr. Edwards takes in other places, deserves not it should be taken upon his word, that *these formal Words* are to be found over and over again in my Book, unless he had quoted the Pages. But I will set him down the *formal Words* which are to be found in this Reverend Prelate's Book, p. 14. *To be the Son of God, and to be Christ, being but different Expressions of the same thing.* And p. 10. *It is the very same thing to believe that Jesus is the Christ, and to believe that Jesus is the Son of God; express it how you please. This ALONE is the Faith which can regenerate a Man, and put a Divine Spirit into him; that is, makes him a Conquerour over the World, as Jesus was.* I have quoted only these few Words; but Mr. Edwards if he pleases, or any body else, may, in this first Chapter, satisfy himself more fully, that the Design of it is to shew, that in our Saviour's time, *Son of God* was a known and received Name or Appellation of the *Messiah*, and so used in the holy Writers. And that the Faith that was to make Men Christians, was only the believing that *Jesus is the Messiah*. 'Tis to the truth of this Proposition that he *examines his Witnesses*, as he speaks, p. 21. And this, if I mistake not, in his Epist. Dedicatory, he calls *Christianity*. Fol. A. 3. where he calls them *Witnesses to Christianity*. But these two Propositions, viz. That *SON of God* in the Gospel stands for *Messiah*; and that the Faith which alone makes Men Christians, is the believing *Jesus to be the Messiah*, displeases Mr. Edwards so much in my Book, that he thinks himself authorized from them to charge me with *Socinianism*, and want of Sincerity. How he will be pleased to treat this Reverend Prelate whilst he is alive (for the Dead may with good Manners be made bold with) must be left to his decisive Authority. This, I am sure, which way soever he determine, he must, for the future, either afford me more good Company, or fairer Quarter.

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P R E F A C E

TO THE

R E A D E R.

A SECOND

VINDICATION

OF THE

REASONABLENESS

O F

CHRISTIANITY, &c.

Vol. II.

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A SECOND
VINDICATION



REASON
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Vol. II

P R E F A C E
T O T H E
R E A D E R.



I hath pleased Mr. Edwards, in answer to *The Reasonableness of Christianity, &c.* and its Vindication, to turn one of the most weighty and important Points that can come into Question (even no less than the very Fundamentals of the Christian Religion) into a mere Quarrel against the Author; as every one, with Mr. Bold, may observe. In my Reply to him, I have endeavoured, as much as his Objections would allow me, to bring him to the Subject inatter of my Book, and the Merits of the Cause; though his peculiar way of writing Controversy has made it necessary for me in following him step by step, to wipe off the Dirt he has thrown on me, and clear my self from those Falshoods he has filled his Book with. This I could not but do, in dealing with such an Antagonist; that by the Untruths I have proved upon him, the Reader may judge of those other Allegations of his, whereof the Proof lying on his side, the bare Denial is enough on mine, and indeed, are wholly nothing to the Truth or Falshood of what is contain'd in my Reasonableness of Christianity, &c. To which I shall desire the Reader to add this farther Consideration from his way of Writing; not against my Book, but against me for writing it, that if he had had a real Concern for Truth and Religion in this Dispute, he would have treated it after another manner; and we should have had from him more Argument, Reasoning and Clearness, and less Boasting, Declamation and Railing. It has been unavoidable for me to take notice of a great deal of this sort of Stuff, in answering a Writer who has very little else to say in the Controversy, and places his Strength in things besides the Question: But yet I have been so careful to take all Occasions to explain the Doctrine of my Book, that I hope the Reader will not think his Pains wholly lost Labour in perusing this Reply, wherein he will find some farther, and, I hope, satisfying, Account concerning the Writings of the New Testament, and the Christian Religion contained in it.

Mr. Edwards's ill Language, which I thought personally to me (though I know not how I had provoked a Man whom I had never had to do with) I am now satisfied by his rude and scurrilous treating of Mr. Bold, is his Way and Strength in Management of Controversy; and therefore requires a little more Consideration in this Disputant than otherwise it would deserve. Mr. Bold, with the Calmness of a Christian, the Gravity of a Divine, the Clearness of a Man of Parts, and the Civility of a well-bred Man, made some Animadversions on his Socinianism Unmask'd; which, with a Sermon preach'd on the same Subject with my Reasonableness of Christianity, he Publish'd: And how he has been used by Mr. Edwards, let the World judge.

I was extremely surprized with Mr. Bold's Book, at a time when there was so great an Outcry against mine on all Hands. But, it seems, he is a Man that does not take up things upon Hearsay; nor is afraid to own Truth, whatever Clamor or Calumny it may lye under. Mr. Edwards confidently tells the World, that Mr. Bold has been drawn in to espouse this Cause, upon base and mean Considerations. Whose Picture of the two, such a Description is most likely to give us, I shall leave to the Reader to judge, from what he will find in their Writings on this Subject. For as to the Persons themselves, I am equally a Stranger to them both: I know not the Face of either of them: And having hitherto never had any Communication with Mr. Bold, I shall begin with him, as I did with Mr. Edwards in Print; and here publicly return him this following Acknowledgment for what he has printed in this Controversy.

To

To Mr. Bold.

S I R,

THough I do not think I ought to return Thanks to any one for being of my Opinion, any more than to fall out with him for differing from me; yet I cannot but own to all the World the Esteem that I think is due to you, for that Proof you have given of a Mind and Temper becoming a true Minister of the Gospel, in appearing as you have done, in the Defence of a Point, a great Point of Christianity, which it is evident you could have no other Temptation to declare for, but the love of Truth. It has fared with you herein no better than with me. For Mr. Edwards, not being able to answer your Arguments, has found out already that you are a *Mercenary*, defending a Cause against your *Persuasion* for hire; and that you are sailing to *Racovia* by a *side Wind*: Such Inconsistencies can one (whose Business it is to Rail for a Cause he cannot defend) put together to make a noise with: And he tells you plainly what you must expect, if you write any more on this Argument, viz. to be pronounced a downright *Apostate* and *Renegado*.

As soon as I saw your *Sermon* and *Animadversions*, I wonder'd what Scare-Crow Mr. Edwards would set up, wherewith he might hope to deter Men of more Caution than Sense from reading of them: Since *Socinianism*, from which you were known to be as remote as he, I concluded would not do. The unknown Author of the *Reasonableness of Christianity*, he might make a *Socinian*, *Mahometan*, *Atheist*, or what sort of *Raw-head* and *Bloody-bones* he pleased. But I imagined he had had more sense than to venture any such Aspersions on a Man whom, though I have not yet the Happiness personally to know; yet I know hath justly a great and settled Reputation amongst worthy Men: And I thought that that Coat which you had worn with so much Reputation, might have preserved you from the Bespatterings of Mr. Edwards's Dung-hil. But what is to be expected from a Warrior that hath no other Ammunition, and yet ascribes to himself Victory from hence, and with this Artillery imagines he carries all before him? And so *Skimmington* Rides in Triumph, driving all before him by the Ordures that he bestows on those that come in his way. And were not Christianity concerned in the Case, a Man could scarce excuse to himself the Ridiculousness of entering into the List with such a Combatant. I do not therefore wonder that this mighty Boaster, having no other way to answer the Books of his Opponents, but by popular Calumnies, is fain to have recourse to his only Refuge, and lay out his natural Talent in Vilifying and Slandering the Authors. But I see, by what you have already writ, how much you are above that; and as you take not up your Opinions from Fashion or Interest, so you quit them not to avoid the malicious Reports of those that do: Out of which number, they can hardly be left, who (unprovoked) mix with the Management of their Cause, Injuries and ill Language to those they differ from. This, at least I am sure, Zeal or Love for Truth, can never permit Falshood to be used in the Defence of it.

Your Mind I see prepar'd for Truth, by resignation of itself not to the Traditions of Men, but the Doctrine of the Gospel, has made you more readily entertain, and more easily enter into the meaning of my Book, than most I have heard speak of it. And since you seem to me to comprehend, what I have laid together, with the same Disposition of Mind, and in the same Sense that I received it, from the Holy Scriptures, I shall as a mark of my respect to you, give you a particular Account of the Occasion of it.

The beginning of the Year in which it was published, the Controversie that made so much noise and heat amongst some of the Dissenters, coming one day accidentally into my Mind, drew me by degrees into a stricter and more thorough Enquiry into the Question about Justification. The Scripture was direct and plain, that 'twas Faith that justified; The next Question then, was what Faith that was that justified; what it was which, if a Man believed, it should be imputed to him for Righteousness. To find out this, I thought the right way was to search the Scriptures; and thereupon betook my self seriously to the reading of the New Testament, only to that purpose. What that produced, you and the World have seen.

The first View I had of it seem'd mightily to satisfy my Mind, in the reasonableness and plainness of this Doctrine; but yet the general Silence I had in my little reading

reading met with, concerning any such thing, awed me with the Apprehension of Singularity; till going on in the Gospel History, the whole tenour of it made it so clear and visible, that I more wonder'd that every body did not see and imbrace it; than that I should assent to what was so plainly laid down, and so frequently inculcated in Holy Writ, though Systems of Divinity said nothing of it. That which added to my Satisfaction, was, that it led me into a Discovery of the marvellous and divine Wisdom of our Saviour's Conduct, in all the Circumstances of his promulgating this Doctrine; as well as of the Necessity that such a Law-giver should be sent from God for the reforming the Morality of the World; two Points that I must confess, I had not found so fully and advantageously explain'd in the Books of Divinity I had met with, as the History of the Gospel seem'd to me, upon an attentive Perusal, to give Occasion and Matter for. But the necessity and Wisdom of our Saviour's opening the Doctrine (which he came to publish) as he did in Parables and figurative Ways of speaking, carries such a Thread of Evidence through the whole History of the Evangelists, as I think is impossible to be resisted; and makes it a Demonstration, that the Sacred Historians did not write by concert as Advocates, for a bad Cause, or to give Colour and Credit to an Imposture they would Usher into the World; since they, every one of them, in some place or other, omit some Passages of our Saviour's Life, or Circumstances of his Actions; which shew the Wisdom and Wariness of his Conduct; and which even those of the Evangelists, who have recorded, do barely and transiently mention, without laying any Stress on them, or making the least remark of what Consequence they are to give us our Saviour's true Character, and to prove the Truth of their History. These are Evidences of Truth and Sincerity, which result alone from the Nature of things, and cannot be produced by any Art or Contrivance.

How much I was pleased with the growing Discovery, every Day, whilst I was employed in this search, I need not say. The wonderful Harmony, that the farther I went, disclosed it self, tending to the same Points, in all the parts of the sacred History of the Gospel, was of no small Weight with me and another Person who every Day, from the beginning to the end of my search, saw the Progress of it, and knew at my first setting out, that I was ignorant whither it would lead me; and therefore, every Day, asked me what more the Scripture had taught me. So far was I from the thoughts of *Socinianism*, or an Intention to write for that or any other Party, or to publish any thing at all. But when I had gone through the whole, and saw what a plain, simple, reasonable thing Christianity was, suited to all Conditions and Capacities; and in the Morality of it now, with divine Authority, established into a legible Law, so far surpassing all that Philosophy and human Reason had attain'd to, or could possibly make effectual to all degrees of Mankind; I was flatter'd to think it might be of some use in the World; especially to those who thought either that there was no need of Revelation at all, or that the Revelation of our Saviour required the Belief of such Articles for Salvation, which the settled Notions and their way of reasoning in some, and want of Understanding in others, made impossible to them. Upon these two Topicks the Objections seem'd to turn, which were with most Assurance, made by *Deists* against *Christianity*; but against *Christianity* misunderstood. It seem'd to me, that there needed no more to shew them the Weakness of their Exceptions, but to lay plainly before them the Doctrine of our Saviour and his Apostles, as delivered in the Scriptures, and not as taught by the several Sects of Christians.

This tempted me to publish it, not thinking it deserved an Opposition from any Minister of the Gospel; and least of all, from any one in the Communion of the Church of *England*. But so it is, that Mr. *Edwards's* Zeal for he knows not what (for he does not yet know his own Creed, nor what is required to make him a Christian) could not brook so plain, simple, and intelligible a Religion: But yet not knowing what to say against it, and the Evidence it has from the Word of God, he thought fit to let the Book alone, and fall upon the Author. What great Matter he has done in it I need not tell you, who have seen and shewed the Weakness of his Wranglings. You have here, Sir, the true History of the Birth of my *Reasonableness of Christianity, as delivered in the Scriptures*, and my Design in publishing it, &c. What it contains, and how much it tends to Peace and Union amongst Christians, if they would receive Christianity as it is, you have discovered. I am,

S I R,

Your most humble Servant

A. B.

My

Preface to the Reader.

My Readers will pardon me that in my Preface to them, I make this particular Address to Mr. Bold. He hath thought it worth his while to defend my Book. How well he has done it, I am too much a Party to say: I think it so sufficient to Mr. Edwards, that I needed not have troubled my self any farther about him on the account of any Argument that remains in his Book to be answered. But a great part of the World judging of Contests about Truth, as they do of popular Elections, that the Side carries it where the greatest Noise is; 'twas necessary they should be undeceived, and be let see, that sometimes such Writers may be let alone, not because they cannot, but because they deserve not to be answer'd.

This farther I ought to acknowledge to Mr. Bold, and own to the World; that he hath entered into the true Sense of my Treatise, and his Notions do so perfectly agree with mine, that I shall not be afraid by Thoughts and Expressions very like his in this my Second Vindication, to give Mr. Edwards. (who is exceedingly quick-sighted, and positive in such Matters) a handle to tell the World, that either I borrowed this my Vindication from Mr. Bold, or writ his Animadversions for him. The former of these I shall count no discredit, if Mr. Edwards think fit to charge me with it; and the latter Mr. Bold's Character, is answer enough to. Though the impartial Reader, I doubt not; will find that the same uniform Truth consider'd by us, suggested the same Thoughts to us both, without any other Communication.

There is another Author, who, in a civiler Stile, hath made it necessary for me to vindicate my Book from a Reflection or two of his, wherein he seems to come short of that Candor he professes. All that I shall say on this occasion here, is, that it is a wonder to me, that having published what I thought the Scripture told me was the Faith that made a Christian, and desired that if I was mistaken, any one that thought so, would have the Goodness to inform me better; so many with their Tongues, and some in Print, should intemperately find fault with a poor Man out of his Way, who desires to be set right; and no one who blames his Faith, as coming short, will tell him what that Faith is which is required to make him a Christian. But, I hope, that amongst so many Censurers, I shall at last find one, who knowing himself to be a Christian upon other Grounds than I am, will have so much Christian Charity, as to shew me what more is absolutely necessary to be believed by me, and every Man, to make him a Christian.



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Cause that stands in need of Falshoods to support it, and an Adversary that will make use of them, deserve nothing but Contempt; which I doubt not but every considerate Reader thought Answer enough to Mr. *Edwards's Socinianism Unmask'd*. But since in his late *Socinian Creed*, he says, *I would have answer'd him if I could*, That the Interest of Christianity may not suffer by my Silence, nor the contemptibleness of his Treatise afford him matter of Triumph amongst those who lay any weight on such boasting, 'tis fit it should be shewn what an Arguer he is, and how well he deserves for his Performance to be dubb'd by himself *Irrefragable*.

Those, who like Mr. *Edwards*, dare to publish Inventions of their own for Matters of Fact, deserve a Name so abhorr'd, that it finds not room in civil Conversation. This secures him from the proper Answer due to his Imputations to me in Print of Matters of Fact utterly false, which without any Reply of mine, fix upon him that Name (which without a profligate Mind, a Man cannot expose himself to) till he hath proved them. Till then he must wear what he has put upon himself. This being a Rule which common Justice hath prescribed to the private Judgments of Mankind, as well as to the publick Judicatures of Courts, That all Allegations of Fact brought by contending Parties should be presum'd to be false till they are proved.

There are two ways of making a Book unanswerable. The one is by the clearness, strength and fairness of the Argumentation. Men who know how to write thus, are above bragging what they have done, or boasting to the World that their Adversaries are *baffled*. Another way to make a Book unanswerable, is to lay stress on Matters of Fact foreign to the Question, as well as to Truth; and to stuff it with Scurrility and Fiction. This hath been always so evident to common sense, that no Man who had any regard to Truth or Ingenuity, ever thought Matters of Fact besides the Argument, and Stories made at pleasure, the way of managing Controversies. Which shewing only the want of Sense and Argument, could, if used on both sides, end in nothing but downright railing: And he must always have the better of the Cause, who has Lying and Impudence on his side.

The *Unmasker*, in the entrance of his Book, sets a great distance between his and my way of Writing. I am not sorry that mine differs so much as it does from his. If it were like his, I should think, like his, it wanted the Auther's Commendations. For, in his first Paragraph, which is all laid out in his own Testimony of his own Book, he so earnestly bespeaks an Opinion of Mastery in Politeness, Order, Coherence, Pertinence, Strength, Seriousness, Temper, and all the good Qualities requi-

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site in Controversy, that I think, since he pleases himself so much with his own good Opinion, one in pity ought not to go about to rob him of so considerable an Admirer. I shall not therefore contest any of those Excellencies he ascribes to himself, or Faults he blames in me in the management of the Dispute between us, any farther than as particular Passages of his Book, as I come to examine them, shall suggest unavoidable Remarks to me. I think the World does not so much concern itself about him or me, that it need be told, in that Inventory he has given of his own good Parts in his first Paragraph, which of us two has the better hand at *Flourishes, Jestings, and common Places*; if I am, as he says, p. 2. troubled with *angry Fits, and passionate Ferments, which, though I strive to palliate, are easily discernable, &c.* and he be more laudably ingenuous in the openness of that Temper, which he shews in every Leaf, I shall leave to him the entire glory of boasting of it. Whatever we brag of our Performances, they will be just as they are, however he may think to add to his by his own Encomiums of them. The difference in Stile, Order, Coherence, good Breeding (for all those amongst others the *Unmasker* mentions) the Reader will observe, whatever I say of them; and at best they are nothing to the Question in hand. For, though I am a *Tool, Pert, Childish, Starch'd, Impertinent, Incoherent, Trifling, Weak, Passionate, &c.* Commendations I meet with before I get to the 4th Page, besides what follows as *Upstart Racovian*, p. 24. *Flourishing Scribler*, p. 41. *Dissembler*, 106. *Pedantick*, 107. I say, although I am all this, and what else he liberally bestows on me in the rest of his Book, I may have truth on my side, and that in the present case serves my turn.

Having thus placed the Laurels upon his own Head, and sung Applause to his own Performance, he, p. 4. enters, as he thinks, upon his Business, which ought to be, as he confesses, p. 3. *to make good his former Charges.* The first whereof he sets down in these words. That *I unwarrantably crowded all the necessary Articles of Faith into one, with a design of favouring Socinianism.*

If it may be permitted to the subdued to be so bold with one, who is already Conqueror, I desire to know where that Proposition is laid down in these terms as laid to my Charge. Whether it be true, or false, shall, if he pleases, be hereafter examined: But it is not at present the Matter in question. There are certain Propositions, which he having affirmed, and I denied, are under debate between us: And that the Dispute may not run into an endless ramble, by multiplying of new before the Points in contest are decided, those ought first to be brought to an issue.

To go on therefore in the order of his *Socinianism Unmask'd* (for p. 3. he has out of the Mishna taught me good Breeding, *to answer the First first, and so in order*) the next thing he has against me, is p. 5. which, that the Reader may understand the force of, I must inform him, that in the 105. p. of his *Thoughts concerning the Causes of Atheism*, he said, that I give this plausible Conceit, as he calls it, *over and over again in these formal Words, viz. "That nothing is required to be believed by any Christian Man but this, that Jesus is the Messiah."* This I denied. To make it good, *Socinianism Unmask'd*, p. 5. he thus argues, First, *It is observable, that this guilty Man would be shifting off the Indictment, by excepting against the formality of Words, as if such were not to be found in his Book: But when doth he do this? In the close of it, when his Matter was exhausted, and he had nothing else to say, Vind. p. 553. of this Vol. then he bethinks himself of this salvo, &c. Answ. As if a Fallhood were ever the less a Fallhood, because it was not opposed, or would grow into a Truth if it were not taken notice of, before the 38th Page of the Answer. I desire him to shew me these formal Words over and over again in my Reasonableness of Christianity: Nor let him hope to evade by saying, I would be shifting by excepting against the formality of the Words.*

To say that *I have over and over again those formal Words* in my Book, is an Assertion of a Matter of Fact, let him produce the Words, and justify his Allegation, or confess, that this is an Untruth published to the World: And since he makes so bold with Truth in a Matter visible to every body, let the World be Judge, what Credit is to be given to his Allegations of Matters of Fact, in things foreign to what I have printed; and that are not capable of a Negative Proof. A sample whereof the Reader has at the entrance in his *Introduction*, Page A 4. and the three or four following Pages. Where he affirms to the World not only what I know to be false; but what every one must see, he could not know to be true. For he pretends to know and deliver my Thoughts. And what the Character is of one that confidently affirms what he does not know, no body need be told.

But

But he adds, *I had before pleaded to the Indictment, and thereby owned it be true.* This is to make good his Promise, p. 3. to keep at a distance from my feeble Strugglings. Here this strong Arguer must prove, that what is not answer'd or deny'd in the very beginning of a Reply, or before the 38th Page, is owned to be true. In the mean time till he does that, I shall desire such of my Readers as think the Unmasker's Veracity worth the examining to see in my Vindication, from p. 550, 551. wherein is contain'd, what I have said about one Article, whether I have owned, what he charged me with, on that Subject.

This Proposition then remains upon him still to be proved, viz.

- I. That I have over and over again these formal words in my Reasonableness of Christianity, viz. *That nothing is required to be believed by any Christian Man, but this; That Jesus is the Messiah.*

He goes on pag. 5. And indeed he could do no other, for it was the main Work he set himself about to find but one Article of Faith in all the Chapters of the four Evangelists, and the Acts of the Apostles. This is to make good his Promise, pag. 3. To clear his Book from those sorry Objections and Cavils I had raised against it. Several of my sorry Objections and Cavils were to represent to the Reader, that a great part of what he said was nothing but *Suspicious* and *Conjectures*, and such he could not but then own them to be. But now he has rid himself of all his *Conjectures*, and has raised them up into direct positive Affirmations, which being said with Confidence without Proof, who can deny, but he has clear'd, thoroughly clear'd that part from my sorry Objections and Cavils? He says it was the main Work I set my self about to find but one Article of Faith. This I must take the liberty to deny: And I desire him to prove it. A Man may set himself to find two, or as many as there be, and yet find but one: Or a Man may set himself to find but one, and yet find two or more. It is no Argument from what a Man has found, to prove what was his main Work to find, unless where his Aim was only to find what there was, whether more or less. For a Writer may find the Reputation of a poor contemptible Railer; nay, of a downright impudent Lyar, and yet no body will think it was his main Work to find that. Therefore Sir, if you will not find what 'tis like you did not seek, you must prove those many confident Assertions, you have published, which I shall give you in tale whereof this is the second, viz.

- II. That the main Business I set my self about, was to find but one Article of Faith.

In the following part of this Sentence, he quotes my own Words, with the Pages where they are to be found; the first time, that, in either of his two Books against me, he has vouchsafed to do so, concerning one Article, wherewith he has made so much noise. My Words in (page 516. of this Vol. of) my Reasonableness of Christianity, stand thus: "For that this is the sole Doctrine pressed and required to be believed in the whole tenor of our Saviour's and his Apostles preaching, we have shew'd through the whole History of the Evangelists and Acts; and I challenge them to shew that there was any other Doctrine upon their assent to which, or disbelief of it, Men were pronounced Believers or Unbelievers, and accordingly received into the Church of Christ, as Members of his Body, as far as mere believing could make them so; or else kept out. This was the only Gospel Article of Faith which was preached to them. Out of this Passage, the Unmasker sets down these Words, "This is the SOLE Doctrine pressed and required to be believed in the whole tenor of our Saviour's and his Apostles preaching, p. 129. this was the ONLY Gospel Article of Faith which was preached to them.

I shall pass by all other Observations, that this way of citing these Words would suggest, and only remark, that if he brought these Words to prove the immediately preceding Assertion of his, viz. That to find but one Article of Faith was the main Work I set my self about. This Argument reduced into Form will stand thus:

He who says, that this is the sole Doctrine pressed and required to be believed, in the whole Tenor of our Saviour's and his Apostles Preaching, upon their assent to which, or disbelief of it, Men were pronounced Believers or Unbelievers, and accordingly received into the Church of Christ, as Members of his Body, as far as mere believing could make them so, or else kept out, sets himself to find out but one Article of Faith, as his main Work. But the Vindicator did so: Ergo.

If this were the use he would make of those Words of mine cited, I must desire him to prove the *major*. But he talks so freely, and without Book, every where, that I suppose he thought himself, by the Privilege of a Declaimer, exempt from being called strictly to an Account for what he so loosely says, and from proving what he should be called to Account for. Rail lustily, is a good Rule, something of it will stick, true or false, proved or not proved.

If he alledges these Words of mine, to answer my Demand, *Vind. p. 551.* where he found that *I contended for one single Article of Faith, with the Exclusion and Defiance of all the rest* which he had charged me with. I say, it proves this as little as the former. For to say, "That I had shew'd through the whole History of the *Evangelists*, and the *Acts*, that this is the sole Doctrine, or only Gospel-Article pressed and required to be believed in the whole Tenor of our Saviour and his Apostles Preaching; upon their assent to which, or disbelieving of it, Men were pronounced Believers or Unbelievers, and accordingly received into the Church of Christ, or kept out; is the simple Assertion of a positive Matter of Fact, and so carries in it no *Defiance*, no, nor *Exclusion* of any other Doctrinal or Historical Truth contained in the Scripture: And therefore it remains still on the *Unmasker* to shew where 'tis I express any *Defiance* of any other Truth contained in the Word of God; or where I exclude any one Doctrine of the Scriptures. So that if it be true, that *I contend for one Article*, my Contention may be without any *Defiance*, or so much as *Exclusion* of any of the rest, notwithstanding any thing contained in these Words. Nay, if it should happen that I am in a mistake, and that this was not the sole Doctrine which our Saviour and his Apostles preached, and upon their assent to which, Men were admitted into the Church; yet the *Unmasker's* Accusation would be never the truer for that, unless it be necessary, that he that mistakes in one Matter of Fact, should be at *Defiance* with all other Truths; or, that he who erroneously says, that our Saviour and his Apostles admitted Men into the Church upon the believing him to be the *Messiah*, does thereby exclude all other Truths published to the Jews before, or to Christian Believers afterwards.

If these Words be brought to prove, that I contended for *one Article*, barely *one Article*, without any *Defiance* or *Exclusion* annex to that Contention; I say, neither do they prove that, as is manifest from the Words themselves, as well as from what I said elsewhere concerning the Article of One God. For here, I say, this is the only Gospel-Article, &c. upon which Men were pronounced Believers; which plainly intimates some other Article known and believed in the World before, and without the preaching of the Gospel.

To this the *Unmasker* thinks he has provided a *Salvo* in these Words, *Socinianism Unmask'd*, p. 6. And when I told him of this *one Article*, he knew well enough that I did not exclude the Article of the Deity, for that is a Principle of Natural Religion. If it be fit for an *Unmasker* to perceive what is in debate, he would know, that the Question is not, what he excluded or excluded not, but what Articles he charged me to have excluded.

Taking it therefore to be his meaning (which it must be, if he meant any thing to the purpose,) viz. That when he charged me so often and positively for contesting for *one Article*, viz. that *Jesus was the Messiah*, he did not intend to accuse me for excluding the Article of the Deity. To prove that he did not so intend it, he tells me, that *I knew that he did not*.

Answ. How should I know it? he never told me so either in his Book, or otherwise. This I know, that he said, p. 115. That *I contended for one Article, with the Exclusion of all the rest*. If then the Belief of the Deity, be an Article of Faith, and be not the Article of *Jesus* being the *Messiah*, it is one of the rest; and if all the rest were excluded, certainly that being one of all the rest, must be excluded. How then he could say, *I knew that he excluded it not*, i. e. meant not that I excluded it, when he positively says, *I did exclude it*, I cannot tell, unless he thought that I knew him so well, that when he said one thing, I knew that he meant another, and that the quite contrary.

He now, it seems, acknowledges that I affirmed, that the Belief of the Deity, as well as of *Jesus* being the *Messiah*, was required to make a Man a Believer. The believing in *one God the Father Almighty, Maker of Heaven and Earth*, is one Article; and in *Jesus Christ his only Son our Lord*, is another Article. These therefore being two Articles, and both asserted by me to be required to make a Man a Christian, let us see with what Truth or Ingenuity the *Unmasker* could apply, besides that above-mention'd, these following Expressions to me, as he does without any exception. *Why then must*

must there be one Article, and no more? p. 115. Going to make a Religion for his Mer-
midons, he contracts all into one Article, and will trouble them with no more, p. 117.
Away with Systems, away with Creeds, let us have but one Article, though it be with De-
fiance of all the rest, p. 118. Thus we see why he reduces all Belief to that one Article
before rehearsed, p. 120. And all this without any the least Exception of the Article
of a Deity, as he now pretends. Nor could he indeed, as is evident from his own
Words, p. 122, 122. To conclude, this Gentleman and his Fellows are resolved to be
Unitarians, they are for one Article of Faith, as well as one Person in the Godhead: -----
But if these learned Men were not prejudiced ----- they would perceive, that when the Ca-
tholick Faith is thus brought down to one single Article, it will soon be reduced to
none, the Unite will dwindle into a Cypher. By which the Reader may see, that his
Intention was, to persuade the World, that I reduced ALL BELIEF, the CATHO-
LICK FAITH (they are his own Words) to one single Article and no more. For if he had
given but the least hint, that I allowed of two, all the wit and strength of Argument
contained in Unitarians, Unite and Cypher, with which he winds up all, had been
utterly lost, and dwindled into palpable Nonsense.

To demonstrate that this was the Sense he would be understood in, we are but to
observe what he says again, p. 50. of his Socinianism Unmask'd, where he tells his
Readers, That I and my Friends, have new modell'd the Apostles Creed; yea indeed,
have presented them with ONE Article, instead of TWELVE. And hence we
may see what Sincerity there is in the Reason he brings to prove that he did not
exclude the Article of the Deity. For, says he, p. 6. that is a Principle of Natural
Religion.

Ans. Ergo, He did not in positive Words, without any exception, say, I redu-
ced all Belief, the Catholick Faith, to one single Article, and no more. But to make good
his Promise, not to resemble me in the little Artifices of Evading, he wipes his Mouth,
and says at the bottom of this Page, But the Reader sees his [the Vindicator's] shuf-
fling. Whilst the Article of One God is a part of ALL Belief, a part of the Catholick
Faith, ALL which he affirm'd I concluded, but the one Article concerning the Messiah,
every one will see where the shuffling is: And if it be not clear enough from those
Words themselves, let those above quoted out of p. 50. of his Socinianism Unmask'd,
where he says, That I have new-modell'd the Apostles Creed, and presented the World
with ONE Article instead of TWELVE, be an Interpretation of them. For if the
Article of One Eternal God, Maker of Heaven and Earth, be one of the Articles of
the Apostles Creed, and the one Article I presented them with be not that, 'tis plain,
he did and would be understood to mean, that by my one Article, I excluded that of
the One Eternal God, which Branch soever of Religion, either Natural or Revealed,
it belongs to.

I do not endeavour to persuade the Reader, as he says, p. 6. that he misunderstood
me; but yet every body will see, that he misrepresented me. And I challenge him
to say, that those Expressions above quoted out of him, concerning One Article, in the
obvious Sense of the Words, as they stand in his Accusation of me, were true?

This lies so directly in his Face, that he labours mightily to get it off, and therefore
adds these Words, My Discourse did not treat (neither doth his Book run that way)
of Principles of Natural Religion, but of the Revealed, and particularly the Christian:
Accordingly this was it which I taxed him with, That of all the Principles and Arti-
cles of Christianity, he chose out but one as necessary to be believed to make a Man a
Christian.

Ans. His Book was of ---- Atheism, which one may think should make his Dis-
course treat of Natural Religion. But I pass by that, and bid him tell me where he
taxed me, That of all the Principles and Articles of Christianity, I chose out but one: Let
him shew in all his Discourse but such a word, or any thing said like one Article of Chri-
stianity, and I will grant that he meant particularly, but spoke generally; misled his
Reader, and left himself a Subterfuge. But if there be no Expression to be found in
him tending that way, all this is but the covering of one Falshood with another, which
thereby only becomes the grosser. Though if he had in express Words, taxed me,
That of all the Principles and Articles of the Christian Religion, I chose out but one, that
would not at all help him, till he farther declares, that the Belief of One God is not
an Article of the Christian Religion. For of ALL the Articles of the Christian Religion,
he says, I chose but one; which not being that of a Deity, his words plainly import,
that that was left out among the rest, unless it be possible for a Man to chuse but one
Article

Article of the Christian Religion, viz. That *Jesus is the Messiah*; and at the same time to chuse Two Articles of the Christian Religion, viz. That there is One Eternal God, and that *Jesus is the Messiah*. If he had spoken clearly, and like a fair Man, he should have said, That he taxed me with chusing but One Article of revealed Religion. This had been plain and direct to his purpose: But then he knew the Falshood of it would be too obvious: For in the seven Pages wherein he taxes me so much with *One Article*, Christianity is several times named, though not once to the purpose he here pretends. But Revelation is not so much as once mentioned in them, nor, as I remember, in any of the Pages he bestows upon me.

To conclude, the several Passages above quoted out of him, concerning *one sole Article*, are all in general Terms, without any the least limitation or restriction; and as they stand in him, fit to persuade the Reader that I excluded all other Articles whatsoever, but that one of *Jesus the Messiah*: And if in that sense they are not true, they are so many Falshoods of his repeated there, to mislead others into a wrong Opinion of me. For if he had had a mind his Readers should have been rightly informed, why was it not as easie once to explain himself, as so often to affirm it in general and unrestrained terms? This all the boasted strength of the *Unmasker* will not be able to get him out of. This very well becomes one who so loudly charges me with *Shuffling*. Having repeated the same thing over and over again, in as general Terms as was possible, without any the least limitation in the whole Discourse, to have nothing else to plead when required to prove it, but that it was meant in a limited sense, in an *Unmasker*, is not *shuffling*. For by this way he may have the Convenience to say and unsay what he pleases; to vent what stuff he thinks for his turn; and when he is called to an Account for it, reply, He meant no such thing. Should any one publish, that the *Unmasker* had but *One Article of Faith, and no more, viz.* That the Doctrines in fashion, and likely to procure Preferment, are alone to be received; that *all his Belief* was comprised in this *one single Article*: And when such a Talker was demanded to prove his Assertion, should he say, he meant, to except his Belief of the Apostles Creed: Would he not, notwithstanding such a Plea, be thought a shuffling Lyar? And if the *Unmasker* can no otherwise prove those universal Propositions above-cited, but by saying, he meant them with a tacit restriction, (for none is expressed) they will still and for ever remain to be accounted for by his Veracity.

What he says in the next Paragraph, p. 7. of my *splitting One Article into Two*, is just of the same force, and with the same ingenuity. I had said, That the Belief of One God was necessary; which is not denied: I had also said, "That the Belief of *Jesus of Nazareth* to be the *Messiah*, together with those concomitant Articles of his Resurrection, Rule, and coming again to Judge the World, was necessary, p. 538. And again, p. 540. That God had declared, whoever would believe *Jesus* to be the Saviour promised, and take him now raised from the Dead, and constituted the Lord and Judge of all Men, to be their King and Ruler, shall be saved." This made me say *These* and *Those Articles* (in Words of the plural number) more than once; evidence enough to any but a Caviller, that I contended not for *one single Article and no more*. And to mind him of it, I in my *Vindication*, reprinted one of those places where I had done so; and that he might not, according to his manner, overlook what does not please him, the words, **THESE ARE ARTICLES**, were printed in great Characters. Whereupon he makes this Remark, p. 7. And though since he has tried to split this *One into Two*, p. 28. yet he labours in vain: For to believe *Jesus* to be the *Messiah*, amounts to the same with believing him to be King and Ruler; his being Anointed (i. e. being the *Messiah*) including that in it: Yet he has the vanity to add in great Characters, **THESE ARE ARTICLES**; as if the putting them into these great Letters, would make *One Article Two*.

Ans. Though no letters will make One Article Two; yet that there is one God, and *Jesus Christ* his only Son our Lord, who rose again from the Dead, ascended into Heaven, and sitteth at the Right-Hand of God, shall come to judge the Quick and the Dead, are in the Apostles Creed set down as more than One Article, and therefore may very properly be called **THESE ARTICLES**, without splitting One into Two.

What, in my *Reasonableness of Christianity*, I have said of *One Article*, I shall always own; and in what sense I said it, is easie to be understood; and with a Man of the least Candour, whose Aim was Truth, and not Wrangling, it would not have occasion'd one word of Dispute. But as for this *Unmasker*, who made it his business not

to convince me of any Mistakes in my Opinion, but barely to mis-represent me; my business at present with him, is to shew the World, that what he has captiously and scurrilously said of me relating to *One Article*, is false; and that he neither has nor can prove one of those Assertions concerning it, above-cited out of him in his own Words. Nor let him pretend a Meaning against his direct Words: Such a Caviller as he, who would shelter himself under the pretence of a Meaning, whereof there are no Footsteps, whose Disputes are only Calumnies directed against the Author, without examining the Truth or Falshood of what I had published, is not to expect the Allowances one would make to a fair and ingenuous Adversary, who shew'd so much Concern for Truth, that he treated of it with a Seriousness due to the weightiness of the Matter, and used other Arguments besides Obloquy, Clamour and Falshoods, against what he thought Error. And therefore I again positively demand of him to prove these Words of his to be true, or confess that he cannot: *viz.*

III. *That I contend for One Article of Faith, with the exclusion and defiance of all the rest.*

Two other Instances of this sort of Arguments I gave in the 551st Page of my *Vindication*, out of the 115th and 119th Pages of his *Thoughts concerning the Causes of Atheism*, and I here demand of him again to shew, since he has not thought fit hitherto to give any Answer to it.

IV. *Where I urge, that there must be nothing in Christianity, that is not plain, and exactly levelled to all Mens Mother Wit, and every common Apprehension.*

Or where he finds, in my *Reasonableness of Christianity*, this other Proposition:

V. *That the very manner of every thing in Christianity must be clear and intelligible; every thing must immediately be comprehended by the weakest Noddle, or else it is no part of Religion, especially of Christianity.*

These things he must prove that I have said: I put it again upon him to shew where I said them, or else to confess the Forgery: For till he does one or t'other, he shall be sure to have these, with a large Catalogue of other Falshoods, laid before him.

Pag. 25. of his *Socinianism Unmask'd*, he endeavours to make good his saying, that *I set up One Article, with defiance of all the rest*, in these words; *For what is excluding them wholly, but defying them? Wherefore, seeing he utterly excludes all the rest, by representing them as USELESS to the making a Man a Christian, which is the design of his whole Undertaking, it is manifest that he defies them.*

Ans. This at least is manifest from hence, that the *Unmasker* knows not, or cares not what he says. For whoever, but he, thought that a bare *Exclusion*, or passing by, was *Defiance*? If he understands it so, I would advise him not to seek Preferment. For *Exclusions* will happen; and if every *Exclusion* be *Defiance*, a Man had need be well assured of his own good Temper, who shall not think his Peace and Charity in danger, amongst so many Enemies that are at *defiance* with him? *Defiance*, if with any propriety it can be spoken of an Article of Faith, must signify a professed Enmity to it. For in its proper use, which is to Persons, it signifies an open and declared Enmity raised to that height, that he in whom it is, challenges the Party *defied* to Battle, that he may there wreak his hatred on his Enemy in his Destruction. So that *my Defiance of all the rest* remains still to be proved.

But, *Secondly*, There is another thing manifest from these Words of his, *viz.* That notwithstanding his great Brags in his first Paragraph, his main Skill lies, in fancying what would be for his turn, and then confidently fathering it upon me. It never enter'd into my Thoughts, nor, I think, into any body's else, (I must always except the acute *Unmasker*, who makes no difference between *Useful* and *Necessary*) that all but the fundamental Articles of the Christian Faith were *useless* to make a Man a Christian; though, if it be true, that the Belief of the Fundamentals alone (be they few or many) is all that is *necessary* to his being made a Christian, all that may any way persuade him to believe them, may certainly be useful towards the making him a Christian: And therefore here again I must propose to him, and leave it with him to be shew'd, where it is,

VI. *I have*

VI. *I have represented all the rest as useless to the making a Man a Christian? And how it appears, that this is the design of my whole Undertaking?*

In his Thoughts concerning the Causes of Atheism, he says, pag. 115. *what makes him contend for one single Article with the exclusion of all the rest? He pretends it is this, that all Men ought to understand their Religion.* This reasoning I disowned, p. 550. of my *Vindication*, and intimated, p. 27. that he should have quoted the Page where I so pretended. To this p. 26. he tells me with great Confidence, and in abundance of Words, as we shall see by and by, that I had done so; as if Repetition were a Proof. He had done better to have quoted one place, where I so pretend. Indeed p. 27. for want of something better, he quotes these Words of mine out of p. 540. of the *Reasonableness of Christianity*. *The all merciful God seems herein to have consulted the poor of this World, and the bulk of Mankind. THESE ARE ARTICLES that the labouring and illiterate Man may comprehend.* I ask whether it be possible for one to bring any thing more direct against himself? The thing he was to prove was, that I contended for one single Article with the exclusion of all the rest, because I pretended, that all Men ought to understand their Religion, i. e. The Reason I give, why there was to be but one single Article in Religion with the exclusion of all the rest, was, because Men ought to understand their Religion. And the place he brings to prove my contending upon that ground for one single Article with the exclusion of all the rest, is a passage wherein I speak of more than one Article, and say *these Articles*. Whether I said *These Articles* properly or improperly, it matters not in the present Case (and that we have examin'd in another place) 'tis plain, I meant more than one Article, when I said *these Articles*; and did not think, that the labouring and illiterate Man could not understand them, if they were more than one: And therefore I pretended not, that there must be but one, because by illiterate Men more than one could not be understood. The rest of this Paragraph is nothing but a Repetition of the same Assertion without Proof, which with the *Unmasker* often passes for a way of proving, but with no body else.

But, that I may keep that distance, which he boasts there is betwixt his and my way of Writing, I shall not say this without Proofs. One instance of his Repetition, of which there is such plenty in his Book, pray take here. His Business p. 26. is to prove, that I pretended that I contended for one single Article with the exclusion of all the rest, because all Men ought to understand their Religion, pag. 480. of my *Vindication*, I denied that I had so pretended. To convince me that I had, thus he proceeds.

Unmasker. He founds his Conceit of one Article partly upon this, that a multitude of Doctrines is obscure, and hard to be understood.

Answer. You say it, and had said it before: But I ask you, as I did before, where I did so?

Unm. And therefore he trusses all up in one Article, that the poor People and bulk of Mankind may bear it.

Answer. I desire again to know where I made that Inference, and argued so for one Article.

Unm. This is the scope of a great part of his Book.

Answer. This is saying again, shew it once.

Unm. But his Memory does not keep pace with his Invention, and thence he says, he remembers nothing of this in his Book, *Vind.* p. 550.

Answer. This is to say, that it is in my Book. You have said it more than once already; I demand of you to shew me where.

Unm. This worthy Writer does not know his own reasoning, that he uses.

Answer. I ask where does he use that reasoning?

Unm. As particularly thus, that he troubles Christian Men with no more, but one Article: BECAUSE that is intelligible, and all People high and low may comprehend it.

Answer. We have heard it affirm'd by you over and over again, but the question still is, where is that way of arguing to be found in my Book?

Unm. For he has chosen out, as he thinks, a plain and easie Article. Whereas the others, which are commonly propounded, are not generally agreed on (he saith,) and are dubious and uncertain. But the believing that Jesus was the Messiah has nothing of doubtfulness or obscurity in it.

Answer.

Answ. The word *For* in the beginning of this Sentence makes it stand for one of your Reasons; tho it be but a repetition of the same thing in other words.

Unm. *THIS* the Reader will find to be the Drift and Design of several of his Pages.

Answ. This must signify, that I trouble Men with no more but one Article, because one only is intelligible, and then it is but a Repetition. If any thing else be meant by the word *This*, it is nothing to the purpose. For that I said, that all things necessary to be believ'd are plain in Scripture, and easy to be understood, I never deny'd; and should be very sorry, and recant it, if I had.

Unm. And the Reason why I did not quote any single one of them, was, because he insists on it so long together: and spins it out after his way, in p. 540. of his Reasonableness of Christianity, where he sets down the "short, plain, easy" and intelligible Summary (as he calls it) of Religion, couch'd in a single Article: He immediately adds; The All-merciful God seems herein to have consulted the Poor of this World, and the Bulk of Mankind: these are Articles "whereas he had set down but one" that the labouring and illiterate Man may "comprehend."

Answ. If my insisting on it so long together, was the cause why, in your Thoughts of the Causes of Atheism, you did not quote any single Passage; methinks here, in your Socinianism Unmask'd, where you knew it was expected of you, my insisting on it, as you say, so long together, might have afforded at least one Quotation to your purpose.

Unm. He assigns this as a Ground why it was God's Pleasure that there should be but ONE POINT of Faith, BECAUSE thereby Religion may be understood the better; the generality of the People may comprehend it.

Answ. I hear you say it again, but want a Proof still, and ask where I assign that Ground?

Unm. This he represents as a great Kindness done by God to Man, whereas the variety of Articles would be hard to be understood.

Answ. Again the same Cabbage; an Affirmation, but no Proof.

Unm. This he enlarges upon, and flourishes it over after his fashion: and yet he desires to know, when he said so, p. 551. *Vindic.*

Answ. And if I did, let the World here take a Sample of the Unmasker's Ability, or Truth, who spends above two whole Pages, 26, 27. in repetitions of the same Assertion, without the producing any but one place, for Proof; and that too against him, as I have shewn. But he has not yet done with confounding me by dint of repetition; he goes on.

Unm. Good Sir, let me be permitted to acquaint you, that your Memory is as defective as your Judgment.

Answ. I thank you for the regard you have had to it; for often repetition is a good help to a bad Memory. In requital, I advise you to have some Eye to your own Memory and Judgment too. For one or both of them seem a little to blame in the Reason you subjoin to the foregoing Words, viz.

Unm. For in the very Vindication you attribute it to the Goodness and Condescension of the Almighty, that he requires nothing as absolutely necessary to be believed, but what is suited to vulgar Capacities, and the Comprehension of illiterate Men.

Answ. I will for the Unmasker's sake put this Argument of his into a Syllogism. If the Vindicator in his Vindication attributes it to the Goodness and Condescension of the Almighty, that he requires nothing to be believed, but what is suited to vulgar Capacities, and the Comprehension of illiterate Men; then he did in his Reasonableness of Christianity pretend, that the reason why he contended for one Article with the exclusion of all the rest, was, because all Men ought to understand their Religion.

But the Vindicator in his Vindication attributes it to the Goodness and Condescension of Almighty God, that he requires nothing to be believed, but what is suited to vulgar Capacities, and the Comprehension of illiterate Men.

Ergo, in his Reasonableness of Christianity, he pretended, that the reason why he contended for one Article with the exclusion of all the rest, was, because all Men ought to understand their Religion.

This was the Proposition to be proved, and which, as he confesses here, p. 26. I deny'd to remember to be in my *Reasonableness of Christianity*. Who can but admire his Logick!

But besides the strength of Judgment, which you have shew'd in this clear and cogent Reasoning, does not your Memory too deserve its due applause? You tell me in your *Socinianism Unmask'd*, that in * p. 29. of my *Vindication*, I desir'd to know when I said so. To which desire of mine, you reply in these words before cited; Good Sir, let me be permitted to acquaint you that your Memory is as defective as your Judgment; for in the very *Vindication* you attribute it to the Goodness and Condescension of the Almighty, that he requires nothing as absolutely necessary to be believ'd, but what is suited to vulgar Capacities, and the Comprehension of illiterate Men, p. 30.

* P. 551.
this Edit.

Sure the *Unmasker* thinks himself at cross Questions. I ask him in the 29th Page of my *Vindication*, WHEN I said so: And he answers, that I had said so in the 30th Page of my *Vindication*; i. e. when I writ the 29th Page, I ask'd the question when I had said what he charg'd me with saying, and I am answer'd, I had said it in the 30th Page, which was not yet written: i. e. I ask the question to day WHEN I had said so; and I am answer'd, I had said it to morrow. As apposite and convincing an Answer to make good his Charge, as if he had said, to morrow I found a Horse-shoe. But perhaps this judicious Disputant will ease himself of this difficulty, by looking again into the 29th Page of my *Vindication*, out of which he cites these words for mine; I desire to know WHEN I said so. But my words in that place are, I desire to know WHERE I said so: a mark of his exactness in quoting, when he vouchsafes to do it. For *Unmaskers*, when they turn Disputants, think it the best way to talk at large, and charge home in generals: but do not often find it convenient to quote Pages, set down words, and come to particulars. But if he had quoted my words right, his Answer had been just as pertinent. For I ask him WHERE, in my *Reasonableness of Christianity*, I had said so? and he answers, I had said so in my *Vindication*. For where in my Question refers to my *Reasonableness of Christianity*, which the *Unmasker* had seen, and charg'd with this saying; and could not refer to my *Vindication*, which he had not yet seen, nor to a Passage in it which was not then written. But this is nothing with an *Unmasker*; therefore what is yet worse, those words of mine, *Vindication* p. 29. relate not to the Passage he is here proving I had said, but to another different from it; as different as it is to say, That because all Men are to understand their Religion, therefore there is to be but One Article in it; and to say, that there must be nothing in Christianity that is not plain and exactly levell'd to all Mens Mother Wit: Both which he falls charges on me; but 'tis only to the latter of them, that my words, I desire to know where I said so, are apply'd.

Perhaps the well-meaning Man sees no difference between these two Propositions, yet I shall take the liberty to ask him again, where I said either of them, as if they were two; altho he should accuse me again of excepting against the formality of words, and doing so foolish a thing as to expect, that a disputing *Unmasker* should account for his words, or any Proposition he advances. 'Tis his privilege to plead he did not mean as his words import, and without any more ado he is absolv'd; and he is the same *Unmasker* he was before. But let us hear him out on the Argument he was upon, for his repetitions on it are not yet done. His next words are,

Unm. It is clear then, that you found your ONE Article on this, that it is suited to the vulgar Capacities: whereas the other Articles, mention'd by me, are obscure and ambiguous, and therefore surpass the Comprehension of the illiterate.

Answ. The latter part indeed is now the first time imputed to me; but all the rest is nothing but an unprov'd repetition, tho usher'd in with it is clear then; words that should have a Proof going before them.

Unm. But yet you pretend, that you have forgot that any such thing was said by you.

Answ. I have indeed forgot, and notwithstanding all your pains by so many repetitions to beat it into my Head, I fear I shall never remember it.

Unm. Which shews that you are careless of your words, and that you forget what you writ.

Answ.

Answ. So you told me before, and this repeating of it does no more convince me than that did.

Unm. What shall we say to such an oblivious Author?

Answ. Shew it him in his Book, or else he will never be able to remember that it is there, nor any body else be able to find it.

Unm. He takes no notice of what falls from his own Pen.

Answ. So you have told him more than once. Try him once with shewing it him amongst other things which fell from his own Pen, and see what then he will say: that perhaps may refresh his Memory.

Unm. And therefore within a Page or two he confutes himself, and gives himself the Lye.

Answ. 'Tis a Fault he deserves to be told of over and over again. But he says, he shall not be able to find the two Pages wherein he gives himself the Lye, unless you set down their Numbers, and the Words in them, which confute, and which are confuted.

I beg my Reader's pardon for laying before him so large a Pattern of our *Unmasker's* new-fashion'd Stuff; his fine Tissue of Argumentation not easily to be match'd but by the same Hand. But it lay altogether in p. 26, 27, 28. and it was fit the Reader should have this one instance of the Excellencies he promises in his first Paragraph, in opposition to my *Impertinencies, Incoherencies, weak and feeble Strugglings*. Other Excellencies he there promis'd upon the same ground, which I shall give my Reader a taste of in fit places: Not but that the whole is of a piece, and one cannot miss some of them in every Page; but to transcribe them all, would be more than they are worth. If any one desires more plenty, I send him to his Book it self. But saying a thousand times not being proving once, it remains upon him still to shew,

VII. Where, in my *Reasonableness of Christianity*, I pretend that I contend for one single Article, with the exclusion of all the rest, because all Men ought to understand their Religion.

And in the next place, where it is that I say,

VIII. That there must be nothing in Christianity that is not plain and exactly level to all Mens Mother-Wit.

Let us now return to his 8th Page. For the bundling together, as was fit, all that he has said in distant places upon the Subject of *One Article*, has made me trespass a little against the Jewish Character of a well-bred Man, recommended by him to me out of the *Mishna*. Tho I propose to my self to follow him as near as I can, step by step, as he proceeds.

In the 110th and 111th Pages of his *Thoughts concerning the Causes of Atheism*, he gave us a List of his *Fundamental Articles*: Upon which I thus applied myself to him, *Vind.* p. 5. "Give me leave now to ask you seriously, whether these you have here set down under the Title of *Fundamental Doctrines*, are such (when reduc'd to Propositions) that every one of them is required to make a Man a Christian, and such as without the actual belief thereof, he cannot be sav'd? If they are not so every one of them, you may call them *Fundamental Doctrines* as much as you please, they are not of those Doctrines of Faith, I was speaking of; which are only such as are requir'd to be actually believ'd to make a Man a Christian." And again, *Vindic.* p. 18. I ask'd him whether just these, neither more nor less, were those necessary Articles.

To which we have his Answer, *Socinianism Unmask'd*, p. 8, &c. From p. 8. to 20. he has quoted near forty Texts of Scripture, of which he saith, p. 21. Thus I have briefly set before the Reader those Evangelical Truths, those Christian Principles which belong to the very Essence of Christianity: I have prov'd them to be such, and I have reduc'd most of them to certain Propositions, which is a thing the *Vindicator* call'd for.

Answ. Yes: But that was not all the *Vindicator* call'd for, and had reason to expect. For I ask'd, "Whether those the *Unmasker* gave us in his *Thoughts*

“ concerning the Causes of Atheism, were the Fundamental Doctrines, without an actual Belief whereof, a Man could not be a Christian; just all, neither more nor less?” This I had reason to demand from him, or from any one, who questions that part of my Book, and I shall insist upon it till he does it, or confesses he cannot. For having set down the Articles, which the Scripture, upon a diligent search, seem’d to me to require as necessary, and only necessary; I shall not lose my time in examining what another says against those Fundamentals, which I have gather’d out of the Preachings of our Saviour and his Apostles, till he gives me a List of his Fundamentals which he will bide by; that so by comparing them together, I may see which is the true Catalogue of Necessaries. For after so serious and diligent a Search, which has given me Light and Satisfaction in this great Point, I shall not quit it, and set my self on float again, at the demand of any one who would have me be of his Faith, without telling me what it is. Those Fundamentals the Scripture has so plainly given, and so evidently determin’d, that it would be the greatest Folly imaginable to part with this Rule for asking; and give up my self blindly to the Conduct of one, who either knows not, or will not tell me, what are the Points necessary to be believ’d to make me a Christian. He that shall find fault with my Collection of Fundamentals only to unsettle me, and not to give me a better of his own, I shall not think worth minding, till, like a fair Man, he puts himself upon equal terms, and makes up the Defects of mine by a compleat one of his own. For a Deficiency or Error in one Necessary is as fatal, and as certainly excludes a Man from being a Christian, as in an hundred. When any one offers me a compleat Catalogue of his Fundamentals, he does not unreasonably demand me to quit mine for nothing: I have then one, that being set by mine, I may compare them; and so be able to chuse the true and perfect one, and relinquish the other.

He that does not do this, plainly declares, that (without shewing me the certain way to Salvation) he expects that I should depend on him with an implicit Faith, whilst he reserves to himself the liberty to require of me to believe what he shall think fit, as he sees occasion; and in effect, says thus, “ Distrust those Fundamentals, which the Preaching of our Saviour and his Apostles, have shew’d to be all that is necessary to be believ’d to make a Man a Christian; and tho I cannot tell you, what are those other Articles which are necessary and sufficient to make a Man a Christian, yet take me for your Guide, and that is as good, as if I made up, in a compleat List, the Defects of your Fundamentals”. To which this is a sufficient Answer, *Si quid novisti rectius imperti, si non, his utere mecum.*

The Unmasker of his own accord, p. 110. of his *Thoughts concerning the Causes of Atheism*, sets down several, which he calls *Fundamental Doctrines*. I ask him, whether those be all? For answer, he adds more to them in his *Socinianism Unmask’d*: But in a great Pet refuses to tell me, whether this second List of Fundamentals be compleat: And instead of answering so reasonable a Demand, pays me with ill Language, in these words, pag. 22. subjoin’d to those last quoted, *If what I have said will not content him, I am sure I can do nothing that will; and therefore if he should capriciously require any thing more, it would be as great Folly in me to comply with it, as it is in him to move it.* If I did ask a Question which troubles you, be not so angry; you your self were the occasion of it. I propos’d my Collection of Fundamentals, which I had with great care sought; and thought I had found clear in the Scripture; you tell me no, it is imperfect, and offer me one of your own. I ask whether that be perfect? Thereupon you grow into Choler, and tell me ’tis a foolish Question. Why! then I think it was not very wise in you so forwardly to offer one, unless you had had one ready, not liable to the same exception. Would you have me so foolish to take a List of Fundamentals from you, who have not yet one for your self; nor are yet resolv’d with your self, what Doctrines are to be put in, or left out of it? Farther, pray tell me, if you had a settled Collection of Fundamentals that you would stand to, why should I take them from you upon your word, rather than from an *Anabaptist*, or a *Quaker*, or an *Arminian*, or a *Socinian*, or a *Lutheran*, or a *Papist*; who, I think, are not perfectly agreed with you, or one another in Fundamentals? And yet there is none amongst them,

them, that I have not as much reason to believe upon his bare word, as an *Unmasker*, who to my certain knowledg will make bold with Truth. If you set up for Infallibility, you may have some claim to have your bare Word taken, before any other but the Pope. But yet if you demand to be an unquestionable Proposer of what is absolutely necessary to be believ'd to make a Man a Christian, you must perform it a little better than hitherto you have done. For it is not enough sometimes to give us Texts of Scripture; sometimes Propositions of your own framing, and sometimes Texts of Scripture, out of which they are to be fram'd; as pag. 14. you say, *These (and the like places) afford us such Fundamental and Necessary Doctrines as these:* And again, p. 16. after the naming several other Texts of Scripture, you add, *which places yield us such Propositions as these;* and then in both places set down what you think fit to draw out of them. And Page 15. you have these words: *And here likewise it were easy to shew, that Adoption, Justification, Pardon of Sins, &c. which are Privileges and Benefits bestow'd upon us by the Messiah, are Necessary Matters of our Belief.* By all which, as well as the whole frame, wherein you make shew of giving us your Fundamental Articles, it is plain, that what you have given us there, is nothing less than a compleat Collection of Fundamentals, even in your own Opinion of it.

But, good Sir, why is it a *foolish* Question in me? you have found fault with my Summary for being short: The Defect in my Collection of Necessary Articles has rais'd your Zeal into so severe Censures, and drawn upon me, from you, so heavy a Condemnation, that if half that you have said of me be true, I am in a very ill case, for having so curtail'd the Fundamental Doctrines of Christianity. Is it *folly* then for me to ask from you a compleat Creed? If it be so dangerous (as certainly it is) to fail in any necessary Article of Faith, why is it *folly* in me to be instant with you to give me them all? Or why is it *folly* in you to grant so reasonable a Demand? A short Faith, defective in Necessaries, is no more tolerable in you, than in me; nay, much more inexcusable, if it were for no other reason but this, that you rest in it your self, and would impose it on others; and yet do not your self know, or believe it to be compleat. For if you do, why dare you not say so, and give it us all intire in plain Propositions; and not, as you have in great measure done here, give only the Texts of Scripture, from whence, you say, necessary Articles are to be drawn? which is too great an uncertainty for Doctrines absolutely necessary. For possibly all Men do not understand those Texts alike, and some may draw Articles out of them quite different from your System; and so tho they agree in the same Texts, may not agree in the same Fundamentals: and till you have set down plainly and distinctly your Articles, that you think contain'd in them, cannot tell whether you will allow them to be Christians, or no. For you know, Sir, several Inferences are often drawn from the same Text; and the different Systems of dissenting (I was going to say Christians, but that none must be so, but those who receive your Collection of Fundamentals, when you please to give it them) Professors, are all founded on the Scripture.

Why, I beseech you, is mine a *foolish* Question to ask, What are the necessary Articles of Faith? 'Tis of no less consequence than, nor much different from the Jaylor's Question in the sixteenth of the *Acts*, *What shall I do to be sav'd?* and that was not, that ever I heard, counted by any one a *foolish* Question. You grant, there are Articles necessary to be believ'd for Salvation; would it not then be Wisdom to know them? nay, is it not our Duty to know and believe them? If not, why do you with so much out-cry reprehend me, for not knowing them? Why do you fill your Books with such variety of Invectives, as if you could never say enough, nor bad enough, against me, for having left out some of them? And if it be so dangerous, so criminal to miss any of them, why is it a *folly* in me to move you to give me a compleat List?

If Fundamentals are to be known, easy to be known (as without doubt they are) then a Catalogue may be given of them. But if they are not, if it cannot certainly be determin'd which are they; but the doubtful knowledg of them depends upon Guesses, why may not I be permitted to follow my Guesses as well as you yours? Or why, of all others, must you prescribe your Guesses to me, when there are so many that are as ready to prescribe as you, and of as good

good Authority? The Pretence indeed, and Clamour is Religion, and the Saving of Souls: But your Business 'tis plain is nothing, but to over-rule and prescribe, and be hearken'd to as a Dictator; and not to inform, teach, and instruct in the sure way to Salvation. Why else do you so start and fling, when I desire to know of you, what is necessary to be believed to make a Man a Christian, when this is the only material thing in Controversy between us; and my Mistake in it has made you begin a Quarrel with me, and let loose your Pen against me in no ordinary way of reprehension?

Besides, in this way which you take, you will be in no better a Case than I. For another having as good a Claim to have his Guesses give the Rule, as you yours; or to have his System receiv'd as well as you yours; he will complain of you, as well, and upon as good grounds, as you do of me; and (if he have but as much Zeal for his Orthodoxy as you shew for yours) in as civil, well-bred and Christian-like Language.

In the next place, pray tell me, why would it be *folly* in you to comply with what I require of you? Would it not be useful to me to be set right in this Matter? If so, why is it *folly* in you to set me right? Consider me, if you please, as one of your Parishioners, who (after you have resolv'd which Catalogue of Fundamentals to give him, either that in your *Thoughts of the Causes of Atheism*, or this other here in your *Socinianism Unmask'd*; for they are not both the same, nor either of them perfect) ask'd you, Are these all Fundamental Articles necessary to be believ'd to make a Man a Christian; and are there no more but these? Would you answer him, that it was *folly* in you to comply with him, in what he desir'd? Is it of no moment to know, what is requir'd of Men to be believ'd; without a Belief of which, they are not Christians, nor can be sav'd? And is it *folly* in a Minister of the Gospel, to inform one committed to his Instruction in so material a Point as this, which distinguishes Believers from Unbelievers? Is it *folly* in one whose Business it is to bring Men to be Christians, and to Salvation, to resolve a Question by which they may know, whether they are Christians or no; and without a Resolution of which they cannot certainly know their Condition and the State they are in? Is it besides your Commission and Business, and therefore a *folly*, to extend your care of Souls so far as this, to those who are committed to your Charge?

Sir, I have a Title to demand this of you, as if I were your Parishioner: You have forc'd your self upon me for a Teacher in this very Point, as if you wanted a Parishioner to instruct: and therefore I demand it of you, and shall insist upon it till you either do it, or confess you cannot. Nor shall it excuse you, to say it is *capriciously* requir'd. For this is no otherwise *capricious* than all Questions are *capricious* to a Man that cannot answer them; and such an one I think this is to you. For if you could answer it, no body can doubt but that you would, and that with Confidence: For no body will suspect 'tis the want of that makes you so reserv'd. This is indeed a frequent way of answering Questions by Men, that cannot otherwise cover the Absurdities of their Opinions, and their Insolence of expecting to be believ'd upon their bare words, by saying they are *capriciously* ask'd, and deserv'd no other Answer.

But how far soever *Capriciousness* (when prov'd, for saying is not enough) may excuse from answering a material Question, yet your own words here will clear this from being a *capricious* Question in me. For that those Texts of Scripture which you have set down, do not, upon your own Grounds, contain all the Fundamental Doctrines of Religion, all that is necessary to be believ'd to make a Man a Christian; what you say a little lower, in this very Page, as well as in other places, does demonstrate. Your words are, *I think I have sufficiently prov'd, that there are other Doctrines besides that [Jesus is the Messiah] which are requir'd to be believ'd to make a Man a Christian; why did the Apostles write these Doctrines? Was it not that those they writ to, might give their assent to them?* This Argument, for the necessity of believing the Texts you cite, from their being set down in the New Testament, you urg'd thus, p. 9. *Is this set down to no purpose in these inspir'd Epistles? Is it not requisite that we should know it and believe?* And again, p. 29. *They are in our Bibles to that very purpose to be believ'd.* If then it be necessary to know and believe those Texts of Scrip-

ture,

ture, you have collected, because the Apostles *writ them*, and they were not *set down to no purpose*: And they are in our Bibles on purpose to be believ'd. I have reason to demand of you other Texts, besides those you have enumerated, as containing Points necessary to be believ'd; because there are other Texts which the Apostles *writ*, and were not *set down to no purpose*, and are in our Bibles on purpose to be believ'd, as well as those which you have cited.

Another reason of doubting, and consequently of demanding, whether those Propositions you have set down for Fundamental Doctrines, be every one of them necessary to be believ'd, and all that are necessary to be believ'd to make a Man a Christian, I have from your next Argument; which, join'd to the former, stands thus, p. 22. *Why did the Apostles write these Doctrines? Was it not that those they writ to, might give their Assent to them? Nay, did they not require Assent to them? Yes verily, for this is to be prov'd from the Nature of the things contain'd in those Doctrines, which are such as had immediate respect to the Occasion, Author, Way, Means and Issue of their Redemption and Salvation.* If therefore all things which have an immediate respect to the Occasion, Author, Way, Means, and Issue of Mens Redemption and Salvation, are those, and those only which are necessary to be believ'd to make a Man a Christian; may a Man not justly doubt whether those Propositions which the Unmasker has set down, contain all those things, and whether there be not other things contain'd in other Texts of Scripture, or in some of those cited by him, but otherwise understood, that have as immediately a respect to the Occasion, Author, Way, Means, and Issue of Mens Redemption and Salvation, as those he has set down? And therefore I have reason to demand a compleater List: For at best, to tell us, that all things that have an immediate respect to the Occasion, Author, Way, Means, and Issue of Mens Redemption and Salvation, is but a general Description of Fundamentals, with which some may think some Articles agree, and others others: And the terms, *immediate respect*, may give ground enough for difference about them, to those who agree that the rest of your Description is right. My demand therefore is not a general Description of Fundamentals, but for the Reasons abovemention'd, the particular Articles themselves, which are necessary to be believ'd to make a Man a Christian.

It is not my business at present, to examine the validity of these Arguments of his, to prove all the Propositions to be necessary to be believ'd, which he has here in his *Socinianism Unmask'd*, set down as such. The use I make of them now, is to shew the reason they afford me to doubt, that those Propositions which he has given us for Doctrines necessary to be believ'd, are either not all such, or more than all, by his own Rule: And therefore I must desire him to give us a compleater Creed, that we may know what in his Sense is necessary, and enough to make a Man a Christian.

Nor will it be sufficient in this case to do, what he tells us he has done, in these words, p. 21. *I have briefly set before the Reader these Evangelical Truths, those Christian Principles which belong to the very Essence of Christianity— and I have reduc'd most of them to certain Propositions, which is a thing the Vindicator call'd for*, p. 16. With Submission, I think, he mistakes the Vindicator. What I call'd for was, not that most of them should be reduc'd to certain Propositions, but that all of them should: and the reason of my demanding that, was plain, viz. that then having the Unmasker's Creed in clear and distinct Propositions, I might be able to examine, whether it was what God in the Scriptures indispensibly requir'd of every Man to make him a Christian, that so I might thereby correct the Errors or Defects of what I at present apprehended the Scripture taught me in the case.

The Unmasker endeavours to excuse himself from answering my Question by another exception against it, p. 24. in these words: *Surely none but this Upstart Racovian will have the Confidence to deny, that these Articles of Faith are such as are necessary to constitute a Christian, as to the Intellectual and Doctrinal part of Christianity; such as must IN SOME MEASURE be known and assented to by him. Not that a Man is suppos'd every moment to actually exert his Assent and Belief; for none of the Moral Vertues, none of the Evangelical Graces are exerted thus always. Wherefore that Question in p. 16. (tho he says he asks it seriously) might have been spar'd, "Whether every one of these Fundamentals is requir'd to* " be

"be believ'd to make a Man a Christian, and such as without the actual Belief thereof, he cannot be saved?" *Here is Seriousness pretended when there is none; for the Design is only to cavil, and (if he can) to expose my Assertion. But he is not able to do it, for all his Critical Demands are answer'd in these few words, viz. That the Intellectual (as well as Moral Endowments) are never suppos'd to be always in act: They are exerted upon occasion, not all of them at a time. And therefore he mistakes if he thinks, or rather as he objects without thinking, that these Doctrines, if they be Fundamental and Necessary, must be always actually believ'd. No Man besides himself ever started such a thing.*

This terrible long Combat has the *Unmasker* manag'd with his own Shadow, to confound the *Seriousness* of my Question; and as he says himself, is come off not only safe and sound, but triumphant. But for all that, Sir, may not a Man's Question be *serious*, tho he should chance to express it ill? I think you and I were not best to set up for Criticks in Language, and Nicety of Expression, for fear we should set the World a laughing. Yet for this once I shall take the liberty to defend mine here. For I demand in what Expression of mine, I said or suppos'd that a Man should every moment actually exert his Assent to any Proposition requir'd to be believ'd? Cannot a Man say, that the *Unmasker* cannot be admitted to any Preferment in the Church of England without an *actual Assent* to, or subscribing of the 39 Articles; unless it be suppos'd that he must every moment, from the time he first read, assented to, and subscrib'd those Articles, till he receiv'd Institution and Induction, *actually exert his Assent* to every one of them, and repeat his Subscription? In the same sense it is literally true, that a Man cannot be admitted into the Church of Christ, or into Heaven, without *actually* believing all the Articles necessary to make a Man a Christian, without supposing, that he must *actually exert that Assent every moment*, from the time that he first gave it, till the moment that he is admitted into Heaven. He may eat, drink, make bargains, study *Euclid*, and think of other things between; nay, sometimes sleep, and neither think of those Articles nor any thing else; and yet it be true, that he shall not be admitted into the Church, or Heaven, without an *actual Assent* to them: That Condition of an *actual Assent* he has perform'd, and until he recal that Assent by actual Unbelief, it stands good; and tho a Lunacy or Lethargy should seize on him presently after, and he should never think of it again as long as he liv'd, yet it is literally true, he is not sav'd without an *actual Assent*. You might therefore have spar'd your pains in saying, *That none of the moral Virtues, none of the Evangelical Graces, are exerted THUS always*, till you had met with some body who said *THUS*. That I did so, I think would have enter'd into no body's Thoughts but yours, it being evident from p. 539. of my Book, that by *Actual* I meant *Explicit*. You should rather have given a direct Answer to my Question, which I here again *seriously ask* you, *viz. Whether,*

IX. Those you call'd *Fundamental Doctrines*, in your *Thoughts concerning the Causes of Atheism*, or those *Christian Principles which belong to the very Essence of Christianity*, so many as you have given us of them in your *Socinianism Unmask'd* (for you may take which of your two Creeds you please) are just those, neither more nor less, that are every one of them requir'd to be believ'd to make a Man a Christian, and such as without the actual, or (since that Word displeases you) the explicit Belief whereof he cannot be saved.

When you have answer'd this Question, we shall then see which of us two is nearest the right: But if you shall forbear railing, which I fear you take for arguing, against that Summary of Faith, which our Saviour and his Apostles taught, and which only they propos'd to their Hearers to be believ'd to make them Christians, till you have found another perfect Creed of only necessary Articles, that you dare own for such; you are like to have a large time of Silence. Before I leave the Passage above cited, I must desire the Reader to take notice of what he says concerning his List of Fundamentals, *viz. That these his Articles of Faith, necessary to constitute a Christian, are such as must IN SOME*

SOME MEASURE be known and assented to by him: a very wary Expression concerning Fundamentals. The Question is about Articles necessary to be explicitly believ'd to make a Man a Christian. These in his List, the *Unmasker* tells us, are necessary to constitute a Christian, and must *IN SOME MEASURE* be known and assented to. I would now fain know of the Reader whether he understands hereby, that the *Unmasker* means, That these his necessary Articles must be explicitly believ'd or not! If he means an explicit Knowledg and Belief, why does he puzzle his Reader by so improper a way of speaking? for what is as compleat and perfect as it ought to be, cannot properly be said to be *in some measure*. If his *in some measure* falls short of explicitly knowing and believing his Fundamentals, his necessary Articles are such as a Man may be a Christian without explicitly knowing and believing, *i. e.* are no Fundamentals, no necessary Articles at all. Thus Men, uncertain what to say, betray themselves by their great Caution.

Having pronounc'd it *Folly* in himself to make up the Defects of my short, and therefore so much blam'd Collection of Fundamentals, by a full one of his own, tho his Attempt shews he would if he could, he goes on thus, p. 22. *From what I [the Unmasker] have said, it is evident, that the Vindicator is grossly mistaken when he saith, "Whatever Doctrine the Apostles requir'd to be believ'd to make a Man a Christian, are to be found in those Places of Scripture which he has quoted in his Book."* And a little lower, *I think I have sufficiently prov'd that there are other Doctrines besides that, which are requir'd to be believ'd to make a Man a Christian.* *Answ.* Whatever you have prov'd, or (as you never fail to do) boast you have prov'd, will signify nothing till you have prov'd one of these Propositions; and have shewn either,

X. That what our Saviour and his Apostles preach'd and admitted Men into the Church for believing, is not all that is absolutely requir'd to make a Man a Christian. Or,

That the believing him to be the *Messiah*, was not the only Article they insisted on to those who acknowledg'd one God; and upon the Belief whereof they admitted Converts into the Church, in any one of those many Places quoted by me out of the History of the New Testament.

I say, *any one*: for tho it be evident throughout the whole Gospel, and the *Acts*, that this was the one Doctrine of Faith, which in all their Preachings every where they principally drive at; yet if it were not so, but that in other Places they taught other things, That would not prove, that those other things were Articles of Faith absolutely necessarily requir'd to be believ'd to make a Man a Christian, unless it had been so said. Because if it appears, that ever any one was admitted into the Church, by our Saviour or his Apostles, without having that Article explicitly laid before him, and without his explicit Assent to it, you must grant, that an explicit Assent to that Article is not necessary to make a Man a Christian: unless you will say, that our Saviour and his Apostles admitted Men into the Church, that were not qualify'd with such a Faith, as was absolutely necessary to make a Man a Christian; which is as much as to say, that they allow'd and pronounc'd Men to be Christians, who were not Christians. For he that wants what is necessary to make a Man a Christian, can no more be a Christian, than he that wants what is necessary to make him a Man, can be a Man. For what is necessary to the Being of any thing, is essential to its Being; and any thing may be as well without its Essence, as without any thing that is necessary to its Being: and so a Man be a Man without being a Man, and a Christian a Christian without being a Christian; and an *Unmasker* may prove this without proving it. You may therefore set up, by your unquestionable Authority, what Articles you please, as necessary to be believ'd to make a Man a Christian: If our Saviour and his Apostles admitted Converts into the Church without preaching those your Articles to them, or requiring an explicit Assent to what they did not preach and explicitly lay down, I shall prefer their Authority to yours, and think it was rather by them, than by you, that God promulgated the Law of Faith, and manifested what that Faith was, upon which he would receive penitent Converts.

And tho by his Apostles our Saviour taught a great many other Truths, for the explaining this Fundamental Article of the Law of Faith, that Jesus is the Messiah; some whereof have a nearer, and some a more remote Connection with it, and so cannot be deny'd by any Christian, who sees that Connection, or knows they are so taught: yet an explicit Belief of any one of them is no more necessarily requir'd to make a Man a Christian, than an explicit Belief of all those Truths which have a Connection with the Being of a God, or are reveal'd by him, is necessarily requir'd to make a Man not to be an Atheist: tho none of them can be deny'd by any one, who sees that Connection, or acknowledges that Revelation, without his being an Atheist. All these Truths taught us from God, either by Reason or Revelation, are of great use, to enlighten our Minds, confirm our Faith, stir up our Affections, &c. And the more we see of them, the more we shall see, admire, and magnify the Wisdom, Goodness, Mercy, and Love of God in the Work of our Redemption. This will oblige us to search and study the Scripture, wherein it is contain'd and laid open to us.

All that we find in the Revelation of the New Testament, being the declar'd Will and Mind of our Lord and Master, the *Messiah*, whom we have taken to be our King, we are bound to receive as Right and Truth, or else we are not his Subjects, we do not believe him to be the *Messiah* our King, but cast him off, and with the *Jews* say, we will not have this Man reign over us. But it is still what we find in the Scripture, not in this or that System; what we, sincerely seeking to know the Will of our Lord, discover to be his Mind. Where it is spoken plainly, we cannot miss it; and it is evident he requires our Assent: where there is Obscurity either in the Expressions themselves, or by reason of the seeming Contrariety of other Passages, there a fair Endeavour, as much as our Circumstances will permit, secures us from a guilty Disobedience to his Will, or a sinful Error in Faith, which way soever our Enquiry resolves the Doubt, or perhaps leaves it unresolv'd. If he had requir'd more of us in those Points, he would have declar'd his Will plainer to us, and discover'd the Truth contain'd in those obscure, or seemingly contradictory Places, as clearly, and as uniformly as he did that Fundamental Article, that we were to believe him to be the *Messiah*, our King.

As Men, we have God for our King, and are under the Law of Reason: as Christians, we have *Jesus* the *Messiah* for our King, and are under the Law reveal'd by him in the Gospel. And tho every Christian, both as a *Deist* and a *Christian*, be oblig'd to study both the Law of Nature and the reveal'd Law, that in them he may know the Will of God, and of *Jesus* Christ whom he hath sent; yet in neither of these Laws is there to be found a select Set of Fundamentals, distinct from the rest, which are to make him a *Deist* or a *Christian*. But he that believes one eternal invisible God, his Lord and King, ceases thereby to be an Atheist; and he that believes *Jesus* to be the *Messiah*, his King, ordain'd by God, thereby becomes a Christian, is deliver'd from the Power of Darkness, and is translated into the Kingdom of the Son of God, is actually within the Covenant of Grace, and has that Faith which shall be imputed to him for Righteousness; and if he continues in his Allegiance to this his King, shall receive the Reward, Eternal Life.

He that considers this, will not be so hot as the *Unmasker*, to contend for a Number of Fundamental Articles, all necessary every one of them to be explicitly believ'd, by every one, for Salvation, without knowing them himself, or being able to enumerate them to another. Can there be any thing more absurd, than to say, there are several Fundamental Articles, each of which every Man must explicitly believe upon pain of Damnation, and yet not to be able to say, which they be? The *Unmasker* has set down no small Number; but yet dares not say these are all. On the contrary, he has plainly confess'd there are more; but will not, *i. e.* cannot tell what they are that remain behind: Nay, has given a general Description of his Fundamental Articles, by which it is not evident, but there may be ten times as many as those he had nam'd; and amongst them (if he durst or could name them) probably several, that many a good Christian, who died in the Faith, and is now in Heaven, never once

once thought of; and others, which many, of as good Authority as he, would, from their different Systems, certainly deny and contradict.

This, as great an Absurdity as it is, cannot be otherwise, whilst Men will take upon them to alter the Terms of the Gospel; and when it is evident, that our Saviour and his Apostles receiv'd Men into the Church, and pronounc'd them Believers, for taking him to be the *Messiah*, their King and Deliverer sent by God, have the Boldness to say, this is not enough. But when you would know of them what then is enough, they cannot tell you: The reason whereof is visible, *viz.* because they being able to produce no other reason for their Collection of Fundamental Articles, to prove them necessary to be believ'd, but because they are of Divine Authority, and contain'd in the Holy Scriptures; and are, as the *Unmasker* says, *writ there on purpose to be believ'd*, they know not where to stop, when they have once begun: those Texts that they leave out, or from which they deduce none of their Fundamentals, being of the same Divine Authority, and so upon that account equally Fundamental with what they culled out, tho not so well suited to their particular Systems.

Hence come those endless and unreasonable Contentions about Fundamentals, whilst each censures the Defect, Redundancy, or Falshood of what others require, as necessary to be believ'd: and yet he himself gives not a Catalogue of his own Fundamentals, which he will say is sufficient and compleat. Nor is it to be wonder'd, since in this way it is impossible to stop short of putting every Proposition, Divinely reveal'd, into the List of Fundamentals; all of them being of Divine, and so of equal Authority; and upon that account equally necessary to be believ'd by every one who is a Christian; tho they are not all necessary to be believ'd to make any one a Christian. For the New Testament, containing the Laws of the *Messiah's* Kingdom, in regard of all the Actions both of Mind and Body of all his Subjects; every Christian is bound by his Allegiance to him, to believe all that he says in it to be true, as well as to assent, that all that he commands in it is just and good: And what Negligence, Perverseness, or Guilt there is in his mistaking in the one, or failing in his Obedience to the other, that this Righteous Judge of all Men, who cannot be deceiv'd, will at the last Day lay open, and reward accordingly.

'Tis no wonder therefore, there have been such fierce Contests, and such cruel Havock made amongst Christians about Fundamentals; whilst every one would set up his System upon pain of Fire and Faggot in this, and Hell-Fire in the other World: tho at the same time, whilst he is exercising the utmost Barbarities against others, to prove himself a true Christian, he professes himself so ignorant that he cannot tell, or so uncharitable that he will not tell what Articles are absolutely necessary and sufficient to make a Man a Christian. If there be any such Fundamentals, as tis certain there are, 'tis as certain they must be very plain. Why then does every one urge and make a stir about Fundamentals, and no body give a List of them? But because (as I have said) upon the usual Grounds, they cannot: For I will be bold to say, that every one, who considers the matter, will see, that either only the Article, of his being the *Messiah* their King, which alone our Saviour and his Apostles preach'd to the Unconverted World, and receiv'd those that believ'd it into the Church, is the only necessary Article to be believ'd by a *Theist*, to make him a Christian; or else that all the Truths, contain'd in the New Testament, are necessary Articles to be believ'd to make a Man a Christian: and that between these two it is impossible any where to stand; the reason whereof is plain. Because either the believing *Jesus* to be the *Messiah*, *i. e.* the taking him to be our King, makes us Subjects and Denizens of his Kingdom, that is, Christians: or else an explicit knowledg of, and actual obedience to the Laws of his Kingdom, is what is requir'd to make us Subjects; which, I think, is what was never said of any other Kingdom. For a Man must be a Subject, before he is bound to obey.

Let us suppose it will be said here, that an Obedience to the Laws of Christ's Kingdom is what is necessary to make us Subjects of it, without which we cannot be admitted into it, *i. e.* be Christians: And if so, this Obedience must be universal; I mean, it must be the same sort of Obedience to all the

Laws of this Kingdom: which, since no body says is in any one such as is wholly free from Error or Frailty, this Obedience can only lie in a sincere Disposition and Purpose of Mind to obey every one of the Laws of the *Messiah* deliver'd in the New Testament, to the utmost of our power. Now believing right being one part of that Obedience, as well as acting right is the other part, the Obedience of Assent must be implicitly to all that is deliver'd there, that it is true. But for as much as the particular Acts of an explicit Assent cannot go any farther than his Understanding, who is to assent; what he understands to be the Truth deliver'd by our Saviour, or the Apostles commission'd by him, and assisted by his Spirit, that he must necessarily believe: It becomes a Fundamental Article to him, and he cannot refuse his Assent to it, without renouncing his Allegiance. For he that denies any of the Doctrines, that Christ has deliver'd, to be true, denies him to be sent from God, and consequently to be the Messiah; and so ceases to be a Christian. From whence it is evident, that if any more be necessary to be believ'd to make a Man a Christian, than the believing *Jesus* to be the *Messiah*, and thereby taking him for our King, it cannot be any set bundle of Fundamentals cull'd out of the Scripture, with an Omission of the rest, according as best suits any one's Fancy, System, or Interest: But it must be an explicit Belief of all those Propositions, which he, according to the best of his Understanding, really apprehends to be contain'd, and meant in the Scripture; and an implicit Belief of all the rest, which he is ready to believe, as soon as it shall please God, upon his use of the means, to enlighten him, and make them clear to his Understanding. So that in effect, almost every particular Man in this sense has, or may have a distinct Catalogue of Fundamentals, each whereof it is necessary for him explicitly to believe, now that he is a Christian; whereof if he should disbelieve, or deny any one, he would cast off his Allegiance, disfranchise himself, and be no longer a Subject of Christ's Kingdom. But in this sense no body can tell what is Fundamental to another, what is necessary for another Man to believe. This Catalogue of Fundamentals every one alone can make for himself: No body can fix it for him; no body can collect or prescribe it to another: but this is according as God has dealt to every one the measure of Light and Faith; and has open'd each Man's Understanding, that he may understand the Scriptures. Whoever has us'd what means he is capable of, for the informing of himself, with a readiness to believe and obey what shall be taught and prescrib'd by *Jesus* his Lord and King, is a true and faithful Subject of *Christ's* Kingdom; and cannot be thought to fail in any thing necessary to Salvation.

Supposing a Man and his Wife, barely by seeing the wonderful things that *Moses* did, should have been persuaded to put themselves under his Government; or by reading his Law, and liking it; or by any other Motive, had been prevail'd on sincerely to take him for their Ruler and Lawgiver; and accordingly (renouncing their former Idolatry and heathenish Pollutions) in token thereof had by Baptism and Circumcision, the initiating Ceremonies, solemnly enter'd themselves into that Communion under the Law of *Moses*: had they not thereby been made Denizens of the Commonwealth of *Israel*, and invested with all the Privileges and Prerogatives of true Children of *Abraham*, leaving to their Posterity a right to their share in the promis'd Land, tho they had died before they had perform'd any other Act of Obedience to that Law; nay, tho they had not known whose Son *Moses* was, nor how he had deliver'd the Children of *Israel* out of *Egypt*, nor whither he was leading them? I do not say, it is likely they should be so far ignorant: but whether they were or no, 'twas enough that they took him for their Prince and Ruler, with a purpose to obey him, to submit themselves entirely to his Commands and Conduct; and did nothing afterwards, whereby they disown'd or rejected his Authority over them. In that respect none of his Laws were greater or more necessary to be submitted to one than another, tho the Matter of one might be of much greater Consequence than of another. But a Disobedience to any Law of the least Consequence, if it carry with it a disowning of the Authority that made it, forfeits all, and cuts off such an Offender from that Commonwealth, and all the Privileges of it.

This

This is the Case, in respect of other Matters of Faith, to those who believe *Jesus* to be the *Messiah*, and take him to be their King sent from God, and so are already *Christians*. 'Tis not the opinion, that any one may have of the weightiness of the Matter, (if they are, without their own Fault, ignorant that our Saviour hath revealed it) that shall disfranchise them, and make them forfeit their Interest in his Kingdom: they may be still good Subjects, tho they do not believe a great many things, which Creed-makers may think necessary to be believed. That which is required of them, is a sincere Endeavour to know his Mind declared in the Gospel, and an explicit Belief of all that they understand to be so. Not to believe what he has reveal'd, whether in a lighter or more weighty Matter, calls his Veracity into question, destroys his Mission, denies his Authority, and is a flat disowning him to be the *Messiah*; and so overturns that Fundamental and Necessary Article whereby a Man is a Christian. But this cannot be done by a Man's Ignorance, or unwilling Mistake of any of the Truths publish'd by our Saviour himself, or his authorized and inspired Ministers in the New Testament. Whilst a Man knows not that it was his Will or Meaning, his Allegiance is safe, tho he believe the contrary.

If this were not so, it is impossible, that any one should be a Christian. For in some things we are ignorant, and err all, not knowing the Scriptures. For the holy inspired Writings, being all of the same Divine Authority, must all equally in every Article be fundamental and necessary to be believed; if that be a reason, that makes any one Proposition in it necessary to be believed. But the Law of Faith, the Covenant of the Gospel, being a Covenant of Grace, and not of natural Right or Debt; nothing can be absolutely necessary to be believed, but what, by this new Law of Faith, God of his good Pleasure hath made to be so. And this, 'tis plain, by the Preaching of our Saviour and his Apostles, to all that believed not already in him, was only the believing the only true God, and *Jesus* to be the *Messiah*, whom he hath sent. The Performance of this puts a Man within the Covenant, and is that which God will impute to him for Righteousness. All the other Acts of Assent to other Truths, taught by our Saviour, and his Apostles, are not what make a Man a Christian; but are necessary Acts of Obedience to be performed by one, who is a Christian; and therefore being a Christian, ought to live by the Laws of Christ's Kingdom.

Nor are we without some glimpse of Light, why it hath pleased God of his Grace, that the believing *Jesus* to be the *Messiah* should be that Faith which he would impute to Men for Righteousness. 'Tis evident from Scripture, that our Saviour despised the Shame and endured the Cross for the Joy set before him; which Joy, 'tis also plain, was a Kingdom. But in this Kingdom, which his Father had appointed to him, he could have none but voluntary Subjects; such as leaving the Kingdom of Darkness, and of the Prince of this World, with all the Pleasures, Poms and Vanities thereof, would put themselves under his Dominion, and translate themselves into his Kingdom: which they did by believing and owning him to be the *Messiah* their King, and thereby taking him to rule over them. For the Faith for which God justifieth, is not an empty Speculation, but a Faith join'd with Repentance, and working by Love. And for this, which was in effect to return to God himself, and to their natural Allegiance due to him, and to advance as much as lay in them the Glory of the Kingdom, which he had promised his Son, God was pleased to declare he would accept them, receive them to Grace, and blot out all their former Transgressions.

This is evidently the Covenant of Grace as deliver'd in the Scriptures: and if this be not, I desire any one to tell me what it is, and what are the Terms of it. 'Tis a Law of Faith, whereby God has promised to forgive all our Sins upon our Repentance, and believing something; and to impute that Faith to us for Righteousness. Now I ask what 'tis by the Law of Faith we are required to believe? For till that be known, the Law of Faith is not distinctly known, nor the Terms of the Covenant upon which the All-merciful God graciously offers us Salvation. And if any one will say this is not known, nay, is not easily, and certainly to be known under the Gospel,

pel, I desire him to tell me what the greatest Enemies of Christianity can say worse against it? For a way propos'd to Salvation, that does not certainly lead thither, or is propos'd so as not to be known, are very little different as to their consequence; and Mankind would be left to wander in Darkness and Uncertainty with the one as well as the other.

I do not write this for Controversy's sake; for had I minded Victory, I would not have given the *Unmasker* this new Matter of exception. I know what ever is said, he must be bawling for his fashionable and profitable Orthodoxy, and cry out against this too which I have here added, as *Socinianism*, and cast that Name upon all that differs from what is held by those, he would recommend his Zeal to in Writing. I call it *bawling*, for whether what he has said be Reasoning, I shall refer to those of his own Brotherhood, if he be of any Brotherhood, and there be any that will join with him in his Set of Fundamentals, when his Creed is made.

Had I minded nothing but how to deal with him, I had tied him up short to his List of Fundamentals, without affording him Topicks of declaiming against what I have here said. But I have enlarged on this point, for the sake of such Readers, who with a love of Truth read Books of this kind, and endeavour to inform themselves in the things of their everlasting concernment: It being of greater consideration with me, to give any light and satisfaction to one single Person, who is really concerned to understand, and be convinced of the Religion he professes, than what a thousand fashionable or titular Professors of any sort of Orthodoxy shall say or think of me, for not doing as they do; *i. e.* for not saying after others, without understanding what is said, or upon what Grounds, or caring to understand it.

Let us now consider his Argument, to prove the Articles he has given us to be Fundamentals. In his *Thoughts concerning the Causes of Atheism*, p. 119. he argues from 1 Tim. 3. 16. where, he says, *Christianity is called a Mystery*; that *all things in Christianity are not plain, and exactly level to every common Apprehension*; that *every thing in Christianity is not clear, and intelligible and comprehensible by the weakest Noddle*. Let us take this for proved, as much as he pleases; and then let us see the Force of this subtle Disputant's Argument, for the Necessity there is, that every Christian Man should believe those, which he has given us for Fundamental Articles out of the Epistles. The Reason of that Obligation, and the Necessity of every Man and Woman's believing them, he has laid in this, that they are to be found in the *Epistles*, or in the *Bible*. This Argument for them we have over and over again in his *Socinianism Unmask'd*, as here, p. 9. thus: *Are they set down to no purpose in these inspired Epistles? Why did the Apostles write these Doctrines, was it not, that those they writ to, might give their Assent to them?* p. 22. *They are in our Bibles for that very purpose to be believed.* p. 25. Now I ask, can any one more directly invalidate all he says here for the necessity of believing his Articles? Can any one more apparently write booty, than by saying that *these his Doctrines, these his Fundamental Articles* (which are after his fashion set down between the 8th and 20th Pages of this his first Chapter) are of necessity to be believed by every one, before he can be a Christian, because they are in the *Epistles* and in the *Bible*; and yet affirm that in Christianity, *i. e.* in the *Epistles* and in the *Bible* there are *Mysteries*, there are things *not plain, not clear, not intelligible to common Apprehensions*? If his Articles, some of which contain Mysteries, are necessary to be believed to make a Man a Christian, because they are in the *Bible*; then according to this Rule it is necessary for many Men to believe, what is not *intelligible* to them; what their *Noddles* cannot apprehend (as the *Unmasker* is pleas'd to turn the Supposition of vulgar Peoples understanding the Fundamentals of their Religion into ridicule) *i. e.* it is necessary for many Men to do, what is impossible for them to do, before they can be Christians. But if there be several things in the *Bible*, and in the *Epistles*, that it is not necessary for Men to believe, to make them Christians; then all the *Unmasker's* Arguments from their being in the *Epistles*, is no Proof, that all his Articles are necessary to be believed to make a Man a Christian, because they are set down in the *Epistles*: much less, because he thinks they may be drawn, according to his System,

System, out of what is set down in the Epistles. Let him therefore either confess these and the like Questions, *Why did the Apostles write these? was it not, that those they writ to, might give their assent to them? Why should not every one of these Evangelical Truths be believed and embraced? They are in our Bibles for that very purpose; and the like, to be impertinent and ridiculous.* Let him cease to propose them with so much Ostentation, for they can serve only to mislead unwary Readers: or let him unsay what he has said of things *not plain to common Apprehensions, not clear and intelligible.* Let him recant what he has said of *Mysteries* in Christianity. For I ask with him, p. 8. *where can we be informed, but in the sacred and inspired Writings?* It is ridiculous to urge, that any thing is necessary to be explicitly believed, to make a Man a Christian, because it is writ in the *Epistles* and in the *Bible*; unless he confess that there is no *Mystery*, no thing not plain nor intelligible to vulgar Understanding, in the Epistles or in the Bible.

This is so evident, that the *Unmasker* himself, who p. 119. of his *Thoughts concerning the Causes of Atheism*, thought it ridiculous to suppose, that the *Vulgar* should understand Christianity, is here of another mind: And, p. 30. says of his Evangelical Doctrines and Articles necessary to be assented to, that they are *intelligible and plain*; there is no *Ambiguity and Doubtfulness* in them; *they shine with their own Light, and to an unprejudic'd Eye are plain, evident and illustrious.*

To draw the *Unmasker* out of the Clouds, and prevent his hiding himself in the Doubtfulness of his Expressions, I shall desire him to say directly whether the Articles, which are necessary to be believed, to make a Man a Christian, and particularly those he has set down for such, are all plain and intelligible, and such as may be understood and comprehended (I will not say in the *Unmasker's* ridiculous way, by the *weakest Noddles*, but) by every illiterate Countryman and Woman capable of Church-Communion?

If he says, yes; then all Mysteries are excluded out of his Articles necessary to be believed to make a Man a Christian. For that which can be comprehended by every Day-Labourer, every poor Spinster, that is a Member of the Church, cannot be a Mystery. And if what such illiterate People cannot understand, be required to be believed to make them Christians, the greatest part of Mankind are shut out from being Christians.

But the *Unmasker* has provided an Answer in these words, p. 31. *There is, says he, a difficulty in the Doctrine of the Trinity, and several Truths of the Gospel, as to the exact manner of the things themselves, which we shall never be able to comprehend, at least on this side of Heaven: But there is no difficulty as to the reality and certainty of them, because we know they are revealed to us by God in the Holy Scripture.*

Which Answer of *Difficulty in the Manner*, and no *Difficulty in the Reality*, having the appearance of a Distinction, looks like Learning; but when it comes to be applied to the case in hand, will scarce afford us Sense.

The Question is about a Proposition to be believed, which must first necessarily be understood. For a Man cannot possibly give his assent to any Affirmation or Negation, unless he understand the Terms as they are join'd in that Proposition, and has a Conception of the thing affirm'd or deny'd, and also a Conception of the thing concerning which it is affirm'd or deny'd, as they are there put together. But let the Proposition be what it will, there is no more to be understood than is expressed in the Terms of that Proposition. If it be a Proposition concerning a Matter of Fact, 'tis enough to conceive, and believe the Matter of Fact. If it be a Proposition concerning the Manner of the Fact, the Manner of the Fact must also be believed, as 'tis intelligibly expressed in that Proposition; *v. g.* should this Proposition *οὐκ ἐστὶν ἔσχατος* be offer'd as an Article of Faith to an illiterate Countryman of *England*, he could not believe it: Because, tho a true Proposition, yet it being propos'd in words whose meaning he understood not, he could not give any assent to it. Put it into English, he understands what is meant by the *Dead shall rise*. For he can conceive, that the same Man, who was dead and senseless, should be alive again; as well as he can, that the same Man, who is now in a Lethargy, should awake again; or the same Man that is now out of

of his sight, and he knows not whether he be alive or dead, should return and be with him again: And so he is capable of believing it, tho he conceives nothing of the manner how a Man revives, wakes, or moves. But none of these Manners of those Actions being included in those Propositions, the Proposition concerning the Matter of Fact (if it imply no contradiction in it) may be believed; and so all that is required may be done, whatever difficulty may be, *as to the exact manner how it is brought about.*

But where the Proposition is about the Manner, the Belief too must be of the Manner. *v. g.* The Article is, *The Dead shall be raised with spiritual Bodies*: And then the Belief must be as well of this Manner of the Fact, as of the Fact it self. So that what is said here by the *Unmasker* about the *Manner*, signifies nothing at all in the case. What is understood to be expressed in each Proposition, whether it be of the Manner or not of the Manner, is (by its being a Revelation from God) to be believed, as far as it is understood: But no more is required to be believed concerning any Article, than is contain'd in that Article.

What the *Unmasker*, for the removing of Difficulties, adds farther in these words, *But there is no difficulty as to the Reality and Certainty of the Truths of the Gospel; because we know, they are revealed to us by God in the Holy Scripture*: is yet farther from signifying any thing to the purpose, than the former. The Question is about understanding; and, in what sense they are understood, believing several Propositions, or Articles of Faith, which are to be found in the Scripture. To this, the *Unmasker* says, there can be no difficulty at all *as to their Reality and Certainty; because they are revealed by God.* Which amounts to no more but this, that there is no difficulty at all in understanding and believing this Proposition, *that whatever is reveal'd by God is really and certainly true.* But is the understanding and believing this single Proposition, the understanding and believing all the Articles of Faith necessary to be believed? Is this all the explicit Faith a Christian need have? If so, then a Christian need explicitly believe no more but this one Proposition, *viz.* That all the Propositions between the two Covers of his Bible are certainly true. But I imagine the *Unmasker* will not think the believing this one Proposition is a sufficient belief of all those Fundamental Articles, which he has given us as necessary to be believed to make a Man a Christian. For if that will serve the turn, I conclude he may make his Set of Fundamentals as large and express to his System as he pleases: *Calvinists, Arminians, Anabaptists, Socinians,* will all thus own the belief of them; *viz.* That all that God has revealed in the Scripture is really and certainly true.

But if believing this Proposition, that all that is reveal'd by God in the Scripture is true, be not all the Faith which the *Unmasker* requires, what he says about the *Reality and Certainty* of all Truths reveal'd by God removes nothing of the Difficulty. A Proposition of Divine Authority is found in the Scripture: 'tis agreed presently between him and me, that it contains a *real certain Truth*: But the difficulty is, what is the Truth it contains, to which he and I must assent; *v. g.* The Profession of Faith made by the Eunuch in these words, *Jesus Christ is the Son of God*, upon which he was admitted into the Church as a Christian, I believe contains a *real and certain Truth*. Is that enough? No says the *Unmasker*, p. 87. *it includes in it that Christ was God*; and therefore it is not enough for me to believe, that these words contain a *real certain Truth*: But I must believe they contain this Truth, that Jesus Christ is God; that the Eunuch spoke them in that sense, and in that sense I must assent to them: Whereas they appear to me to be spoken, and meant here, as well as in several other places of the New Testament, in this sense, *viz.* *That Jesus Christ is the Messiah*, and in that sense in this place I assent to them. The meaning then of these words as spoken by the Eunuch, is the difficulty: and I desire the *Unmasker*, by the Application of what he has said here, to remove that difficulty. For granting all Revelation from God to be *really and certainly true* (as certainly it is) how does the believing that general Truth remove any difficulty about the sense and interpretation of any particular Proposition found in any passage of the Holy Scriptures? Or is it possible for any Man to understand it in one sense, and believe it in another;

another; because it is a Divine Revelation, that has *Reality* and *Certainty* in it? Thus much as to what the *Unmasker* says of the Fundamentals he has given us, p. 30. viz. That no true Lover of God and Truth need doubt of any of them: For there is no Ambiguity and Doubtfulness in them. If the Distinction he has used of Difficulty as to the exact Manner, and Difficulty as to the Reality and Certainty of Gospel-Truths, will remove all Ambiguity and Doubtfulness from all those Texts of Scripture, from whence he and others deduce Fundamental Articles, so that they will be plain and intelligible to every Man in the sense he understands them; he has done great Service to Christianity.

But he seems to distrust that himself, in the following words. *They shine*, says he, *with their own light, and to an unprejudic'd eye are plain, evident and illustrious; and they would always continue so, if some ill-minded Men did not perplex and entangle them.* I see the Matter would go very smooth, if the *Unmasker* might be the sole authentick Interpreter of Scripture. He is wisely of that Judg's Mind, who was against hearing the Counsel on the other side, because they always perplexed the Cause.

But if those who differ from the *Unmasker*, shall in their turns call him the *Prejudiced* and *Ill-minded Man*, who perplexes these Matters (as they may with as much Authority as he) we are but where we were; each must understand for himself the best he can, till the *Unmasker* be received as the only unprejudic'd Man, to whose Dictates every one without Examination is with an implicit Faith to submit.

Here again, p. 32. the *Unmasker* puts upon me what I never said: and therefore I must desire him to shew, where it is, that I pretend,

XI. That this Proposition, that Jesus is the Messiah, is more intelligible than any of those he has named.

In his *Thoughts concerning the Causes of Atheism*, p. 120. he argues, that this Proposition [*Jesus is the Messiah*] has more difficulty in it than the Article of the Holy Trinity. And his Proofs are worthy of an *Unmasker*. For, says he, here is an Hebrew word first to be explain'd; or (as he has this strong Argument again, *Socinianism Unmask'd*, p. 32.) Here first the Name *Jesus*, which is of Hebrew extraction, tho' since Greciz'd, must be expounded.

Ans. *Jesus* being a proper Name, only denoting a certain Person, needs not to be expounded, of what Extraction soever it be. Is this Proposition, *Jonathan* was the Son of *Saul* King of *Israel*, any thing the harder, because the three proper Names in it, *Jonathan*, *Saul* and *Israel*, are of Hebrew Extraction? And is it not as easy and as level to the understanding of the *Vulgar* as this, *Arthur* was the Son of *Henry* King of *England*; tho' neither of these Names be of Hebrew Extraction? Or cannot any *Vulgar Capacity* understand this Proposition, *John Edwards* writ a Book, Intituled, *Socinianism Unmask'd*; till the Name *John*, which is of Hebrew Extraction, be explained to him? If this be so, Parents were best beware how hereafter they give their Children Scripture-Names, if they cannot understand what they say to one another about them, till these Names of Hebrew Extraction are expounded to them; and every Proposition, that is in Writings and Contracts made concerning Persons, that have Names of Hebrew Extraction, become thereby as hard to be understood as the Doctrine of the Holy Trinity.

His next Argument is just of the same size. The word *Messias* must, he says, be explained too. Of what Extraction soever it be, there needs no more Explication of it than what our *English Bible* gives of it, where it is plain to any *vulgar Capacity*, that it was used to denote that King and Deliverer whom God had promised. So that this Proposition, *Jesus is the Messiah*, has no more difficulty in it, than this, *Jesus* is the promised King and Deliverer; or than this, *Cyrus* was King and Deliverer of *Persia*: Which I think requires not much depth of Hebrew to be understood. He that understood this Proposition, and took *Cyrus* for his King, was a Subject and a Member of his Kingdom; and he that understands the other, and takes *Jesus* to be his King, is his Subject and a Member of his Kingdom. But if this be as hard as it is to some Men to understand the Doctrine of the Trinity, I fear many

of the Kings in the World have but few true Subjects. To believe Jesus to be the *Messiah*, is (as he has been told over and over again) to take him for our King and Ruler, promised and sent by God. This is that, which will make any one from a *Jew* or *Heathen* to be a *Christian*. In this sense it is very intelligible to *vulgar Capacities*. Those who so understand and believe it, are so far from pronouncing those words as a *Spell* (as the *Unmasker* ridiculously suggests, p. 33.) that they thereby become Christians.

But what if I tell the *Unmasker*, that there is one Mr. Edwards, who (when he speaks his Mind, without considering how it will make for or against him) in another place, thinks this Proposition, *Jesus is the Messiah*, very easy and intelligible? To convince him of it, I shall desire him to turn to the 74th Page of his *Socinianism Unmask'd*, where he will find that Mr. Edwards, without any great search into Hebrew Extractions, interprets *Jesus the Messiah* to signify this, *That Jesus of Nazareth was that eminent and extraordinary Person prophesied of long before, and that he was sent and commissioned by God*: Which, I think, is no very hard Proposition to be understood. But it is no strange thing, that that which was very easy to an *Unmasker* in one place, should be terrible hard in another; where want of something better requires to have it so.

Another Argument that he uses to prove the Articles he has given us to be necessary to Salvation, (p. 22.) is, because they are Doctrines which contain things, that in their Nature have an immediate respect to the *Occasion, Author, Way, End, Means, and Issue of Mens Redemption and Salvation*. And here I desire him to prove,

XII. That every one of his Articles contains things so immediately relating to the *Occasion, Author, Way, Means, and Issue of our Redemption and Salvation*, that no body can be sav'd without understanding the Texts from whence he draws them, in the very same Sense that he does; and explicitly believing all these Propositions that he has deduc'd, and all that he will deduce from Scripture, when he shall please to compleat his Creed.

Page 23. He says of his Fundamentals, *Not without good reason THEREFORE I call'd them Essential and Integral parts of our Christian and Evangelical Faith*: And why the *Vindicator* fleers at these terms, p. 549. I know no reason, but that he cannot confuse the Application of them.

Ans. One would think by the word *therefore*, which he uses here, that in the precedent Paragraph, he had produc'd some reason to justify his ridiculous use of those Terms in his *Thoughts concerning Atheism*, p. 111. But nothing therein will be found tending to it. Indeed the foregoing Paragraph begins with these words, *Thus I have briefly set before the Reader those Evangelical Truths, those Christian Principles which belong to the very Essence of Christianity*. Amongst these there is the word *Essence*: But that from thence, or any thing else in that Paragraph, the *Unmasker* could with good Sense, or any Sense at all, infer as he does, *not without good reason, THEREFORE I called them the ESSENTIAL and INTEGRAL parts of our Christian and Evangelical Faith*; requires an extraordinary sort of Logick to make out. What, I beseech you, is your *good reason* too here, upon which you infer *Therefore*, &c? For it is impossible for any one but an *Unmasker*, to find one word justifying his use of the Terms *Essential* and *Integral*. But it would be a great restraint to the running of the *Unmasker's* Pen, if you should not allow him the free use of illative Particles, where there are no Premises to support them: And if you should not take Affirmations without Proof for reasoning, you at once strike off above three quarters of his Book; and he will often, for several Pages together, have nothing to say. As for Example, from p. 28. to p. 35.

But to shew that I did not without reason say, his use of the Terms *Essential* and *Integral*, in the place before quoted, was ridiculous; I must mind my Reader, that p. 109. of his *Thoughts concerning the Causes of Atheism*, he having said, that the *Epistolary Writings are fraught with other Fundamentals besides that one which I mention*; and then having set them down, he closes his Catalogue of them thus: *These are Matters of Faith contain'd in the Epistles, and they are Essential*

Essential and Integral parts of the Gospel it self, p. 111. Now what could be more ridiculous, than where the Question is about Fundamental Doctrines, which are the *Essentials* of Christian Religion, without an Assent to which a Man cannot be a Christian; and so he himself calls them, p. 21. of his *Socinianism Unmask'd*; that he should close the List he had made of *Fundamental Doctrines*, i. e. *Essential Points of the Christian Religion*; with telling his Reader, *These are Essential and Integral parts of the Gospel it self*? i. e. These which I have given you for *Fundamental*, for *Essential Doctrines* of the Gospel, are the *Fundamental* and not *Fundamental*, *Essential* and not *Essential* parts of the Gospel mix'd together. For *Integral* parts, in all the Writers I have met with, besides the *Unmasker*, are contra-distinguish'd to *Essential*; and signify such Parts as the thing can be without, but without them will not be so compleat and intire as with them. Just such an acuteness, as our *Unmasker*, would any one shew, who taking upon him to set down the parts *Essential* to a Man, without the having of which he could not be a Man, should name the Soul, the Head, the Heart, Lungs, Stomach, Liver, Spleen, Eyes, Ears, Tongue, Arms, Legs, Hair and Nails: and to make all sure, should conclude with these words; *These are Parts contain'd in a Man, and are Essential and Integral Parts of a Man himself*; i. e. They are Parts, without some of which he cannot be a Man; and others, which tho they make the Man intire, yet he may be a Man without them: As a Man ceases not to be a Man, tho he want a Nail, a Finger, or an Arm, which are *Integral Parts* of a Man. *Risum teneatis*? If the *Unmasker* can make any better Sense of his *Essential and Integral Parts of the Gospel it self*, I will ask his Pardon for my Laughing: till then he must not be angry, if the Reader and I laugh too. Besides, I must tell him, that those which he has set down are not the *Integral Parts of the Christian Faith*, any more than the Head, the Trunk, and the Arms, Hands and Thighs are the *Integral Parts* of a Man: For a Man is not intire without the Legs and Feet too. They are some of the *Integral Parts* indeed; but cannot be call'd the *Integral Parts*, where any that go to make up the whole Man are left out: nor those the *Integral*, but some of the *Integral Parts* of the Christian Faith, out of which any of the Doctrines propos'd in the New Testament are omitted: For whatever is there propos'd, is propos'd to be believ'd, and so is a part of the Christian Faith.

Before I leave his Catalogue of the *Essential and Integral Parts* of the Gospel, which he has given us, instead of one containing the Articles necessary to be believ'd to make a Man a Christian, I must take notice of what he says, whilst he is making it, p. 9. *Why then is there a Treatise publish'd, to tell the World that the bare Belief of a Messiah is all that is requir'd of a Christian*? As if there were no difference between believing a *Messiah*, and believing *Jesus* to be the *Messiah*; no difference between *requir'd of a Christian*, and *requir'd to make a Man a Christian*. As if you should say, renouncing his former Idolatry, and being circumcis'd and baptiz'd into *Moses*, was all that was requir'd to make a Man an *Israelite*; therefore it was all that was requir'd of an *Israelite*. For these two *Faithhoods* has he, in this one short Sentence, thought fit sily to father upon me, the *humble Imitator of the Jesuits*, as he is pleas'd to call me. And therefore I must desire him to shew,

XIII. Where the *World* is told in the *Treatise* that I publish'd, *That the bare Belief of a Messiah is all that is requir'd of a Christian*?

The six next Pages, i. e. from the twenty eighth to the end of his Second Chapter, being taken up with nothing but Pulpit Oratory out of its place; and without any reply, apply'd or applicable to any thing I have said in my *Vindication*, I shall pass by, till he shews any thing in them that is so.

In Page 36. this Giant in Argument, falls on me, and mauls me unmercifully about the Epistles. He begins thus: *The Gentleman is not without his Evasions, and he sees it is high time to make use of them. This puts him in some disorder. For when he comes to speak of my mentioning his ill treatment of the Epistles—you may observe, that he begins to grow warmer than before. Now this meek Adam is nettled, and one may perceive he is sensible of the Scandal that he hath given to good People, by his slighting the Epistolary Writings of the Holy Apostles; yet*

he is so cunning as to disguise his Passion as well as he can. Let all this impertinent and inconsistent Stuff be so. I am angry and cannot disguise it, I am *cunning* and would disguise it; but yet the quick-sighted *Unmasker* has found me out, that I am *nettled*. What does all this notable Prologue of *Hicinus Doctius*, of a *Cunning Man*, and in effect *no Cunning Man*, in disorder, warm'd, nettled, in a *Passion*, tend to? but to shew, that these following words of mine, p. 549. of my *Vindication*, viz. "I require you to publish to the World those Passages which shew my Contempt of the Epistles," are so full of Heat and Disorder, that they need no other Answer. But what need I, good Sir, do this, when you have done it your self? A Reply, I own, very soft; and whether I may not say, very silly, let the Reader judg. The *Unmasker* having accus'd me of contemning the Epistles, my Reply in my *Vindication*, *ibid.* was thus: "Sir, when your angry Fit is over, and the abatement of your Passion has given way to the return of your Sincerity, I shall beg you to read this Passage in the 539th Page of my Book. These holy Writers (*viz.* the Penmen of the Epistles) inspir'd from above, writ nothing but Truth; and in most places very weighty Truths to us now, for the expounding, clearing, and confirming of the Christian Doctrine, and establishing those in it who had imbrac'd it. And again, *ibid.* The other Parts [*i. e.* besides the Gospels and the Acts] of *DIVINE REVELATION* are Objects of Faith, and are so to be receiv'd; they are Truths, of which none that is once known to be such, *i. e.* reveal'd, may, or ought to be believ'd. And if this does not satisfy you that I have as high a Veneration for the Epistles as you, or any one can have, I require you to publish to the World those *PASSAGES* which shew my Contempt of them." After such direct words of mine, expressing my Veneration for that part of Divine Revelation which is contain'd in the Epistles, any one but an *Unmasker* would blush to charge me with Contempt of them; without alledging, when summon'd to it, any word in my Book to justify that charge.

If hardness of Forehead were strength of Brains, 'twere two to one of his side against any Man I ever yet heard of. I require him to publish to the World those *Passages* that shew my Contempt of the Epistles; and he answers me, *He need not do it, for I have done it my self.* Whoever had common Sense would understand, that what I demanded was, that he should shew the World where, amongst all I had publish'd, there were any *Passages* that express'd Contempt of the Epistles: For it was not expected he should quote *Passages* of mine that I had never publish'd. And this acute *Unmasker* (to this) says, I had publish'd them my self. So that the reason why he cannot find them, is, because I had publish'd them my self. But, says he, *I appeal to the Reader, whether (after your tedious Collections out of the four Evangelists) your passing by the Epistles, and neglecting wholly what the Apostles say in them, be not publishing to the World your Contempt of them?* I demand of him to publish to the World those *Passages*, which shew my Contempt of the Epistles: and he answers, *He need not, I have done it my self.* How does that appear? I have pass'd by the Epistles, says he. My passing them by then, are *Passages* publish'd against the Epistles? For publishing of *Passages* is what you said you need not do, and what I had done. So that the *Passages* I have publish'd containing a Contempt of the Epistles, are extant in my saying nothing of them? Surely this same passing by has done some very shrewd Displeasure to our poor *Unmasker*, that he so starts whenever it is but nam'd, and cannot think it contains less than *Exclusion*, *Despance*, and *Contempt*. Here therefore the Proposition remaining to be prov'd by you is,

XIV. That one cannot pass by any thing without Contempt of it.

And when you have prov'd it, I shall then ask you, what will become of all those parts of Scripture, all those Chapters and Verses that you have pass'd by, in your Collection of Fundamental Articles? Those that you have vouchsaf'd to set down, you tell us, *Are in the Bible on purpose to be believ'd.* What must become of all the rest, which you have omitted? Are they there not to be believ'd? And must the Reader understand your passing them by to be a publishing to the World your Contempt of them? If so, you have Unmask'd your self:

self: If not, but you may *pass* by some parts of Scripture, nay whole Epistles, as you have those of St. James and St. Jude, without *Contempt*; why may not I, without *Contempt*, pass by others; but because you have a liberty to do what you will, and I must do but what you in your good Pleasure will allow me? But if I ask you whence you have this Privilege above others; you will have nothing to say, except it be according to your usual Skill in Divining, that you know my Heart, and the Thoughts that are in it, which you find not like yours, right, and orthodox, and good; but always evil and perverse, such as I dare not own, but hypocritically either say nothing of, or declare against: but yet with all my cunning I cannot hide them from you; your all-knowing Penetration always finds them out; you know them, or you guess at them, as is best for your turn, and that's as good: and then presently I am confounded. I doubt whether the World has ever had any two-ey'd Man your equal, for Penetration and a quick Sight. The telling by the Spectator's looks, what Card he guesses, is nothing to what you can do. You take the height of an Author's Parts, by numbring the Pages of his Book; you can spy an Heresy in him, by his saying not a Syllable of it; distinguish him from the Orthodox, by his understanding places of Scripture just as several of the Orthodox do; you can repeat by heart whole Leaves of what is in his Mind to say, before he speaks a word of it; you can discover Designs before they are hatch'd, and all the Intrigues of carrying them on, by those who never thought of them. All this, and more you can do by the Spirit of Orthodoxy; or which is as certain, by your own good Spirit of Invention informing you. Is not this to be an errant Conjuror?

But to your Reply. You say, *After my TEDIOUS Collection out of the four Evangelists, my passing by the Epistles, and neglecting wholly what the Apostles say, &c.* I wondred at first why you mention'd not the *Acts* here, as well as the four Evangelists: For I have not, as you have in other places observ'd, been sparing of Collections out of the *Acts* too. But there was, it seems, a Necessity here for your omitting it: for that would have stood too near what follow'd, in these words; And *neglecting wholly what the Apostles say*. For if it appear'd to the Reader, out of your own Confession, that I allow'd and built upon the Divine Authority of what the Apostles say in the *Acts*, he could not so easily be misled into an Opinion, that I contemned what they say in their Epistles. But this is but a slight touch of your Leger-de-main.

And now I ask the Reader what he will think of a Minister of the Gospel, who cannot bear the Texts of Scripture I have produc'd, nor my Quotations out of the four Evangelists? This, which in his *Thoughts of the Causes of Atheism*, p. 114. was want of *Vivacity and Elevation of Mind*, want of a *Vein of Sense and Reason*, yea and of *Elocution* too; is here, in his *Socinianism Unmask'd*, a tedious Collection out of the four Evangelists. Those places I have quoted, lie heavy, it seems, upon his Stomach, and are too many to be got off. But it was my business not to omit one of them, that the Reader might have a full view of the whole tenor of the Preaching of our Saviour and his Apostles to the Unconverted Jews and Gentiles; and might therein see what Faith they were converted to, and upon their Assent to which they were pronounced Believers, and admitted into the Christian Church. But the *Unmasker* complains there are too many of them: He thinks the Gospel, the good News of Salvation, tedious from the Mouth of our Saviour and his Apostles: He is of opinion, that before the Epistles were writ, and without believing precisely what he thinks fit to cull out of them, there could be no Christians; and if we had nothing but the four Evangelists, we could not be sav'd. And yet 'tis plain, that every single one of the Four contains the Gospel of Jesus Christ; and at least, they all together contain all that is necessary to Salvation. If any one doubt of this, I refer him to Mr. Chillingworth for Satisfaction, who hath abundantly prov'd it.

His following words (were he not the same *Unmasker* all through) would be beyond Parallel. But let us hear why the *Vindicator* did not attempt to collect any Articles out of these Writings; he assigns this as one reason: "The Epistles being writ to those who were already Believers, it could not be suppos'd that they were writ to them to teach them Fundamentals," p. 548. *Vindic.*

Certainly

Certainly no Man would have conjectur'd that he would have us'd such an Evasion as this. I will say that for him, he goes beyond all Surmises, he is above all Conjectures, he hath a Faculty which no Creature on Earth can ever fathom. Thus far the Unmasker in his Oratorical strain. In what follows, he comes to his closer Reasoning against what I had said. His words are, *Do we not know that the four Gospels were writ to and for Believers, as well as Unbelievers?* Answ. I grant it. Now let us see your Inference: Therefore what these holy Historians recorded, that our Saviour and his Apostles said and preach'd to Unbelievers, was said and preach'd to Believers. The Discourse which our Saviour had with the Woman of Samaria, and her Townsmen, was address'd to Believers; because St. John writ his Gospel (wherein it is recorded as a part of our Saviour's History) for Believers as well as Unbelievers. St. Peter's preaching to Cornelius, and St. Paul's preaching at Antioch, at Thessalonica, at Corinth, &c. was not to Unbelievers, for their Conversion; because St. Luke dedicates his History of the Acts of the Apostles to Theophilus, who was a Christian, as the Unmasker strenuously proves in this Paragraph. Just as if he should say, that the Discourses which Caesar records he had upon several Occasions with the Gauls, were not address'd to the Gauls alone, but to the Romans also; because his Commentaries were writ for the Romans as well as others: Or that the Sayings of the antient Greeks and Romans in Plutarch, were not spoke by them to their Contemporaries only, because they are recorded by him for the Benefit of Posterity.

I perus'd the Preachings of our Saviour and his Apostles to the Unconverted World, to see what they taught and requir'd to be believ'd to make Men Christians: And all these I set down, and leave the World to judg what they contain'd. The Epistles, which were all written to those who had imbrac'd the Faith, and were all Christians already, I thought would not so distinctly shew what were those Doctrines which were absolutely necessary to make Men Christians; they being not writ to convert Unbelievers, but to build up those who were already Believers, in their most holy Faith. This is plainly express'd in the Epistle to the Hebrews, Chap. V. 11, &c. Of whom, i. e. Christ, we have many things to say, and hard to be utter'd, seeing ye are all dull of hearing. For when for the time ye ought to be Teachers, ye have need that one teach you again, which be the first Principles of the Oracles of God; and are become such as have need of Milk and not of strong Meat. For every one that useth Milk is unskilful in the Word of Righteousness; for he is a Babe: But strong Meat belongeth to him that is of full Age, even those who by reason of Use have their Senses exercis'd, to discern both good and bad. Therefore leaving the Principles of the Doctrine of Christ, let us go on unto Perfection, not laying again the foundation of Repentance from dead Works, and of Faith towards God, and of the Doctrine of Baptism, and of Laying on of Hands, and of the Resurrection of the Dead, and of Eternal Judgment. Here the Apostle shews what was his Design in writing this Epistle: not to teach them the Fundamental Doctrines of the Christian Religion, but to lead them on to more Perfection; that is, to greater Degrees of Knowledge of the wise Design and wonderful Contrivance and carrying on of the Gospel, and the Evidence of it; which he makes out in this Epistle, by shewing its Correspondence with the Old Testament, and particularly with the Oeconomy of the Mosaical Constitution. Here I might ask the Unmasker, whether those many things which St. Paul tells the Hebrews he had to say of Christ, (hard to be utter'd to them, because they were dull of hearing) had not an immediate respect to the Occasion, Author, Way, Means, or Issue of their Redemption and Salvation: And therefore, whether they were such things, without the knowledge of which they could not be sav'd, as the Unmasker says of such things, p. 23. And the like I might ask him, concerning those things which the Apostle tells the Corinthians, 1 Epist. Chap. III. 2. that they were not able to bear. For much to the same purpose he speaks to the Corinthians, Epist. 1. Chap. III. as in the above-cited places he did to the Hebrews; That he, as a wise Master-Builder, had laid the Foundation: And that Foundation he himself tells us, is Jesus the Messiah; and that there is no other Foundation to be laid. And that in this he laid the Foundation of Christianity at Corinth, St. Luke records, Acts XVIII. 4. in these words: Paul, at Corinth, reason'd in the Synagogue every

every Sabbath-day, and testify'd to the Jews that Jesus was the Messiah. Upon which Foundation he tells them, there might be a Superstructure. But that what is built on the Foundation is not the Foundation, I think I need not prove. He further tells them, that he had desir'd to build upon this Foundation; but withal says, he had fed them till then with Milk, and not with Meat; because they were Babes, and had not been able to bear it, neither were they yet able. And therefore this Epistle we see is almost wholly spent in Reproofs of their Miscarriages, and in Exhortations and Instructions relating to Practice; and very little said in it for the explaining any part of the great Mystery of Salvation contain'd in the Gospel.

By these Passages we may see (were it not evident to common Sense it self, from the Nature of things) that the Design of these Epistles was not to lay the Foundations, or teach the Principles of the Christian Religion; they being writ to those who had receiv'd them, and were Christians already. The same holds in all the other Epistles; and therefore the Epistles seem'd not to me the properest parts of Scripture, to give us that Foundation distinct from all the Superstructures built on it; because in the Epistles, the latter was the thing propos'd, rather than the former. For the main intention of the Apostles in writing their Epistles, could not be to do what was done already; to lay down barely the Foundations of Christianity to those who were Christians already; but to build upon it some farther Explication of it, which either their particular Circumstances, or a general evidencing of the Truth, Wisdom, Excellences, and Privileges, &c. of the Gospel, requir'd. This was the reason that persuaded me to take the Articles of Faith absolutely necessary to be receiv'd to make a Man a Christian, only from the Preachings of our Saviour and his Apostles to the Unconverted World, as laid down in the Historical part of the New Testament: and I thought it a good Reason. It being past doubt, that they in their Preachings propos'd to the Unconverted, all that was necessary to be believ'd to make them Christians: And also, that that Faith, upon a Profession whereof any one was admitted into the Church as a Believer, had all that was necessary in it to make him a Christian; because if it wanted any thing necessary, he had necessarily not been admitted: unless we can suppose, that any one was admitted into the Christian Church by our Saviour and his Apostles, who was not yet a Christian; or pronounc'd a Believer, who yet wanted something necessary to make him a Believer, i. e. was a Believer and not a Believer at the same time. But what those Articles were, which had been preach'd to those to whom the Epistles were writ, and upon the Belief whereof they had been admitted into the Christian Church, and became, as they are call'd, *Believers, Saints, Faithful, Elect*, &c. could not be collected out of the Epistles. This, tho it were my Reason, and must be a Reason to every one who would make this Enquiry; and the *Unmasker* quotes the place where I told him it was my Reason: yet he, according to his never-erring Illumination, flatly tells me, p. 38. that it was not; and adds, *Here then is want of Sincerity*, &c. I must desire him therefore to prove what he says, p. 38. viz.

XV. That by the same Argument that I would persuade that the Fundamentals are not to be sought for in the Epistles, he can prove that they are not to be sought for in the Gospels and in the Acts; because even these were writ to those that believed.

And next I desire him to prove, what he also says in the same Page, viz.

XVI. That the Epistles being writ to those that believed, was not an Argument that I did make use of.

He tells us, p. 38. That it is the Argument whereby I would persuade: and in the very same Page, a few Lines lower, says, *That it is not the Argument I did make use of*. Who, but an errant *Unmasker*, would contradict himself so flatly in the same Breath? And yet upon that he raises a Complaint of my want of Sincerity.

For

For want of Sincerity in one of us, we need not go far for an Instance. The next Paragraph, p. 38—40. affords us a gross one of it; wherein the *Unmasker* argues strongly, not against any thing I had said, but against an Untruth of his own setting up. Towards the latter end of the Paragraph, p. 40. he has these words: *It is manifest that the Apostles in their Epistles taught Fundamentals; which is contrary to what this Gentleman says, that such a thing could not be suppos'd.* And therefore the *Unmasker* has taken a great deal of pains to shew, that there are Fundamental Doctrines to be found in the Epistles; as if I had deny'd it. And to lead the Reader into an Opinion that I had said so, he sets down these words, *Could not be suppos'd*; as if they were my words. And so they are, but not to that purpose. And therefore he did well not to quote the Page, lest the Reader, by barely turning to the place, should have a clear sight of Falshood, instead of that Sincerity, which he would make the Reader believe is wanting in me. My words, p. 538. *Of the Reasonableness of Christianity*, are, "*NOR CAN IT BE SUPPOS'D*, that the sending of such Fundamentals was the reason of the Apostles writing to any of them." And a little lower: "The Epistles therefore being all written to those who were already Believers and Christians, the Occasion and End of writing them could not be to instruct them in that which was necessary to make them Christians." The thing then that I deny'd, was not that there were any Fundamentals in the Epistles. For p. 539. I have these express words: "I do not deny but the great Doctrines of the Christian Faith are dropt here and there, and scatter'd up and down in most of them." And therefore he might have spar'd his Endeavours, in the next Paragraph, to prove, that there may be Fundamentals found in the Epistles, till he finds some body that denies it. And here again, I must repeat my usual Question, that with this sincere Writer is so often necessary, *viz.*

XVII. Where it is that I say, *that it cannot be suppos'd that there are Fundamental Articles in the Epistles?*

If he hopes to shift it off by the word *taught*, which seems fallaciously put in; as if he meant, that there were some Fundamental Articles *taught* necessary to be believ'd to make them Christians, in the Epistles, which those whom they were writ to knew not before: in this sense I do deny it, and then this will be the

XVIIth Proposition remaining upon him to prove, *viz.*

That there are Fundamental Articles necessary to be believ'd to make a Man a Christian, taught in the Epistles, which those, whom they were writ to, knew not before.

The former part of his next Paragraph, p. 40. runs thus: *Hear another feigned ground of his omitting the Epistles, viz. Because the Fundamental Articles are here promiscuously, and without distinction, mix'd with other Truths.* P. 41. But who sees not that this is a mere Elusion? For on the same account he might have forborn to search for Fundamental Articles in the Gospels; for they do not lie there together, but are dispers'd up and down: The Doctrinal and Historical Parts are mix'd with one another, but he pretends to sever them. Why then did he not make a Separation between the Doctrines in the Epistles, and those other Matters that are treated of there? He has nothing to reply to this, and therefore we must again look upon what he has suggested as a Cast of his shuffling Faculty.

The Argument contain'd in these words is this. A Man cannot well distinguish Fundamental from Non-fundamental Doctrines in the Epistles, where they are promiscuously mix'd with Non-fundamental Doctrines: Therefore he cannot well distinguish Fundamental Doctrines from others in the Gospels, and the Acts, where they are mix'd with Matters of Fact. As if he should say, one cannot well distinguish a Batchelor of Divinity from other Divines, where several of them stand together promiscuously in the same Habit; therefore one cannot distinguish a Batchelor of Divinity from a *Billingf-*
gate

gate Orator, where they stand together in their distinct Habits: Or that it is as easy to distinguish fine Gold from that of a little lower Alloy, where several pieces of each are mix'd together; as it is to distinguish pieces of fine Gold from pieces of Silver, which they are mixed among.

But it seems the *Unmasker* thinks it is as easy to distinguish between Fundamental and not Fundamental Doctrines, in a writing of the same Author, where they are promiscuously mix'd together, as it is to distinguish between a Fundamental Doctrine of Faith, and a Relation of Matter of Fact, where they are intermixedly reported in the same History. When he has prov'd this, the *Unmasker* will have more reason to tax me with *Elusion, Shuffling and Feigning*, in the reason I gave for not collecting Fundamentals out of the Epistles. Till then, all that Noise must stand amongst those ridiculous Airs of Triumph and Victory, which he so often gives himself, without the least Advantage to his Cause, or Edification of his Reader; tho he should a thousand times say, *That I have nothing to reply.*

In the latter part of this Paragraph, he says, *That necessary Truths, Fundamental Principles, may be distinguish'd from those that are not such, in the Epistolary Writings, by the Nature and Importance of them, by their immediate respect to the Author and Means of our Salvation.* *Ans.* If this be so, I desire him to give me a definitive Collection of Fundamentals out of the Epistles, as I have given one out of the Gospels and the Acts. If he cannot do that, 'tis plain, he hath here given a distinguishing mark of Fundamentals, by which he himself cannot distinguish them. But yet I am the Shuffler.

The Argument in the next Paragraph, p. 41. is this:

Necessary Doctrines of Faith, such as God absolutely demands to be believ'd for Justification, may be distinguish'd from Rules of Holy Living, with which they are mix'd in the Epistles; therefore Doctrines of Faith necessary, and not necessary to be believ'd to make a Man a Christian, may be distinguish'd as they stand mix'd in the Epistles. Which is as good Sense as to say, Lambs and Kids may be easily distinguish'd in the same Penn, where they are together, by their different Natures: Therefore the Lambs I absolutely demand of you, as necessary to satisfy me, may be distinguish'd from others in the same Penn, where they are mix'd, without any distinction. Doctrines of Faith, and Precepts of Practice, are as distinguishable as doing and believing; and those as easily discernible one from another, as thinking and walking: But Doctrinal Propositions, all of them of Divine Revelation, are of the same Authority, and of the same Species, in respect of the necessity of believing them; and will be eternally undistinguishable into necessary and not necessary to be believ'd, till there be some other way found to distinguish them, than that they are in a Book which is all of Divine Revelation. Tho therefore Doctrines of Faith, and Rules of Practice are very distinguishable in the Epistles, yet it does not follow from thence, that Fundamental and not Fundamental Doctrines, Points necessary and not necessary to be believ'd to make Men Christians, are easily distinguishable in the Epistles. Which therefore remains to be prov'd: And it remains incumbent upon him,

XVIII. *To set down the Marks, whereby the Doctrines deliver'd in the Epistles, may easily and exactly be distinguish'd into Fundamental, and not Fundamental Articles of Faith.*

All the rest of that Paragraph containing nothing against me, must be bound up with a great deal of the like Stuff which the *Unmasker* has put into his Book, to shew the World he does not imitate me in *Impertinencies, Incoherences, and trifling Excursions*, as he boasts in his first Paragraph. Only I shall desire the Reader to take the whole Passage concerning this matter, as it stands in my *Reasonableness of Christianity*, p. 539. "I do not deny, but the great Doctrines of the Christian Faith are dropt here and there, and scatter'd up and down in most of them. But 'tis not in the Epistles we are to learn what are the Fundamental Articles of Faith, where they are promiscuously, and without distinction, mix'd with other Truths and Discourses which were (tho for Edification indeed, yet) only occasional. We shall find and

“discern those great and necessary Points best in the Preaching of our Saviour and his Apostles, to those who were yet Strangers and ignorant of the Faith, to bring them in, and convert them to it.” And then let him read these words, which the *Unmasker* has quoted out of them: *It is not in the Epistles that we are to learn what are the Fundamental Articles of Faith, they were written for the resolving of Doubts, and reforming of Mistakes*; with his Introduction of them in these words: *He commands the Reader not to stir a Foot further than the Acts*. If I should ask him, where that Command appears, he must have recourse to his old shift, that he did not mean as he said, or else stand convicted of a malicious Untruth. An Orator is not bound to speak strict Truth, tho a Disputant be. But this *Unmasker's* writing against me will excuse him from being of the latter: and then why may not Falshoods pass for Rhetorical Flourishes, in one who hath been us'd to popular Haranguing; to which Men are not generally so severe as strictly to examine them, and expect that they should always be found to contain nothing but precise Truth, and strict Reasoning? But yet I must not forget to put upon his Score, this other Proposition of his, which he has, p. 42. and ask him to shew,

XIX. *Where it is that I command my Reader not to stir a Foot farther than the Acts?*

In the next two Paragraphs, p. 42—46. the *Unmasker* is at his natural Play, of Declaiming without Proving. 'Tis pity the *Mishna*, out of which he takes his good *Breeding*, as it told him that a well-bred and well-taught Man answers to the first in the first place, had not given him this Rule too about Order, viz. That Proving should go before Condemning; else all the fierce Exaggerations ill Language can heap up, are but empty Scurrility. But 'tis no wonder that the Jewish Doctors should not provide Rules for a Christian Divine, turn'd *Unmasker*. For where a Cause is to be maintain'd, and a Book to be writ, and Arguments are not at hand, yet something must be found to fill it; Railing in such cases is much easier than Reasoning, especially where a Man's Parts lie that way.

The first of these Paragraphs, p. 42. he begins thus: *But let us hear further what this Vindicator saith to excuse his Rejection of the Doctrines contain'd in the Epistles, and his putting us off with one Article of Faith*. And then he quotes these following words of mine: “What if the Author design'd his Treatise, as the Title shews, chiefly for those who were not yet thorowly and firmly Christians; purposing to work upon those, who either wholly disbeliev'd, or doubted of the Truth of the Christian Religion?”

Ans. This, as he has put it, is a downright Falshood. For the words he quotes, were not us'd by me to excuse my Rejection of the Doctrines contain'd in the Epistles, or to prove there was but one Article; but as a reason why I omitted the mention of Satisfaction.

To demonstrate this, I shall set down the whole Passage as it is, p. 546. of my *Vindication*, where it runs thus:

“But what will become of me that I have not mention'd Satisfaction!

“Possibly this Reverend Gentleman would have had Charity enough for a known Writer of the Brotherhood, to have found it by an *Innuendo* in those words above quoted, of laying down his Life for another. But every thing is to be strained here the other way. For the Author of the *Reasonableness of Christianity*, &c. is of necessity to be represented as a *Socinian*; or else his Book may be read, and the Truths in it, which Mr. Edwards likes not, be receiv'd; and People put upon examining. Thus one, as full of happy Conjectures and Suspicions as this Gentleman, might be apt to argue. But what if the Author design'd his Treatise, as the Title shews, chiefly for those who were not yet thorowly or firmly Christians; proposing to work on those who either wholly disbeliev'd, or doubted of the Truth of the Christian Religion?”

To this he tells me, p. 43. that my Title says nothing for me, i. e. shews not that I design'd my Book for those that disbeliev'd or doubted of the Christian Religion.

Ans.

Answ. I thought that a Title that profess'd the *Reasonableness* of any Doctrine, shew'd it was intended for those that were not fully satisfy'd of the *Reasonableness* of it; unless Books are to be writ to convince those of any thing, who are convinc'd already. But possibly, this may be the *Unmasker's* way: And if one should judg by his manner of treating this Subject, with Declamation instead of Argument, one would think, that he meant it for no body but those who were of his mind already. I thought therefore, *The Reasonableness of Christianity, as deliver'd in the Scripture*, a proper Title to signify whom it was chiefly meant for: And, I thank God, I can with Satisfaction say, it has not wanted its Effect upon some of them. But the *Unmasker* proves for all that, that I could not design it chiefly for Disbelievers or Doubters of the Christian Religion. For, says he, p. 43. *How those that wholly disregard and disbelieve the Scriptures of the New Testament, as Gentiles, Jews, Mahometans, and Atheists do, (I crave leave to put in Theists instead of Atheists, for a Reason presently to be mention'd) are like to attend to the Reasonableness of Christianity, as deliver'd in the Scripture, is not to be conceiv'd; and therefore we look upon this as all mere Sham and Sophistry.* *Answ.* Tho the *Unmasker* teaches good breeding out of the *Mishna*, yet I thought he had been a Minister of the Gospel, and had taught Christianity out of the Scripture. Why! good Sir, would you teach *Jews* and *Mahometans* Christianity out of the *Talmud* and *Alcoran*; because they are the Books, that at present they attend to and believe? Or would you, laying by the Authority of all Books, preach Religion to Infidels in your own Name, and by your own Authority; laying aside the Scripture? *Is it not to be conceiv'd*, no not by a Christian Divine, that the way to make Unbelievers Christians, is to shew them the Reasonableness of the Religion contain'd in the Scripture? But it seems the *Unmasker* has a peculiar way of preaching and propagating Christianity without the Scripture, as some Men have a peculiar way of disputing without Reason.

In the beginning of this Paragraph, p. 43. the *Unmasker*, that is always a fair Interpreter of my meaning, and never fails to know it better than I do, tells me, That by those that wholly disbelieve, *I must mean Atheists, Turks, Jews and Pagans*; and by those that are not firmly Christians, *a few weak Christians*. But did our *Unmasker* never hear of Unbelievers, under a denomination distinct from that of *Atheists, Turks, Jews, and Pagans*? Whilst the Pulpit and the Press have so often had up the name of *Theists* or *Deists*, has that Name wholly scap'd him? 'Twas these I chiefly design'd, and I believe no body of all that read my Vindication, but the *Unmasker*, mistook me, if he did. But there at least, p. 547. he might have found the Name, as of a sort of Unbelievers not unknown amongst us. But whatever he thought, it was convenient and a sort of *Prudence* in him (when he would persuade others, that I had not a Design which I say I had) to lessen as much as he could, and cover the need of any such Design; and so make it, that I could not intend my Book to work upon those that disbeliev'd, or did not firmly believe; by insinuating, there were *few* or none such amongst us. Hence he says, that by those that are not thorowly and firmly Christians, *I mean a FEW weak Christians*; as well as under those, who wholly disbelieve, he left the *Theists* out of my meaning. I am very glad to hear from the *Unmasker*, that there are but *few weak Christians*, few that have Doubts about the Truth of Christianity amongst us. But if there be not a great number of *Deists*, and that the preventing their Increase be not worth every true Christian's Care and Endeavours, those who have been so loud against them have been much to blame; and I wish to God there were no reason for their Complaints. For these therefore I take the liberty to say, as I did before, that I chiefly design'd my Book; and shall not be asham'd of this *Sophistry*, as you call it, if it can be *Sophistry* to alledg a Matter of Fact that I know; till you have Arguments to convince me, that you know my Intention in publishing it, better than I do myself. And I shall think it still no blamable *Prudence*, however you exclaim against *Prudence*, (as perhaps you have some reason) that "I mention'd only those Advantages, that all Christians are agreed in; and that I observ'd that Command of the Apostle, *Rom. XIV. 1. Him that is weak in the Faith receive ye, but not to doubtful Disputations*; without being a *Socinian*. I think I

“ did not amiss, that I offer’d to the belief of those that stood off, that,
 “ and only that, which our Saviour and his Apostles preach’d for the re-
 “ ducing the Unconverted World. And would any one think he in earnest
 “ went about to persuade Men to be Christians, who should use that as
 “ an Argument to recommend the Gospel, which he has observed Men to
 “ lay hold on as an Objection against it? To urge such Points of Controver-
 “ sy as necessary Articles of Faith, when we see our Saviour and the Apostles
 “ urged them not as necessary to be believed to make Men Christians, is
 “ (by our own Authority) to add Prejudices to Prejudices, and to block up
 “ our own way to those Men, whom we would have access to, and prevail
 “ upon.”

I have repeated this again out of the 546th Page of my *Vindication*, where there is more to the same purpose; that the Reader may see how fully the *Unmasker* has answer’d it.

Because I said, “ Would any one blame my Prudence, if I mention’d only
 “ those Advantages, which all Christians are agreed in;” the *Unmasker*
 adds, p. 44. *Socinian Christians*: and then as if the naming of that had gained
 him his Point, he goes on victoriously thus; *He has bethought himself better since*
he first publish’d his Notions, and (as the result of that) he now begins to resolve,
what he writ, into Prudence. I know whence he had this Method (and ’tis likely
he has taken more than this from the same hands) viz. from the Missionary Jesuits,
that went to preach the Gospel to the People of China. We are told, that they in-
structed them in some Matters relating to our Saviour; they let them know that Je-
sus was the Messias, the Person promised to be sent into the World: But they conceal’d
his Sufferings and Death, and they would not let them know any thing of his Passion
and Crucifixion. So our Author (their humble Imitator) undertakes to instruct the
World in Christianity, with an omission of its Principal Articles; and more especially
that of the Advantage we have by Christ’s Death, which was the prime thing design’d
in his coming into the World. This he calls Prudence: So that to hide from the
People the main Articles of the Christian Religion, to disguise the Faith of the Gos-
pel, to betray Christianity in self, is according to this excellent Writer, the Cardinal
Virtue of Prudence. May we be deliver’d then, say I, from a Prudential Raco-
vian. And there ends the rattling for this time; not to be outdone by any
Piece of Clock-work in the Town. When he is once set a going, he runs
on like an Alarum, always in the same strain of noisy empty Declamation
(wherein every thing is suppos’d and nothing prov’d) till his own weight
has brought him to the ground: And then, being wound up with some new
Topick, takes another run, whether it makes for or against him, it matters
not; he has laid about him with ill Language, let it light where it will,
and the Vindicator is paid off.

That I may keep the due distance in our different ways of Writing, I shall shew the Reader, that I say not this at random; but that the place affords me occasion to say so. He begins this Paragraph with these words, p. 42. *Let us hear farther what this Vindicator says to excuse his Rejection of the Doctrines contain’d in the Epistles. This Rejection of the Doctrines contain’d in the Epistles, was the not mentioning the Satisfaction of Christ, amongst those Advantages I shew’d, that the World received by his Coming. This appears by the words he here quotes, as my excuse for that Omission. In which place, I also produced some Passages in my Book which sounded like it, some words of Scripture that are used to prove it; but this will not content him: I am, for all that, a Betrayer of Christianity and Contemner of the Epistles. Why? Because I did not out of them name Satisfaction. If you will have the truth of it, Sir, there is not any such word in any one of the Epistles, or other Books of the New Testament, in my Bible, as Satisfying or Satisfaction made by our Saviour; and so I could not put it into my Christianity as deliver’d in the Scripture. If mine be not a true Bible, I desire you to furnish me with one that is more Orthodox; or if the Translators have hid that main Article of the Christian Religion, they are the Betrayers of Christianity, and Contemnners of the Epistles, who did not put it there; and not I, who did not take a word from thence, which they did not put there. For truly, I am not a Maker of Creeds; nor dare add either to the Scripture, or to the Fundamental Articles of the Christian Religion.* But

But you will say, *Satisfaction*, tho not named in the Epistles, yet may plainly be collected out of them. *Answ.* And so it may out of several places in my *Reasonableness of Christianity*, some whereof, which I took out of the Gospels, I mention'd in my *Vindication*, p. 546. and others of them, which I took out of the Epistles, I shall point out to you now: As p. 490. I say the Design of our Saviour's coming was to be *OFFERED* up; and p. 508. I speak of the Work of our *REDEMPTION*; words which in the Epistles are taken to imply *Satisfaction*. And therefore if that be enough, I see not, but I may be free from *betraying Christianity*; but if it be necessary to name the word *Satisfaction*, and he that does not so is a *Betrayer of Christianity*, you will do well to consider how you will acquit the Holy Apostles from that bold Imputation; which if it be extended as far as it will go, will scarce come short of Blasphemy: for I do not remember that our Saviour has any where named *Satisfaction*, or imply'd it plainer in any words than those I have quoted from him; and he, I hope, will scape the Intemperance of your Tongue.

You tell me, I had my *Prudence* from the *Missionary Jesuits* in China, who conceal'd our Saviour's *Sufferings and Death*, because I undertake to instruct the *World in Christianity*, with an *Omission of its Principal Articles*. And I pray, Sir, from whom did you learn your *Prudence*, when taking upon you to teach the *Fundamental Doctrines of Christianity*, in your *Thoughts concerning the Causes of Atheism*, you left out several, that you have been pleas'd since to add in your *Socinianism Unmask'd*? Or if I, as you say here, *betray Christianity* by this *Omission of this Principal Article*; what do you, who are a *Professed Teacher* of it, if you omit any principal Article, which your *Prudence* is so wary in, that you will not say you have given us all that are necessary to Salvation, in that List you have last publish'd? I pray who acts best the Jesuit (whose *humble Imitator* you say I am) you or I; when pretending to give a Catalogue of Fundamentals, you have not reduced them to direct Propositions; but have left some of them indefinite, to be collected as every one pleases: and instead of telling us it is a perfect Catalogue of Fundamentals, plainly shuffle it off, and tell me, p. 22. *If that will not content me, you are sure you can do nothing that will: If I require more, it is folly in you to comply with me?* One part of what you here say, I own to you, favours not much of the Skill of a Jesuit. You confess your Inability, and I believe it to be perfectly true: That if what you have done already (which is nothing at all) *will not content me, you are sure, you can do nothing that will content me*, or any reasonable Man, that shall demand of you a compleat Catalogue of Fundamentals. But you make it up pretty well, with a Confidence becoming one of that Order. For he must have rub'd his Forehead hard, who in the same Treatise, where he so severely condemns the Imperfection of my List of Fundamentals, confesses that he cannot give a compleat Catalogue of his own.

You publish to the World in this 44th, and the next Page, that *I hide from the People the main Articles of the Christian Religion; I disguise the Faith of the Gospel, betray Christianity it self, and imitate the Jesuits that went to preach the Gospel to the People of China, by my Omission of its principal or main Articles.*

Answ. I know not how I *disguise* the Faith of the Gospel, &c. in imitation of the Jesuits in China; unless taking Men off from the Inventions of Men, and recommending to them the Reading and Study of the Holy Scripture, to find what the Gospel is, and requires, be a *disguising the Faith of the Gospel, a betraying of Christianity, and an imitating the Jesuits*. Besides, Sir, if one may ask you, in what School did you learn that prudent Wariness and Reserve, which so eminently appears, p. 24. of your *Socinianism Unmask'd*, in these words: *These Articles (meaning those which you had before enumerated as Fundamental) of Faith, are such as must IN SOME MEASURE be known and assented to by a Christian, such as must GENERALLY be received, and embraced by him?* You will do well the next time to set down, how far your Fundamentals must be known, assented to, and received; to avoid the suspicion, that there is a little more of Jesuitism in these Expressions, in some measure

measure known and assented to, and generally received and embraced, than what becomes a sincere Protestant Preacher of the Gospel. For your speaking so doubtfully of knowing and assenting to those, which you give us for Fundamental Doctrines, which belong (as you say) to the very *Essence of Christianity*, will hardly scape being imputed to your want of Knowledge, or want of Sincerity. And indeed the word *General* is in familiar use with you, and stands you in good stead, when you would say something, you know not what; as I shall have occasion to remark to you, when I come to your 91st Page.

Further, I do not remember where it was, that I mention'd or undertook to set down all the *principal* or *main Articles of Christianity*. To change the Terms of the Question from Articles necessary to be believed to make a Man a Christian, into *principal* or *main Articles*, looks a little Jesuitical. But to pass by that: The Apostles, when they went to preach the Gospel to People as much Strangers to it, as the *Chineses* were when the *Europeans* came first amongst them, Did they hide from the People the main Articles of the *Christian Religion*, disguise the Faith of the Gospel, and betray Christianity it self? If they did not, I am sure I have not: For I have not omitted any of the *main Articles* which they preached to the Unbelieving World. Those I have set down, with so much care not to omit any of them, that you blame me for it more than once, and call it *tedious*. However you are pleased to acquit or condemn the Apostles in the case by your Supreme Determination, I am very indifferent. If you think fit to condemn them for *disguising* or *betraying the Christian Religion*, because they said no more of *Satisfaction*, than I have done, in their Preaching at first to their Unbelieving Auditors, *Jews* or *Heathens*, to make them as I think Christians (for that I am now speaking of) I shall not be sorry to be found in their Company, under what Censure soever. If you are pleased graciously to take off this your Censure from them, for this *Omission*, I shall claim a share in the same Indulgence.

But to come to what perhaps you will think your self a little more concerned not to censure, than what the *Apostles* did so long since; for you have given Instances of being very apt to make bold with the Dead: Pray tell me, does the Church of *England* admit People into the Church of Christ at hap-hazard? or without proposing, and requiring a Profession of all that is necessary to be believed to make a Man a Christian? If she does not, I desire you to turn to the Baptism of those of riper Years in our Liturgy: Where the Priest asking the Convert particularly, whether he believes the Apostles Creed, which he repeats to him; upon his Profession that he does, and that he desires to be baptized into that Faith, without one word of any other Articles, baptizes him; and then declares him a Christian, in these words: *We receive this Person into the Congregation of Christ's Flock, and sign him with the Sign of the Cross, in token that he shall not be ashamed—to CONTINUE Christ's faithful Soldier and Servant.* In all this there is not one word of *Satisfaction*, no more than in my Book, nor so much neither. And here I ask you, whether for this *Omission*, you will pronounce that the Church of *England* *disguises the Faith of the Gospel*? However you think fit to treat me, yet methinks you should not let your self loose so freely against our first Reformers, and the Fathers of our Church ever since, as to call them *Betrayers of Christianity it self*; because they think not so much necessary to be believed to make a Man a Christian, as you are pleased to put down in your Articles; but omit, as well as I, your *main Article of Satisfaction*.

Having thus notably harangued upon the occasion of my saying, "Would any one blame my Prudence?" and thereby made me a *Socinian*, a *Jesuit*, and a *Betrayer of Christianity it self*, he has in that answer'd all that such a Miscreant as I do or can say; and so passes by all the Reasons I gave, for what I did; without any other notice or answer, but only denying a Matter of Fact, which I only can know, and he cannot, viz. my Design in Printing my *Reasonableness of Christianity*.

In the next Paragraph, p. 45. in answer to these words of St. Paul, *Rom. 14. 1. Him that is weak in the Faith receive ye, but not to doubtful Disputations*; which I brought as a reason, why I mention'd not *Satisfaction* amongst

mongst the Benefits receiv'd by the coming of our Saviour; because, as I tell him in my *Vindication*, p. 546. *My Reasonableness of Christianity*, as the Title shews, was "designed chiefly for those who were not yet thorowly or firmly Christians." He replies, and I desire him to prove it,

XX. *That I pretend a Design of my Book which was never so much as thought of, till I was sollicitated by my Brethren to vindicate it.*

All the rest in this Paragraph being either nothing to this place of the *Romans*, or what I have answer'd elsewhere, needs no farther Answer.

The next two Paragraphs, p. 46---49. are meant for an Answer to something I had said concerning the Apostles Creed, upon the occasion of his charging my Book with *Socinianism*. They begin thus:

This *Author of the New Christianity* [*Ans.* This New Christianity is as old as the Preaching of our Saviour and his Apostles, and a little older than the *Unmasker's* System] *wisely objects* that the *Apostles Creed* hath none of those Articles which I mention'd, p. 547. *Ans.* If that Author *wisely objects*, the *Unmasker* would have done well to have replied *wisely*. But for a Man *wisely* to reply, it is in the first place requisite, that the Objection be truly and fairly set down in its full force, and not represented short, and as will best serve the Answerer's turn to reply to. This is neither wise nor honest: And this first part of a *wise* Reply the *Unmasker* has failed in. This will appear from my words and the occasion of them. The *Unmasker* had accus'd my Book of *Socinianism*, for omitting some Points, which he urg'd as necessary Articles of Faith. To which I answer'd, That he had done so only "to give it an ill Name, not because it was *Socinian*; for he had no more reason to charge it with *Socinianism* for the Omissions he mentions, "than the *Apostles Creed*." These are my words, which he should have either set down out of p. 547. which he quotes, or at least given the Objection as I put it, if he had meant to have clear'd it by a fair Answer. But he, instead thereof, contents himself that I *object*, that the *Apostles Creed* hath none of those Articles and Doctrines which the *Unmasker* mention'd. *Ans.* This at best is but a part of my Objection, and not to the purpose which I there meant, without the rest join'd to it; which it has pleas'd the *Unmasker* according to his laudable way to conceal. My Objection therefore stands thus:

That the same Articles, for the Omission whereof the *Unmasker* charges my Book with *Socinianism*, being also omitted in the *Apostles Creed*, he has no more reason to charge my Book with *Socinianism*, for the Omissions mention'd, than he hath to charge the *Apostles Creed* with *Socinianism*.

To this Objection of mine, let us now see how he answers, p. 47.

Nor does any considerate Man wonder at it [i. e. That the *Apostles Creed* hath none of those Articles and Doctrines which he had mention'd] For the *Creed* is a Form of outward Profession, which is chiefly to be made in the Publick Assemblies, when Prayers are put up in the Church, and the Holy Scriptures are read. Then this Abridgment of Faith is properly used, or when there is not time or opportunity to make any Enlargement. But we are not to think it expressly contains in it all the necessary and weighty Points, all the important Doctrines of Belief; it being only designed to be an Abstract.

Ans. Another indispensable Requisite in a *wise* Reply is, that it should be pertinent. Now what can there be more impertinent, than to confess the Matter of Fact upon which the Objection is grounded; but instead of destroying the Inference drawn from that Matter of Fact, only amuse the Reader with wrong Reasons, why that Matter of Fact was so?

No considerate Man, he says, doth wonder that the Articles and Doctrines he mentioned, are omitted in the *Apostles Creed*: Because that *Creed* is a Form of outward Profession. *Ans.* A Profession! of what I beseech you? Is it a Form to be used for Form's sake? I thought it had been a Profession of something, even of the Christian Faith: And if it be so, any considerate Man may wonder
necessary

necessary Articles of the Christian Faith should be left out of it. For how it can be an *outward Profession* of the Christian Faith, without containing the Christian Faith, I do not see; unless a Man can *outwardly profess* the Christian Faith in words, that do not contain or express it, *i. e.* profess the Christian Faith, when he does not profess it. But he says, 'Tis a *Profession chiefly to be made use of in Assemblies.* *Answ.* Do those solemn *Assemblies* privilege it from containing the necessary Articles of the Christian Religion? This proves not that it does not, or was not *designed* to contain all Articles necessary to be believ'd to make a Man a Christian; unless the *Unmasker* can prove that a *Form of outward Profession* of the Christian Faith, that contains all such necessary Articles, cannot be made use of in the Publick Assemblies. In the Publick *Assemblies*, says he, when *Prayers* are put up by the Church, and the *Holy Scriptures* are read, then this *Abridgment of Faith* is properly used; or when there is not generally *Time or Opportunity* to make an *Enlargement.* *Answ.* But that which contains not what is absolutely necessary to be believ'd to make a Man a Christian, can no where be properly us'd as a *Form of outward Profession* of the Christian Faith, and least of all in the solemn Publick *Assemblies.* All the Sense I can make of this is, That this *Abridgment* of the Christian Faith, *i. e.* imperfect Collection (as the *Unmasker* will have it) of some of the Fundamental Articles of Christianity in the Apostles Creed, which omits the greatest part of them, is made use of as a *Form of outward Profession* of but part of the Christian Faith in the Publick *Assemblies*; when by reason of reading of the *Scripture* and *Prayers*, there is not *Time or Opportunity* for a full and perfect Profession of it.

'Tis strange the Christian Church should not find *Time* nor *Opportunity* in sixteen hundred Years to make, in any of her Publick Assemblies, a Profession of so much of her Faith as is necessary to make a Man a Christian. But pray tell me, has the Church any such full and compleat Form of Faith, that hath in it all those Propositions, you have given us for necessary Articles, (not to say any thing of those which you have reserv'd to your self in your own Breast, and will not communicate) of which the Apostles Creed is only a scanty *Form*, a brief imperfect *Abstract*, us'd only to save time in the Croud of other pressing Occasions, that are always in haste to be dispatch'd? If she has, the *Unmasker* will do well to produce it. If the Church has no such compleat Form, besides the Apostles Creed, any where, of Fundamental Articles; he will do well to leave talking idly of this *Abstract*, as he goes on to do in the following words:

But, says he, we are not to think that it expressly contains in it all the necessary and weighty Points, all the important Doctrines of our Belief; it being only designed to be an *Abstract.* *Answ.* Of what, I beseech you, is it an *Abstract*? For here the *Unmasker* stops short, and as one that knows not well what to say, speaks not out what it is an *Abstract* of; but provides himself a Subterfuge in the generality of the preceding terms, of necessary and weighty Points, and important Doctrines jumbled together; which can be there of no other use but to cover his Ignorance or Sophistry. But the Question being only about necessary Points, to what purpose are weighty and important Doctrines joined to them; unless he will say, that there is no difference between necessary and weighty Points, Fundamental and Important Doctrines? And if so, then the distinction of Points into necessary and not necessary, will be foolish and impertinent; and all the Doctrines contain'd in the Bible will be absolutely necessary to be explicitly believ'd by every Man to make him a Christian. But taking it for granted, that the distinction of Truths contain'd in the Gospel into Points absolutely necessary, and not absolutely necessary to be believ'd to make a Man a Christian, is good; I desire the *Unmasker* to tell us, what the Apostles Creed is an *Abstract* of. He will perhaps answer, that he has told us already in this very Page, where he says it is an *Abridgment of Faith*; and he has said true in Words, but saying those Words by rote after others, without understanding them, he has said so in a sense that is not true. For he supposes it an *Abridgment of Faith*, by containing only a few of the necessary Articles of Faith, and leaving out the far greater part of them; and so takes a part of a thing for an *Abridgment* of it: whereas an *Abridgment* or *Abstract* of any thing, is the whole in little; and if it be of a Science or Doctrine, the *Abridgment* consists in the essential or necessary Parts of it, contracted

contracted into a narrower compass than where it lies diffus'd in the ordinary way of delivery, amongst a great number of Transitions, Explanations, Illustrations, Proofs, Reasonings, Corollaries, &c. All which, tho they make a part of the Discourse wherein that Doctrine is deliver'd, are left out in the *Abridgment* of it, wherein all the necessary parts of it are drawn together into a less room. But tho an *Abridgment* need to contain none but the Essential and Necessary Parts, yet all those it ought to contain; or else it will not be an *Abridgment* or *Abstract* of that thing, but an *Abridgment* only of a part of it. I think it could not be said to be an *Abridgment* of the Law contain'd in an Act of Parliament, wherein any of the things requir'd by that Act were omitted; which yet commonly may be reduc'd into a very narrow compass, when strip'd of all the Motives, Ends, Enacting Forms, &c. express'd in the Act it self. If this does not satisfy the *Unmasker* what is properly an *Abridgment*, I shall refer him to Mr. *Chillingworth*, who I think will be allow'd to understand Sense, and to speak it properly, at least as well as the *Unmasker*. And what he says, happens to be in the very same Question between *Knot* the Jesuit, and him, that is here between the *Unmasker* and me: 'Tis but putting the *Unmasker* in the Jesuit's place, and my self (if it may be allow'd me without Vanity) in Mr. *Chillingworth*, the Protestant's; and Mr. *Chillingworth*'s very words, Chap. IV. §. 65. will exactly serve for my Answer. "You trifle affectedly, confounding the Apostles Belief of the whole Religion of Christ, as it comprehends both what we are to do, and what we are to believe, with that part of it which contains not Duties of Obedience, but only the necessary Articles of simple Faith. Now, tho the Apostles Belief be, in the former sense, a larger thing than that which we call the Apostles Creed; yet in the latter sense of the Word, the Creed (I say) is a full Comprehension of their Belief, which you your self have formerly confess'd, tho somewhat fearfully and inconstantly. And here again unwillingness to speak the Truth makes you speak that which is hardly Sense, and call it an *Abridgment* of some Articles of Faith. For I demand those some Articles which you speak of, which are they? Those that are out of the Creed, or those that are in it? Those that are in it, it comprehends at large, and therefore it is not an *Abridgment* of them. Those that are out of it, it comprehends not at all, and therefore it is not an *Abridgment* of them. If you would call it now an *Abridgment* of Faith, this would be Sense; and signify thus much, That all the necessary Articles of the Christian Faith are compriz'd in it. For this is the proper Duty of *Abridgments*, to leave out nothing necessary." So that in Mr. *Chillingworth*'s Judgment of an *Abridgment*, it is not Sense to say as you do, p. 47. That we are not to think that the Apostles Creed expressly contains in it all the necessary Points of our Belief, it being only design'd to be an *Abstract*, or an *Abridgment* of Faith: But on the contrary, we must conclude it contains in it all the necessary Articles of Faith, for that very reason; because it is an *Abridgment* of Faith, as the *Unmasker* calls it. But whether this that Mr. *Chillingworth* has given us here, be the nature of an *Abridgment* or no; this is certain, that the Apostles Creed cannot be a *Form of Profession* of the Christian Faith, if any part of the Faith necessary to make a Man a Christian be left out of it: And yet such a *Profession* of Faith would the *Unmasker* have this *Abridgment* of Faith to be. For a little lower in the 47th Page, he says in express Terms, That if a Man believe no more than is in express Terms in the Apostles Creed, his Faith will not be the Faith of a Christian. Wherein he does great Honour to the Primitive Church, and particularly to the Church of England. The Primitive Church admitted converted Heathens to Baptism, upon the Faith contain'd in the Apostles Creed: A bare Profession of that Faith, and no more, was requir'd of them to be receiv'd into the Church, and made Members of Christ's Body. How little different the Faith of the Antient Church was from the Faith I have mention'd, may be seen in these words of *Tertullian*: *Regula fidei una omnino est, sola, immobilis, irreformabilis, Credendi scilicet in unicum Deum omnipotentem Mundi conditorem, & Filium ejus Jesum Christum, natum ex Virgine Maria, crucifixum sub Pontio Pilato, tertia Die resuscitatum à Mortuis, receptum in Caelis, sedentem nunc ad dextram Patris, venturum judicare vivos & mortuos, per carnis etiam Resurrectionem.* Hæc lege

Fidei manente, cetera jam Disciplina & Conversationis admittunt novitatem correctionis: Tert. de Virg. Velan. in Principio. This was the Faith that, in Tertullian's Time, suffic'd to make a Christian. And the Church of England, as I have remark'd already, only proposes the Articles of the Apostles Creed to the Convert to be baptiz'd; and upon his professing a Belief of them, asks whether he will be baptiz'd in *THIS FAITH*, which (if we will believe the *Unmasker*) is not the Faith of a Christian. However the Church, without any more ado, upon the Profession of *THIS FAITH*, and no other, baptizes him into it. So that the Antient Church, if the *Unmasker* may be believ'd, baptized Converts into that Faith which is not the Faith of a Christian. And the Church of England, when she baptizes any one, makes him not a Christian. For he that is baptiz'd only into a Faith that is not the Faith of a Christian, I would fain know how he can thereby be made a Christian? So that if the Omissions, which he so much blames in my Book, make me a Socinian, I see not how the Church of England will escape that Censure; since those Omissions are in that very Confession of Faith which she proposes, and upon a Profession whereof she baptizes those whom she designs to make Christians. But it seems that the *Unmasker* (who has made bold to Unmask her too) reasons right, that the Church of England is mistaken, and makes none but Socinian Christians; or (as he is pleas'd now to declare) no Christians at all. Which, if true, the *Unmasker* had best look to it, whether he himself be a Christian, or no; for 'tis to be fear'd, he was baptiz'd only into that Faith, which he himself confesses is not the Faith of a Christian.

But he brings himself off in these following words: *All Matters of Faith, in some manner, may be reduc'd to this brief Platform of Belief.* *Answ.* If that be enough to make him a True and an Orthodox Christian, he does not consider whom in this way he brings off with him: For I think he cannot deny, that all Matters of Faith, in some manner, may be reduc'd to that *Abstract* of Faith which I have given, as well as to that brief *Platform* in the Apostles Creed. So that for ought I see, by this Rule, we are Christians or not Christians, Orthodox or not Orthodox, equally together.

But yet he says in the next words: *When he calls it an Abstract or Abbreviature, it is imply'd, that there are more Truths to be known and assented to by a Christian in order to making him really so, than what we meet with here.* The quite contrary whereof (as has been shewn) is imply'd by its being call'd an *Abstract*. But what is that to the purpose? 'Tis not fit *Abstracts* and *Abbreviatures* should stand in an *Unmasker's* way. They are Sounds Men have us'd for what they pleas'd; and why may not the *Unmasker* do so too, and use them in a Sense that may make the Apostles Creed be only a broken Scrap of the Christian Faith? However, in great Condescension, being willing to do the Apostles Creed what honour he could, he says, *That all Matters of Faith in some manner, may be reduc'd to this brief Platform of Belief.* But yet when it is set in competition with the Creed, which he himself is making (for it is not yet finish'd) it is by no means to be allow'd as sufficient to make a Man a Christian. *There are more Truths to be known and assented to, in order to make a Man really a Christian.* Which, what they are, the Church of England shall know, when this new Reformer thinks fit: and then she may be able to propose to those who are not yet so, a Collection of Articles of Belief, and baptize them anew into a Faith, which will really make them Christians: But hitherto, if the *Unmasker* may be credited, she has fail'd in it.

Yet he craves leave to tell me in the following words, p. 48. *That the Apostles Creed hath more in it than I, or my Brethren, will subscribe to.* Were it not the undoubted Privilege of the *Unmasker* to know me better than I do my self, (for he is always telling me something of my self which I did not know) I would, in my turn, crave leave to tell him, that this is the Faith I was baptiz'd into, no one tittle whereof I have renounc'd, that I know; and that I heretofore thought, that gave me Title to be a Christian. But the *Unmasker* hath otherwise determin'd: and I know not now where to find a Christian. For the Belief of the Apostles Creed will not, it seems, make a Man one: And what other Belief will, it does not yet please the *Unmasker* to tell us. But yet as to the *Subscribing to the Apostles Creed*, I must take leave to say, however

however the *Unmasker* may be right in the Faith, he is out in the Morals of a Christian; it being against the Charity of one, that is really so, to pronounce, as he does, peremptorily in a thing that he cannot know; and to affirm positively what I know to be a downright Falshood. But what others will do, it is not my Talent to determine; that belongs to the *Unmasker*. Tho as to all that are my *Brethren* in the Christian Faith, I may answer for them too, that they will also, with me, do that without which in that sense they cannot be my *Brethren*.

P. 49. The *Unmasker* smartly convinces me of no small Blunder, in these words: *But was it not judiciously said by this Writer, that "it is well for the Compilers of the Creed, that they liv'd not in my Days?"* P. 12. *I tell you, Friend, it was impossible they should; for the Learned Usher, and Vossius, and others, have prov'd, that that Symbol was drawn up not at once, but that some Articles of it were adjoin'd many Years after, far beyond the extent of any Man's Life; and therefore the Compilers of the Creed could not live in my Days, nor could I live in theirs.* *Ans.* But it seems that had they liv'd altogether, you could have liv'd in their days. *But,* says he, *I let this pass, as one of the Blunders of our thoughtful and musing Author.* *Ans.* And I tell you, *Friend,* that unless it were to shew your reading in *Usher* and *Vossius*, you had better have let this Blunder of mine alone. Does not the *Unmasker* give here a clear Proof, that he is no Changeling? Whatever Argument he takes in hand, weighty or trivial, material or not material to the thing in question, he brings it to the same sort of Sense and Force. He would shew me guilty of an Absurdity, in saying, "It was well for the Compilers of the Creed, that they liv'd not in his Days". This he proves to be a *Blunder*, because they all liv'd not in one another's days; therefore it was an Absurdity to suppose they might all live in his days. As if there were any greater Absurdity to bring the Compilers, who liv'd possibly within a few Centuries of one another, by a Supposition, into one time; than it is to bring the *Unmasker*, and any one of them who liv'd a thousand Years distant one from another, by a Supposition to be Contemporaries: For 'tis by reason of the Compilers living at a distance one from another, that he proves it impossible for him to be their Contemporary. As if it were not as impossible in Fact, for him who was not born till above a thousand Years after, to live in any of their Days, as it is for any one of them to live in either of those Compilers Days that died before him. The Supposition of their living together is as easy of one as the other, at what distance soever they liv'd, and how many soever there were of them. This being so, I think it had been better for the *Unmasker* to have let alone the *Blunder*, and shew'd (which was his Business) that he does not accuse the Compilers of the Creed of being all over Socinianiz'd, as well as he does me, since they were as guilty as I, of the Omission of those Articles (viz. *That Christ is the Word of God. That God was God incarnate. The eternal and ineffable Generation of the Son of God. That the Son is in the Father, and Father in the Son, which expresses their Unity*) for the omission whereof, the *Unmasker* laid Socinianism to my charge. So that it remains still upon his score to shew,

XXI. *Why these Omissions in the Apostles Creed, do not as well make that Abstract, as my Abridgment of Faith, to be Socinian?*

Page 53. The *Unmasker* desires the Reader to observe, that this lank Faith of mine is in a manner no other than the Faith of a Turk. And I desire the Reader to observe, that this Faith of mine was all that our Saviour and his Apostles preach'd to the unbelieving World. And this our *Unmasker* cannot deny, as I think will appear to any one, who observes what he says, p. 76, 77. of his Socinianism Unmask'd. And that they preach'd nothing but a Faith, that was in a manner no other than the Faith of a Turk, I think none amongst Christians, but this bold *Unmasker*, will have the Irreverence profanely to say.

He tells us, p. 54. That the *Musselmens* (or, as he has for the Information of his Reader very pertinently prov'd, should be writ *Moslemim*; without which, perhaps, we should not have known his Skill in *Arabick*) or, in plain English, the Mahometans, believe that Christ is a good Man, and not above the Nature of a

Man, and sent of God to give Instruction to the World: And my Faith, he says, is of the very same Scantling. This I shall desire him to prove; or, which in other Words he insinuates in this, and the neighbouring Pages, viz.

XXII. That that Faith which I have affirm'd to be the Faith which is requir'd to make a Man a Christian, is no other than what *Turks* believe, and is contain'd in the *Alchoran*.

Or, as he expresses it himself, p. 55.

That a Turk, according to me, is a Christian, for I make the same Faith serve them both.

And particularly to shew where 'tis, I say,

XXIII. That *Christ* is not above the Nature of a Man, or have made that a necessary Article of the Christian Faith.

And next where it is,

XXIV. That I speak as meanly of *Christ's* Suffering on the Cross, and Death, as if there were no such thing.

For thus he says of me, p. 54. *I seem to have consulted the Mahometan Bible, which did say, Christ did not suffer on the Cross, did not die. For I, and my Allies, speak as meanly of these Articles, as if there were no such thing.*

To shew our *Unmasker's* Veracity in this case, I shall trouble my Reader with some Passages out of my *Reasonableness of Christianity*, pag. 487. "When we consider that he was to fill out the time foretold of his Ministry, and after a Life illustrious in Miracles and good Works, attended with Humility, Meekness, Patience and *SUFFERING*, and every way conformable to the Prophecies of him, should be led as a Sheep to the Slaughter; and with all quiet and submission be brought to the CROSS, tho there were no Guilt or Fault found in him." And p. 490. "Contrary to the Design of his coming, which was to be OFFER'D up a Lamb, blameless and void of Offence." And p. 499. "Laying down his Life, both for Jews and Gentiles." P. 513. Given up to Contempt, Torment and Death." But say what I will, when the *Unmasker* thinks fit to have it so, it is speaking out of the *Mahometan Bible*, That *Christ* did not suffer on the Cross, did not die; or at least, is speaking as meanly of these Articles as if no such thing had been.

His next Slander is, p. 55. in these words: *This Gentleman presents the World with a very ill Notion of Faith, for the very Devils are capable of all that Faith, which, he says, makes a Christian.* It is not strange, that the *Unmasker* should misrepresent the Faith, which I say makes a Christian; when it seems to be his whole Design to misrepresent my meaning every where. The frequency of his doing it I have shew'd in abundance of Instances, to which I shall add an eminent one here; which shews what a fair Champion he is for Truth and Religion.

Page 517. of my *Reasonableness of Christianity*, I give this account of the Faith which makes a Christian; That it is "Mens entering themselves in the Kingdom of God; owning and professing themselves the Subjects of Jesus, whom they believe to be the *Messiah*, and receive for their Lord and King: For that was to be baptiz'd in his Name." This sense of believing *Christ* to be the *Messiah*, that is, to take him for our King and Lord, who is to be obey'd, I have express'd over and over again; as p. 519, 520. my words are, "That as many of them as would believe Jesus the Son of God (whom he sent into the World) to be the *Messiah*, the promis'd Deliverer, and would receive him for their King and Ruler, should have all their past Sins, Disobedience and Rebellion forgiven them. And if for the future they liv'd in sincere Obedience to his Law, to the utmost of their power, the Sins of human Frailty for the time to come, as well as those of their past Lives, should

" should for his Son's sake, because they gave themselves up to him to be his Subjects, be forgiven them: And so their Faith, which made them to be baptiz'd into his Name (*i. e.* inroll themselves in the Kingdom of *Jesus* the *Messiah*, and profess themselves his Subjects; and consequently live by the Laws of his Kingdom) should be accounted to them for Righteousness." Which Account of what is necessary, I close with these words: " This is the *FAITH* for which God of his free Grace justifies sinful Man." And is this the *Faith* of Devils?

To the same purpose, p. 521. are these words: " The chief End of his coming was to be a King, and as such to be receiv'd by those, who would be his Subjects in the Kingdom which he came to erect." And again, p. 520. " Only those who have believ'd *Jesus* to be the *Messiah*, and taken him for their King, with a sincere endeavour after Righteousness in obeying his Law, shall have their past Sins not imputed to them." And so again, p. 520, and 524. and in several other places; of which I shall add but this one more, p. 524. " 'Tis not enough to believe him to be the *Messiah*, unless we obey his Laws, and take him to be our King to reign over us." Can the Devils thus believe him to be the *Messiah*? Yet this is that which by these and abundance of other places, I have shew'd to be the meaning of believing him to be the *Messiah*.

Besides, I have expressly distinguish'd the Faith which makes a Christian, from that which the Devils have; by proving, that to the believing *Jesus* to be the *Messiah* must be join'd Repentance, or else it will not make them true Christians: and what this Repentance is, may be seen at large in p. 517, &c. some Expressions whereof I shall here set down: As p. 517. " Repentance does not consist in one single Act of Sorrow (tho that being first, and leading, gives Denomination to the whole) but in doing Works meet for Repentance; in a sincere Obedience to the Law of *Christ* the remainder of our Lives." Again: To distinguish the Faith of a *Christian* from that of Devils, I say expressly out of *St. Paul's* Epistle to the *Galatians*, " That which availeth is Faith, but Faith working by Love; and that Faith without Works, *i. e.* the Works of sincere Obedience to the Law and Will of *Christ*, is not sufficient for our Justification". And p. 523. " That to inherit eternal Life, we must love the Lord our God with all our Heart, with all our Soul, with all our Strength, and with all our Mind." And p. 524. " Love *Christ* in keeping his Commandments."

This, and a great deal more to this purpose, may be seen in my *Reasonableness of Christianity*; particularly where I answer that Objection about the Faith of Devils, which I handle in p. 516, &c. and therein at large shew wherein the Faith of Devils comes short of the Justifying Faith which makes a Christian. And yet the good, the sincere, the candid *Unmasker*, with his becoming Confidence, tells his Readers here, p. 55. *That I present the World with a very ill Notion of Faith: for the very Devils are capable of all that Faith, which I say makes a Christian Man.*

To prevent this Calumny, I, in more places than one, distinguish'd between Faith in a strict Sense, as it is a bare Assent to any Proposition, and that which is called Evangelical Faith, in a larger Sense of the Word; which comprehends under it something more than a bare simple Assent, as p. 483. " I mean, this is all is requir'd to be believ'd by those who acknowledg but one Eternal Invisible God, the Maker of Heaven and Earth: For that there is something more requir'd to Salvation, besides believing, we shall see hereafter." P. 484. " All I say that was to be believ'd for Justification. For that this was not all that was requir'd to be done for Justification, we shall see hereafter." P. 494. " Obeying the Law of the *Messiah* their King, being no less requir'd than their believing that *Jesus* was the *Messiah*, the King and Deliverer, that was promis'd them." P. 516. " As far as mere believing could make them Members of *Christ's* Body". By these, and more the like Passages in my Book, my meaning is so evident, that no body but an *Unmasker* would have said, that when I spoke of believing as a bare Speculative Assent to any Proposition as true, I affirm'd that was all that was required of a Christian for Justification: tho that, in the strict Sense of the word, is all

all that is done in *believing*. And therefore, I say, as far as mere believing could make them Members of *Christ's Body*; plainly signifying, as much as words can, that the *Faith*, for which they were justify'd, included something more than a bare Assent. This appears not only from these words of mine, p. 517. *St. Paul often, in his Epistles, puts Faith for the whole Duty of a Christian*; but from my so often, and almost every-where interpreting *believing him to be the Messiah*, by taking him to be our King; whereby is meant not a bare idle Speculation, a bare notional Persuasion of any Truth whatsoever floating in our Brains; but an active Principle of Life, a *Faith* working by Love and Obedience. To take him to be our King, carries with it a right Disposition of the Will to honour and obey him, join'd to that Assent wherewith Believers imbrace this Fundamental Truth, that Jesus was the Person who was, by God, sent to be their King; he that was promis'd to be their Prince and Saviour.

But for all this, the *Unmasker*, p. 56. confidently tells his Reader that I say no such thing. His words are: *But besides this Historical Faith (as it is generally call'd by Divines) which is giving Credit to Evangelical Truths, as barely reveal'd, there must be something else added to make up the true Substantial Faith of a Christian. With the Assent of the Understanding, must be join'd the Consent or Approbation of the Will. All those Divine Truths which the Intellect assents to, must be allow'd of by this Elective Power of the Soul. True Evangelical Faith is a hearty acception of the Messiah, as he is offer'd in the Gospel. It is a sincere and impartial Submission to all things requir'd by the Evangelical Law, which is contain'd in the Epistles as well as the other Writings. And to this practical Assent and Choice, there must be added likewise a firm Trust and Reliance in the blessed Author of our Salvation. But this late Undertaker, who attempted to give us a more perfect account than ever was before of Christianity, as it is deliver'd in the Scriptures, brings us no Tidings of any such Faith belonging to Christianity, or discover'd to us in the Scriptures. Which gives us to understand, that he verily believes there is no such Christian Faith; for in some of his numerous Pages (especially p. 516, &c.) where he speaks so much of Belief and Faith, he might have taken occasion to insert one word about this compleat Faith of the Gospel.*

Tho the places above quoted out of my *Reasonableness of Christianity*, and the whole tenor of the latter part of it, shew the Falshood of what the *Unmasker* here says; yet I will set down one Passage more out of it, and then ask our *Unmasker*, when he hath read them, whether he hath the Brow to say again, that I bring no Tidings of any such Faith? My words are, *Reasonableness of Christianity*, p. 527, 528. "Faith in the Promises of God, relying and acquiescing in his Word and Faithfulness, the Almighty takes well at our hands, as a great mark of Homage paid by us poor frail Creatures to his Goodness and Truth, as well as to his Power and Wisdom; and accepts it as an Acknowledgment of his peculiar Providence and Benignity to us. And therefore our Saviour tells us, *John XII. 44. He that believes on me, believes not on me, but on him that sent me.* The Works of Nature shew his Wisdom and Power: But 'tis his peculiar Care of Mankind, most eminently discover'd in his Promises to them, that shews his Bounty and Goodness; and consequently engages their Hearts in Love and Affection to him. This Oblation of an Heart fix'd with Dependence and Affection on him, is the most acceptable Tribute we can pay him; the Foundation of true Devotion; and Life of all Religion. What a Value he puts on this depending on his Word, and resting satisfy'd on his Promises, we have an Example in *Abraham*; whose Faith was counted to him for Righteousness; as we have before remarked out of *Rom. IV.* And his relying firmly on the Promise of God, without any doubt of its Performance, gave him the Name, of the Father of the Faithful; and gain'd him so much Favour with the Almighty, that he was called the Friend of God: The highest and most glorious Title can be bestow'd on a Creature."

The great out-cry he makes against me in his two next Sections, p. 57—60. as if I intended to introduce Ignorance and Popery, is to be entertain'd rather as the noise of a petulant Scold, saying the worst things she could think of, than as the arguing of a Man of Sense or Sincerity. All this mighty Accusation is grounded upon these Falshoods, That I make it my great Business to beat
Men

Men off from Divine Truths; That I cry down all Articles of the Christian Faith but one; That I will not suffer Men to look into Christianity; That I blast the Epistolary Writings. I shall add no more to what I have already said about the Epistles, but those few words out of my *Reasonableness of Christianity*, p. 538, 539. "The Epistles resolving Doubts, and reforming Mistakes, are of great advantage to our Knowledge and Practice." And p. 539. "An explicit Belief of what God requires of those, who will enter into, and receive the Benefits of the New Covenant, is absolutely requir'd. The other parts of Divine Revelation are Objects of Faith, and are so to be receiv'd. They are Truths whereof none, that is once known to be such [*i. e.* of Divine Revelation] may or ought to be disbeliev'd."

And as for that other Saying of his, *That I will not suffer Men to look into Christianity*; I desire to know where that Christianity is lock'd up, which *I will not suffer Men to look into*. My Christianity, I confess, is contain'd in the written Word of God: And that I am so far from hindring any one to look into, that I every where appeal to it, and have quoted so much of it, that the *Unmasker* complains of being overlaid with it, and tells me 'tis tedious. "All Divine Revelation, I say, p. 540. requires the Obedience of Faith; and that every one is to receive all the Parts of it, with a Docility and Disposition prepar'd to embrace and assent to all Truths coming from God; and submit his Mind to whatever shall appear to him to bear that Character." I speak, in the same Page, of *Mens endeavouring* to understand it, and of their *interpreting* one place by another. This and the whole Design of my Book shews, That I think it every Christian's Duty to read, search, and study the Holy Scriptures; and make this their great Business: And yet the good *Unmasker*, in a Fit of Zeal, displays his Throat, and crys out, p. 59. *Hear, O ye Heavens, and give ear, O Earth; judg whether this be not the way to introduce Darknes and Ignorance into Christendom; whether this be not blinding of Mens Eyes, &c.* For this mighty *Pathos* ends not there. And all things consider'd, I know not whether he had not reason, in his want of Arguments, this way to pour out his Concern. For neither the Preaching of our Saviour and his Apostles, nor the Apostles Creed, nor any thing else being with him the Faith of a Christian, *i. e.* sufficient to make a Christian, but just his Set of Fundamental Articles (when he himself knows what they be:) In fine, nothing being Christianity but just his System, 'tis time to cry out, help Neighbours, hold fast Friends; Knowledge, Religion, Christianity is gone, if this be once permitted, that the People should read and understand the Scripture for themselves, as God shall enlighten their Understandings in the use of the means; and not be forc'd to depend upon me, and upon my chusing, and my Interpretation, for the necessary Points they are to believe to make them Christians: If I, the great *Unmasker*, have not the sole Power to decree what is, or is not Fundamental, and People be not bound to receive it for such, Faith and the Gospel are given up; *Darkness and Barbarism* will be brought in upon us by this *Writer's Contrivance*. For, he is an *Underhand Factor* for that *Communion*, which cries up *Ignorance for the Mother of Devotion and Religion*; *i. e.* in plain English, for Popery. For to this and nothing else tends all that sputter he makes in the Sections before mention'd.

I do not think there was ever a more thorow-pac'd Declaimer than our *Unmasker*. He leaves out nothing that he thinks will make an affrighted noise in the Ears of his Orthodox Hearers, tho all the Blame and Censure he pours out upon others, light only on himself. For let me ask this zealous Upholder of Light and Knowledge, Does he think it reasonable that any one, who is not a Christian, should be suffer'd to be undisturb'd in his Parish? Nay, does he think fit that any such should live free from the *Lash of the Magistrate*, or from the Persecution of the *Ecclesiastical Power*? He seems to talk with another Air, p. 65. In the next place I ask, whether any one is a Christian, who had not the Faith of a Christian? Thirdly, I ask, whether he has the Faith of a Christian, who does not explicitly believe all the Fundamental Articles of Christianity? And to conclude, I ask him, whether all those, that he has set down, are not Fundamental necessary Articles? When the *Unmasker* has fairly answer'd these Questions, it will be seen who is for Popery, and the Ignorance and Tyranny that accompanies it. The

The *Unmasker* is for making and imposing Articles of Faith: But he is for this Power in himself. He likes not Popery (which is nothing but the Tyranny and imposing upon Mens Understandings, Faith, and Consciences) in the hands of the old Gentleman at *Rome*: but it would, he thinks, do admirably well in his own hands. And who can blame him for it? Would not that be an excellent way to propagate *Light* and *Knowledge*, by tying up all Men to a bundle of Articles of his own culling? or rather to the Authority of Christ and his Apostles residing in him? For he does not, nor ever will, give us a full View of Fundamentals of his Christianity: But like the Church of *Rome*, to secure our Dependence, reserves to himself a Power of declaring others, and defining what is Matter of Faith, as he shall see occasion.

Now therefore veil your Bonnets to the *Unmasker*, all you that have a mind to be Christians: break not your Heads about the Scriptures, to examine what they require of you: submit your Faith implicitly to the *Unmasker*, he will understand and find out the necessary Points for you to believe. Take them, just so many as he thinks fit to deliver them to you; this is the way to be knowing Christians: but be sure, ask not whether those he is pleas'd to deliver be every one of them Fundamental, and all the Fundamental Articles necessary to be believ'd to make a Man a Christian: such a capricious Question spoils all, overturns Christianity, which is intrusted to the *Unmasker's* sole keeping, to be dispensed out as he thinks fit. If you refuse an implicit Faith to him, he will presently find you have it for the Whore of *Babylon*; he will smell out Popery in it immediately: for he has a very shrewd Scent, and you will be discover'd to be an *Underhand Factor* for the Church of *Rome*.

But if the *Unmasker* were such an Enemy, as he pretends, to those *Factors*, I wonder he should, in what he has said concerning the Apostles Creed, so exactly jump with *Knot* the Jesuit. If any one doubt of this, I desire him to look into the fourth Chapter of *Knot's Charity Maintain'd*, and there he will see how well our *Unmasker* and that *Jesuit* agree in Argument; nay, and Expressions too. But yet I do not think him so far guilty, as to be employ'd as an *Underhand Factor* for Popery. Every body will, I suppose, be ready to pronounce him so far an Innocent, as to clear him from that. The Cunning of his Design goes not beyond the laying out of his preaching Oratory, for the setting up his own System, and making that the sole Christianity. To that end, he would be glad to have the Power of interpreting Scripture, of defining and declaring Articles of Faith, and imposing them. This, which makes the absolute Power of the Pope, he would not, I think, establish at *Rome*; but 'tis plain he would have it himself, if he could get it, for the Support of the Christianity of his System. An implicit Faith, if he might have the Management of it, and the taking Fundamentals upon trust from his Authority, would be of excellent Use. Such a Power in his hands, would spread *Truth* and *Knowledge* in the World; i. e. his own Orthodoxy and Set of Opinions. But if a Man differs, nay, questions any thing of that, whether it be absolutely necessary to make one a Christian, 'tis immediately a *Contrivance* to let in Popery, and to bring *Darkness* and *Barbarism* into the Christian World. But I must tell the innocent *Unmasker*, whether he designs it or no, That if his calling his System the only Christianity, can bring the World to receive from him Articles of Faith of his own chusing, as Fundamentals necessary to be believ'd by all Men to make them Christians, which Christ and his Apostles did not propose to all Men to make them Christians; he does only set up *Popery* in another Guise, and lay the Foundations of *Ignorance*, *Darkness*, and *Barbarism* in the Christian World: For all the *Ignorance* and *Blindness*, that Popery introduc'd, was only upon this Foundation. And if he does not see this (as there is reason to excuse his Innocence) 'twould be no hard matter to demonstrate it, if that were at present the Question between us. But there are a great many other Propositions to be prov'd by him, before we come to that new Matter of Debate.

But before I quit these Paragraphs, I must go on with our *Unmasker's* Account, and desire him to shew, where it is,

XXV. That I make it my Business to beat Men off from taking notice of any Divine Truths?

Next,

Next where it is,

XXVI. That *I cry down all Articles of Christian Faith but one?*

Next, how it appears,

XXVII. That *I will not suffer Mankind to look into Christianity?*

Again, where it is,

XXVIII. That *I labour industriously to keep People in Ignorance; or tell them, That there is no necessity of knowing any other Doctrines of the Bible?*

These, and several others of the like strain, particularly concerning *One Article*, and the *Epistles* (which are his Common-Places) are to be found in his 59th and 60th Pages. And all this out of a Presumption, that his System is the only Christianity; and that if Men were not press'd and persuaded to receive that, just every Article of it, upon pain of Damnation, Christianity would be lost: and not to do this, is to promote *Ignorance*, and condemn the Bible. But he fears where no Fear is. If his Orthodoxy be the Truth, and conformable to the Scriptures, the laying the Foundation only where our Saviour and his Apostles have laid it, will not overturn it. And to shew him, that it is so, I desire him again to consider what I said in my *Vindication*, p. 546. which, because I do not remember he any where takes notice of in his *Reply*, I will here offer again to his Consideration: "Convince but Men of the Mission of Jesus Christ; make them but see the Truth, Simplicity, and Reasonableness of what he himself hath taught, and requir'd to be believ'd by his Followers; and you need not doubt, but being once fully persuaded of his Doctrine, and the Advantages which all Christians agree are receiv'd by him, such Converts will not lay by the Scriptures; but by a constant Reading and Study of them, will get all the Light they can from this Divine Revelation, and nourish themselves up in the Words of Faith and good Doctrine, as St. Paul speaks to Timothy."

If the Reading and Study of the Scripture were more press'd than it is, and Men were fairly sent to the Bible to find their Religion; and not the Bible put into their hands only to find the Opinions of their peculiar Sect or Party, Christendom would have more Christians, and those that are, would be more knowing, and more in the right than they now are. That which hinders this, is that select Bundle of Doctrines, which it has pleas'd every Sect to draw out of the Scriptures, or their own Inventions, with an Omission (and as our *Unmasker* would say, a *Contempt*) of all the rest. These *choice* Truths (as the *Unmasker* calls his) are to be the standing Orthodoxy of that Party, from which none of that Church must recede without the Forfeiture of their Christianity, and the Loss of eternal Life. But whilst People keep firm to these, they are in the Church, and the way to Salvation: which in effect, what is it but to encourage Ignorance, Laziness, and Neglect of the Scriptures? For what need they be at the pains of constantly reading the Bible, or perplex their Heads with considering and weighing what is there deliver'd; when believing as the Church believes, or saying after, or not contradicting their *Domine* or Teacher, serves the turn?

Further, I desire it may be consider'd what Name, that mere Mock-shew, of recommending to Men the Study of the Scripture, deserves; if, when they read it, they must understand it just as he (that would be, and they are too apt, contrary to the Command of Christ, to call their Master) tells them. If they find any thing in the Word of God, that leads them into Opinions he does not allow; if any thing they meet with in Holy Writ seems to them to thwart or shake the receiv'd Doctrines, the very proposing of their Doubts renders them suspected: Reasoning about them, and not acquiescing in whatever is said to them, is interpreted want of due Respect and Deference to the Authority of their Spiritual Guides; Disrepute and Censures follow: And if in pursuance of

their own Light, they persist in what they think the Scripture teaches them, they are turn'd out of the Church, deliver'd to Satan, and no longer allow'd to be Christians. And is thus a sincere and rightly directed Study of the Scriptures, that Men may understand and profit thereby, discourag'd? This is the Consequence of Mens assuming to themselves a Power of declaring Fundamentals, i. e. of setting up a Christianity of their own making. For how else can they turn Men, of as unblamable Lives as others of their Members, out of the Church of Christ (for so they count their Communion) for Opinions, unless those Opinions were concluded inconsistent with Christianity? Thus Systems, the Inventions of Men, are turn'd into so many opposite Gospels; and nothing is Truth in each Sect, but what just suits with them. So that the Scripture serves but, like a nose of Wax, to be turn'd and bent just as may fit the contrary Orthodoxies of different Societies. For 'tis these several Systems that to each Party are the just Standards of Truth, and the Meaning of the Scripture is to be measur'd only by them. Whoever relinquishes any of those distinguishing Points, immediately ceases to be a Christian.

This is the way that the *Unmasker* would have Truth and Religion preserv'd, Light and Knowledge propagated. But here too the different Sects giving equal Authority to their own Orthodoxies, will be quits with him. For as far as I can observe, the same Genius seems to influence them all; even those who pretend most to Freedom, the *Socinians* themselves. For when it is observ'd how positive and eager they are in their Disputes; how forward to have their Interpretations of Scripture receiv'd for Authentick, tho' to others in several places they seem very much strain'd; how impatient they are of Contradiction; and with what Disrespect and Roughness they often treat their Opposers: may it not be suspected that this so visible Warmth in their present Circumstances, and Zeal for their Orthodoxy, would (had they the Power) work in them, as it does in others? They, in their turns, would, I fear, be ready with their Set of Fundamentals; which they would be as forward to impose on others, as others have been to impose contrary Fundamentals on them.

This is, and always will be the unavoidable Effect of intruding on our Saviour's Authority, and requiring more now as necessary to be believ'd to make a Man a Christian, than was at first requir'd by our Saviour and his Apostles. What else can be expected among Christians, but their tearing, and being torn in pieces by one another; whilst every Sect assumes to it self a Power of declaring Fundamentals, and severally thus narrow Christianity to their distinct Systems? He that has a mind to see how Fundamentals come to be fram'd and fashion'd, and upon what Motives and Considerations they are often taken up, or laid down, according to the Humours, Interests, or Designs of the Heads of Parties, as if they were things depending on Mens Pleasure, and to be suit'd to their Convenience, may find an Example worth his notice, in the Life of Mr. Baxter, Part II. p. 197—205.

Whenever Men take upon them to go beyond those Fundamental Articles of Christianity, which are to be found in the Preachings of our Saviour and his Apostles, where will they stop? Whenever any Set of Men will require more as necessary to be believ'd to make Men of their Church, i. e. in their sense Christians, than what our Saviour and his Apostles propos'd to those whom they made Christians, and admitted into the Church of Christ; however they may pretend to recommend the Scripture to their People, in effect no more of it is recommended to them, than just comports with what the Leaders of that Sect have resolv'd Christianity shall consist in.

'Tis no wonder therefore there is so much Ignorance amongst Christians, and so much vain Outcry against it; whilst almost every distinct Society of Christians magisterially ascribes Orthodoxy to a select Set of Fundamentals, distinct from those propos'd in the Preaching of our Saviour and his Apostles; which in no one Point must be question'd by any of its Communion. By this means their People are never sent to the Holy Scriptures, that true Fountain of Light, but hood-wink'd: A Veil is cast over their Eyes, and then they are bid read their Bible. They must make it all chime to their Church's Fundamentals, or else they were better let it alone. For if they find any thing there against the receiv'd Doctrines, tho' they hold it and express it in the very terms

terms the Holy Ghost has deliver'd it in, that will not excuse them. Heresy will be their Lot, and they shall be treated accordingly. And thus we see how, amongst other good Effects, Creed-making always has, and always will necessarily produce and propagate Ignorance in the World, however each Party blame others for it. And therefore I have often wondred to hear Men of several Churches so heartily exclaim against the implicit Faith of the Church of Rome; when the same implicit Faith is as much practised and requir'd in their own, tho not so openly profess'd, and ingenuously own'd there.

In the next Section, the *Unmasker* questions the Sincerity of mine, and professes the Greatness of his Concern for the Salvation of Mens Souls. And tells me of my *Reflection* on him upon that account, in my *Vindication*, p. 546, 547. *Ans.* I wish he would, for the right Information of the Reader, every where set down, what he has any thing to say to in my Book, or my Defence of it, and save me the labour of repeating it. My words, in that place, are, "Some Men will not bear, that any one should speak of Religion, but according to the Model that they themselves have made of it. Nay, tho he proposes it upon the very Terms, and in the very Words which our Saviour and his Apostles preach'd it in; yet he shall not escape Censures and the severest Insinuations. To deviate in the least, or to omit any thing contain'd in their Articles, is Heresy, under the most invidious Names in fashion; and 'tis well if he escapes being a downright Atheist. Whether this be the way for Teachers to make themselves hearken'd to as Men in earnest in Religion, and really concern'd for the Salvation of Mens Souls, I leave them to consider. What Success it has had towards persuading Men of the Truth of Christianity, their own Complaints of the Prevalency of Atheism on the one hand, and the Number of *Deists* on the other, sufficiently shew."

I have set down this Passage at large, both as a Confirmation of what I said but just now; as also to shew, that the *Reflection* I there made, needed some other Answer than a bare Profession of his regard to the Salvation of Mens Souls. The assuming an undue Authority to his own Opinions, and using manifest Untruths in the defence of them, I am sure is no mark that the directing Men right in the way to Salvation is his chief aim. And I wish, that the greater Liberties of that sort, which he has again taken in his *Socinianism Unmask'd*, and which I have so often laid open, had not confirm'd that *Reflection*. I should have been glad, that any thing in my Book had been fairly controverted, and brought to the touch, whether it had or had not been confuted. The Matter of it would have deserv'd a serious Debate (if any had been necessary) in the Words of Sobriety, and the charitable Temper of the Gospel, as I desir'd in my Preface: and that would not have mis-become the *Unmasker's* Function. But it did not consist, it seems, with his Design. Christian Charity would not have allow'd those ill-meant Conjectures, and groundless Censures, which were necessary to his purpose; and therefore he took a shorter Course, than to confute my Book, and thereby convince me and others. He makes it his business to rail at it, and the Author of it, that that might be taken for a Confutation. For by what he has hitherto done, arguing seems not to be his Talent. And thus far who can but allow his Wisdom? But whether it be that *Wisdom that is from above; first pure, then peaceable, gentle, easy to be intreated, full of Mercy, and good Fruits, without Partiality, and without Hypocrisy*; I shall leave to other Readers to judg.

His saying nothing to that other *Reflection*, which his manner of expressing himself drew from me, would make one suspect it savour'd not altogether of the Wisdom of the Gospel; nor shew'd an over-great Care of the Salvation of Souls. My Words, *Vindic.* p. 550. are; "I know not how better to shew my Care of his Credit, than by intreating him, that when he takes next in hand such a Subject as this, wherein the Salvation of Souls is concern'd, he would treat it a little more seriously, and with a little more Candour, lest Men should find in his Writings another Cause of Atheism, which in this Treatise he has not thought fit to mention. *Offentation of Wit* in general he has made a Cause of Atheism, p. 28. But the World will tell him, That frothy light Discourses, concerning the serious Matters of Religion, and *Offentation* of trifling mis-becoming Wit in those who come as Ambassadors

"from God, under the Title of Successors of the Apostles in the great Commission of the Gospel, is none of the least Causes of Atheism." But this Advice I am now satisfy'd (by his Second Part of the same Strain) was very improper for him; and no more reasonable, than if one should advise a Buffoon to talk gravely, who has nothing left to draw Attention, if he should lay by his Scurrility.

The remainder of this fourth Chapter, p. 61—67. being spent in shewing, why the *Socinians* are for a few Articles of Faith, being a Matter that I am not concern'd in; I leave to that forward Gentleman to examine, who examin'd Mr. Edwards's Exceptions against the *Reasonableness of Christianity*; and who, as the *Unmasker* informs me, p. 64. was *chosen to vindicate my Attempt*, &c.

If the *Unmasker* knows that he was so *chosen*, it is well. If I had known of such a choice, I should have desir'd that somebody should have been *chosen to vindicate my Attempt*, who had understood it better. The *Unmasker* and *Examiner* are each of them so full of themselves, and their own Systems, that I think they may be a fit Match one for another: and so I leave these Cocks of the Game to try it out in an endless Battle of Wrangling (till Death them part) which of them has made the true and exact Collection of Fundamentals; and whose System of the two ought to be the prevailing Orthodoxy, and be receiv'd for Scripture. Only I warn the *Examiner* to look to himself: for the *Unmasker* has the whip-hand of him, and gives him to understand, p. 65. that if he cannot do it himself by the strength of his Lungs, the vehemency of his Oratory, and endless attacks of his Repetitions; the *Ecclesiastical Power* and the *Civil Magistrate's Lash*, have in store demonstrative Arguments to convince him that his [the *Unmasker's*] System is the only true Christianity.

By the way, I must not forget to mind the *Unmasker* here again, that he hath a very unlucky hand at guessing. For whereas he names *Socinus* as one from whom I receiv'd my *Platform*, and says, that *Crellius gave me my Cue*; it so falls out, that they are two Authors of whom I never read a Page. I say not this, as if I thought it a Fault if I had; for I think I should have much better spent my time in them, than in the Writings of our learned *Unmasker*.

I was sure there was no offending the *Unmasker* without the Guilt of *Atheism*; only he here, p. 69. very mercifully lays it upon my Book, and not upon my Design. *The tendency of it to Irreligion and Atheism*, he has prov'd in an eloquent Harangue (for he is such an Orator he cannot stir a foot without a Speech) made, as he bids us suppose, by the *Atheistical Rabble*. And who can deny, but he has chose a fit Imployment for himself? Where could there be found a better Speech-maker for the *Atheistical Rabble*? But let us hear him: For tho he would give the *Atheistical Rabble* the Credit of it, yet 'tis the *Unmasker* speaks. And because 'tis pity such a pattern of Rhetorick and Reason should be lost, I have for my Reader's Edification, set it all down *verbatim*.

"We are beholden to this worthy Adventurer for ridding the World of
 "so great an Incumbrance, viz. That huge Mass and unwieldy Body of Christianity, which took up so much room. Now we see that it was this Bulk,
 "and not that of Mankind, which he had an eye to, when he so often mention'd this latter. This is a Physician for our turn indeed: we like this
 "Chymical Operator, that doth not trouble us with a parcel of heavy Drugs
 "of no value, but contracts it all into a few Spirits, nay doth his business
 "with a single Drop. We have been in Bondage a long time to Creeds
 "and Catechisms, Systems and Confessions; we have been plagu'd with a tedious
 "Bead-roll of Articles, which our Reverend Divines have told us we
 "must make the Matter of our Faith. Yea, so it is, both Conformists and
 "Nonconformists (tho disagreeing in some other things) have agreed in this
 "to molest and crucify us. But this noble Writer (we thank him) hath
 "set us free, and eas'd us, by bringing down all the Christian Faith into one
 "Point. We have heard some Men talk of Epistolary Comlosures of the
 "New Testament, as if great Matters were contain'd in them, as if the
 "great Mysteries of Christianity (as they call them) were unfolded there:
 "But we could never make any thing of them; and now we find that this
 "Writer is partly of our Opinion. He tells us, that these are Letters sent
 "upon

“ upon occasion, but we are not to look for our Religion (for now for this Gentleman’s sake we begin to talk of Religion) in these places. We believe it, and we believe that there is no Religion but in those very Chapters and Verses, which he has set down in his Treatise. What need we have any other part of the New Testament? That is Bible enough, if not too much. Happy, thrice happy shall this Author be perpetually esteem’d by us, we will chronicle him as our Friend and Benefactor. It is not our way to saint People, otherwise we would certainly canonize this Gentleman; and when our hand is in, his pair of Booksellers, for their being so beneficial to the World, in publishing so rich a Treasure. It was a blessed day when this hopeful Birth saw the Light, for hereby all the Orthodox Creed-Makers and Systematick Men are ruin’d for ever. In brief, if we be for any Christianity, it shall be this Author’s; for that agrees with us singularly well, it being so short, all couch’d in four words, neither more nor less. It is a very fine Compendium, and we are infinitely oblig’d to this great Reformer for it. We are glad at heart that Christianity is brought so low by this worthy Pen-man, for this is a good presage that it will dwindle into nothing. What! but one Article, and that so brief too! We like such a Faith, and such a Religion, because it is so near to none.”

He hath no sooner done, but as it deserved, he cries out, *Euge Sophos!* And is not the Reader, quoth he, satisfy’d that such Language as this hath real truth in it? Does not he perceive, that the discarding all the Articles but ONE makes way for the casting off that too? *Answ.* ’Tis but supposing that the Reader is a civil Gentleman, and answers *Yes*, to these two Questions; and then ’tis Demonstration, that by this Speech he has irrefragably prov’d the tendency of my Book to Irreligion and Atheism.

I remember *Chillingworth* somewhere puts up this Request to his Adversary *Knot*: “ Sir, I beseech you, when you write again, do us the favour to write nothing but Syllogisms. For I find it still an extreme trouble to find out the conceal’d Propositions, which are to connect the parts of your Enthymems. As now for example, I profess to you I have done my best endeavour to find some Glue, or Sodder, or Cement, or Thred, or any thing to tie the Antecedent and this Consequent together.” The *Unmasker* agrees so much in a great part of his Opinion with that Jesuit (as I have shew’d already) and does so infinitely out-do him in spinning Ropes of Sand, and a coarse Thred of Inconsistencies, which runs quite through his Book; that ’tis with great Justice I put him here in the Jesuit’s place, and address the same Request to him.

His very next words give me a fresh reason to do it: For thus he argues, p. 72. *May we not expect, that those who deal thus with the Creed, i. e. discard all the Articles of it but one, will use the same Method in reducing the ten Commandments and the Lord’s Prayer, abbreviate the former into one Precept, and the latter into one Petition?* *Answ.* If he will tell me where this Creed he speaks of is, it will be much more easy to answer his Demand. Whilst his Creed, which he here speaks of, is yet no where, it is ridiculous for him to ask Questions about it. The Ten Commandments and the Lord’s Prayer, I know where to find, in express words set down by themselves, with peculiar Marks of Distinction. Which is the Lord’s Prayer, we are plainly taught by this Command of our Saviour, *Luke XI. 2. When ye pray, SAY, Our Father, &c.* In the same Manner and Words we are taught what we should believe, to make us his Disciples, by his Command to the Apostles what they should preach, *Mar. X. 7. As ye go, preach, SAYING.* What were they to say? Only this, *The Kingdom of Heaven is at hand.* Or, as *St. Luke* expresses it, *Chap. IX. 2. They were sent to preach the Kingdom of God, and to heal the Sick:* Which, what it was, we have sufficiently explain’d. But this Creed of the *Unmasker*, which he talks of, Where is it? Let him shew it us distinctly set out from the rest of the Scripture. If he knows where it is, let him produce it, or leave talking of it, till he can. ’Tis not the Apostles Creed, that’s evident: For that Creed he has discarded from being the Standard of Christian Faith, and has told the World in words at length, That if a Man believes no more than is in express Terms in the Apostles Creed, his Faith will not be the Faith of a Christian.

Nay,

Nay, 'tis plain, that *Creed* has, in the *Unmasker's* Opinion, the same tendency to *Atheism and Irreligion*, that my Summary has. For the Apostles Creed reducing the Forty, or perhaps four Hundred Fundamental Articles of his Christian Creed, to Twelve; and leaving out the greatest part of those necessary ones which he has already, and will hereafter, in good time, give us; does as much dispose Men to serve the Decalogue, and the Lord's Prayer just so, as my reducing those Twelve to Two. For so many at least he has granted to be in my Summary, viz. The Article of one God, Maker of Heaven and Earth, and the other of Jesus the Messiah; tho he every where calls them but *ONE*: Which, whether it be to shew, with what love and regard to Truth he continues, and consequently began this Controversy; or whether it be to beguile and startle unwary, or confirm prejudic'd Readers, I shall leave to others to judg. 'Tis evident, he thinks his Cause would be mightily maim'd, if he were forc'd to leave out the Charge of *ONE* Article; and he would not know what to do for Wit or Argument, if he should call them two: For then the whole weight and edge of his strong and sharp Reasoning, in his *Thoughts concerning the Causes of Atheism*, p. 122. would be lost. There you have it in these words: *When the Catholick Faith is thus brought down to one single Article, it will soon be reduc'd to none; the Unit will dwindle into a Cypher.* And here again, it makes the whole Argument of his Atheistical Speech, which he winds up with these convincing words: *We are glad to hear that Christianity is brought so low by this worthy Pen-man; for this is a good Presage, that it will dwindle into nothing. What! ONE Article, and that so brief too: We like such a Faith and such a Religion, because it is so near NONE.* But I must tell this Writer of equal Wit, Sense, and Modesty, that this Religion which he thus makes a dull Farce of, and calls *near none*, is that very Religion which our Saviour *Jesus Christ* and his Apostles preach'd, for the Conversion and Salvation of Mankind; no one Article whereof, which they propos'd as necessary to be receiv'd by Unbelievers to make them Christians, is omitted. And I ask him, whether it be his Errand, as one of our Saviour's Ambassadors, to turn it thus into Ridicule? For till he has shewn, that they preach'd otherwise, and more than what the Spirit of Truth has recorded of their Preaching in their Histories, which I have faithfully collected and set down, all that he shall say, reflecting upon the Plainness and Simplicity of their Doctrine, however directed against me, will by his *Atheistical Rabble* of all kinds, now they are so well enter'd and instructed in it by him, be all turn'd upon our Saviour and his Apostles.

What tendency this, and all his other trifling in so serious a Cause as this is, has to the propagating of *Atheism and Irreligion* in this Age, he were best to consider. This I am sure, the Doctrine of but *one* Article (if the Author and Finisher of our Faith, and those he guided by his Spirit, had preach'd but *one* Article) has no more tendency to *Atheism*, than their Doctrine of *one* God. But the *Unmasker* every where talks, as if the Strength of our Religion lay in the number of its Articles; and would be presently routed, if it had but a few: And therefore he has muster'd up a pretty full Band of them, and has a Reserve of the Lord knows how many more, which shall be forthcoming upon occasion. But I shall desire to mind this Learned Divine, who is so afraid what will become of his Religion, if it should propose but *one*, or a few Articles as necessary to be believ'd to make a Man a Christian, that the Strength and Security of our Religion lies in the Divine Authority of those who first promulgated the Terms of Admittance into the Church, and not in the Multitude of Articles, suppos'd by some necessary to be believ'd to make a Man a Christian: And I would have him remember, when he goes next to make use of this strong Argument of *ONE* *dwindling into a Cypher*, that *One* is as remote as a Million from none. And if this be not so, I desire to know whether his way of arguing will not prove Pagan Polytheism to be more remote from *Atheism* than Christianity. He will do well to try the force of his Speech in the Mouth of an Heathen, complaining of the tendency of *Christianity* to *Atheism*, by reducing his great number of Gods to but *one*, which was *so near none*, and would therefore *soon be reduc'd to none*.

The *Unmasker* seems to be upon the same Topick, where he so pathetically complains of the *Socinians*, p. 66. in these words: *Is it not enough to rob us of our God, by denying Christ to be so; but must they spoil us of all the other Articles of Christian Faith but one?* Have a better heart, good Sir, for I assure you no body can rob you of your God, but by your own consent, nor spoil you of any of the *Articles* of your Faith. If you look for them where God has plac'd them, in the Holy Scripture, and take them as he has fram'd and fashion'd them there; there you will always find them safe and sound. But if they come out of an Artificer's Shop, and be of human Invention, I cannot answer for them: they may, for ought I know, be nothing but an Idol of your own setting up; which may be pull'd down, should you cry out never so much, *Great is Diana of the Ephesians*.

He, who considers this Argument of *one* and *none*, as managed by the *Unmasker*, and observes his pathetical way of reasoning all through his Book, must confess, that he has got the very Philosopher's Stone in disputing. That which would be worthless Lead in others, he turns into pure Gold; his Oratory changes its Nature, and gives it the noble Tincture: So that what in plain reasoning would be Nonsense, let him but put it into a Speech or an Exclamation, and there it becomes strong Argument. Whether this be not so, I desire *Mode* and *Figure* may decide. And to those I shall desire he would reduce the Proofs, which, p. 73. he says, he has given of these following Propositions; viz.

XXIX. *That I have corrupted Mens Minds.*

XXX. *That I have depraved the Gospel.*

XXXI. *That I have abused Christianity.*

For all these three, p. 73. he affirms of me without Proof, and without Honesty.

Whether it be from Confusion of Thought, or Unfairness of Design; either because he has not clear distinct Notions of what he would say, or finds it not to his purpose to speak them clearly out, or both together; so it is, that the *Unmasker* very seldom, but when he rails, delivers himself so that one can certainly tell what he would have.

The Question is, What is absolutely necessary to be believ'd by every one to make him a Christian. It has been clearly made out from an exact Survey of the History of our Saviour and his Apostles, that the whole Aim of all their Preaching every where was, to convince the unbelieving World of these two great Truths; First, That there was one Eternal Invisible God, Maker of Heaven and Earth: And next, That *Jesus of Nazareth* was the *Messiah*, the promised King and Saviour. And that upon Mens believing these two Articles, they were baptized and admitted into the Church; i. e. receiv'd as Subjects of Christ's Kingdom, and pronounced Believers. From whence it unavoidably follows, that these two are the only Truths necessary to be believ'd to make a Man a Christian.

This Matter of Fact is so evident from the whole Tenor of the four Gospels, and the Acts; and presses so hard, that the *Unmasker*, who contends for a great number of other Points necessary to be believ'd to make a Man a Christian, thinks himself concern'd to give some Answer to it: but, in his usual way, full of Uncertainty and Confusion. To clear this matter, he lays down four Particulars. The first is, p. 74. *That the believing Jesus to be the promised Messiah, was the first step to Christianity.*

The Second, p. 76. *That tho this one Proposition (viz. of Jesus the Messiah) be mention'd alone in some places, yet there is reason to think, and be persuaded, that at the same time other Matters of Faith were proposed.*

The Third, p. 76. *That tho there are several Parts and Members of the Christian Faith, yet they do not all occur in any one place of Scripture.*

The Fourth, p. 78. *That Christianity was erected by degrees.*

These

These Particulars he tells us, p. 74. *He offers to clear an Objection.* To see therefore whether they are pertinent or no, we must examine what the Objection is, as he puts it. I think it might have been put in a few words: this I am sure, it ought to have been put very clear and distinct. But the Unmasker has been pleas'd to give it us, p. 73. as followeth: *Because I designed these Papers for the satisfying of the Reader's Doubts, about any thing occurring concerning the Matter before us, and for the establishing of his wavering Mind; I will here (before I pass to the Second General Head of my Discourse) answer a Query or Objection, which some, and not without some shew of ground, may be apt to start. How comes it to pass, they will say, that this Article of Faith, viz. That Jesus is the Messiah or Christ, is so often repeated in the New Testament? Why is this sometimes urged, without the mentioning of any other Article of Belief? Doth not this plainly shew, that this is all that is requir'd to be believ'd as necessary to make a Man a Christian? May we not infer from the frequent and sole Repetition of this Article in several places of the Evangelists and the Acts, that there is no other Point of Faith of absolute necessity; but that this alone is sufficient to constitute a Man a true Member of Christ?*

By which he shews, that he is uncertain which way to put the Objection, so as may be easiest to get rid of it: and therefore he has turn'd it several ways, and put several Questions about it. As First,

Why this Article of Faith, viz. That Jesus is the Messiah, is so often repeated in the New Testament?

His next Question is, *Why is this sometimes urg'd without the mentioning any other Article of Belief,* which supposes, that sometimes other Articles of Belief are mention'd with it.

The third Question is, *May we not infer from the frequent and sole Repetition of this Article in several places of the Evangelists and Acts?*

Which last Question is in effect, *Why is this so frequently and alone repeated in the Evangelists and the Acts? i. e. in the Preachings of our Saviour and his Apostles to Unbelievers.* For of that he must give an account, if he will remove the Difficulty. Which three, tho put as one, yet are three as distinct Questions, and demand a Reason for three as distinct Matters of Fact, as these three are, viz. frequently propos'd; sometimes propos'd alone; and always propos'd alone in the Preachings of our Saviour and his Apostles: for so in truth it was all through the Gospels and the Acts, to the unconverted Believers of one God alone.

These three Questions being thus jumbled together in one Objection, let us see how the four Particulars he mentions will account for them.

The first of them is this: *The believing of Jesus to be the promis'd Messiah, was, says he, the first step to Christianity.* Let it be so; what do you infer from thence? The next words shew: *Therefore this rather than any other Article was propounded to be believed by all those whom either our Saviour or his Apostles invited to embrace Christianity.* Let your Premises be never so true, and your Deduction of this Proposition be never so regular from them, it is all lost Labour. This Conclusion is not the Proposition you were to prove. Your Questions were, *Why this Article is so often propos'd? And in those frequent Repetitions, Why sometimes urged alone, and Why always propos'd alone, viz. to those whom either our Saviour or his Apostles invited to embrace Christianity? And your Answer is, because the believing Jesus to be the Messiah, was the first step to Christianity.* This therefore remains upon you to be proved,

XXXII. *That because the believing Jesus to be the Messiah, is the first step to Christianity; therefore this Article is frequently propos'd in the New Testament; is sometimes propos'd without the mentioning any other Article; and always alone to Unbelievers.*

And when you have prov'd this, I shall desire you to apply it to our present Controversy.

His next Answer to those Questions is in these words, p. 76, *That tho this one Proposition or Article be mention'd alone in some places, yet there is reason to think and be persuaded, that at the same time other Matters of Faith were propos'd.* From whence it lies upon him to make out this reasoning, viz.

XXXIII.

XXXIII. That because there is reason to think, and be persuaded, that at the same time that this one Article was mention'd alone (as it was sometimes) other Matters of Faith were propos'd: therefore this Article was often propos'd in the New Testament; sometimes propos'd alone; and always propos'd alone in the Preachings of our Saviour and his Apostles to Unbelievers.

This I set down to shew the force of his Answer to his Questions: supposing it to be true, not that I grant it to be true, That where this one Article is mention'd alone, we have reason to think, and be persuaded, that at the same time other Matters of Faith [*i. e.* Articles of Faith necessary to be believ'd to make a Man a Christian] were propos'd: And I doubt not but to shew the contrary.

His third particular, in answer to the Question propos'd in his Objection, stands thus, p. 76. That tho there are several Parts and Members of the Christian Faith, yet they do not all occur in any one place of the Scripture; which Answer lays it upon him to prove,

XXXIV. That because the several parts of the Members of the Christian Faith do not all occur in any one place of Scripture; therefore this Article, That Jesus was the Messiah, was often propos'd in the New Testament, sometimes propos'd alone, and always propos'd alone in the Preachings of our Saviour and his Apostles, through the History of the Evangelists and the Acts.

The fourth and last Particular, which he tells us is the main Answer to the Objection, is in these words, Page 78.

That Christianity was erected by degrees.

Which requires him to make out this Argument, *viz.*

XXXV. That because Christianity was erected by degrees, therefore this Article, That Jesus was the Messiah, was often propos'd in the New Testament, sometimes propos'd alone, and always propos'd alone in the Preachings of our Saviour and his Apostles to Unbelievers, recorded in the History of the Evangelists and Acts.

For, as I said before, in these three Questions he has put his Objection; to which he tells us this is the main Answer.

Of these four Particulars it is, that he says, p. 74. To clear this Objection, and to give a full and satisfactory Answer to all Doubts in this Affair, I offer these ensuing Particulars, which will lead the Reader to the right understanding of the whole case.

How well they have clear'd the Objection, may be seen by barely setting them down as Answers to these Questions, wherein he puts the Objection.

This is all I have hitherto done: whereby is very visible how well (supposing them true) they clear the Objection; and how pertinently they are brought to answer those Questions wherein his Objection is contain'd. Perhaps it will be said, that neither these, nor any thing else, can be an apposite Answer to those Questions put so together. I answer, I am of the same mind. But if the Unmasker through Ignorance or Shuffling will talk thus confusedly, he must answer for it. He calls all his three Questions one Objection, over and over again: And therefore which of those Questions it does or does not lie in, I shall not trouble my self to divine; since I think he himself cannot tell: For, whichever he takes of them, it will involve him in equal Difficulties. I now proceed to examine his Particulars themselves, and the Truth contain'd in them. The first, page 74. stands thus:

1. The believing of Jesus to be the promis'd Messiah, was the first step to Christianity. It was that which made way for the embracing of all the other Articles, a Passage to all the rest. *Ans.* If this be, as he would have it, only the leading Article amongst a great many other equally necessary to be believ'd to make a Man a Christian; this is a Reason, why it should be constantly preach'd in the first

place. But this is no reason why this alone should be so often repeated, and the other necessary Points not be once mention'd. For I desire to know what those other Articles are, that in the Preaching of our Saviour and his Apostles are repeated or urg'd besides this?

In the next place, if it be true, that this Article, *viz.* That *Jesus* is the *Messiah*, was only the first in order amongst a great many Articles as necessary to be believ'd; how comes it to pass, that barely upon the Proposal and believing of this, Men were admitted into the Church as Believers? The History of the New Testament is full of Instances of this, as *Acts* VIII. 5, 12, 13. IX. and in other places.

Tho it be true, what the *Unmasker* says here, *That if they did not give Credit to this in the first place, that Jesus of Nazareth was that eminent and extraordinary Person prophes'd of long before; and that he was sent and commission'd by God, there could be no hope that they would attend to any other Proposals relating to the Christian Religion:* yet what he subjoins, *That this is the true reason, why that Article was constantly propounded to be believ'd by all that look'd towards Christianity, and why it is mention'd so often in the Evangelical Writing,* is not true. For, first, this supposes that there were other Articles join'd with it. This he should have first prov'd, and then given the reason of it; and not, as he does here, suppose what is in question, and then give a reason why it is so; and such a reason that is inconsistent with the Matter of Fact, that is every where recorded in Holy Writ. For if the true reason why the Preaching of this Article, that *Jesus was the Messiah*, as it is recorded in the History of the New Testament, were only to make way for the other Articles, one must needs think, that either our Saviour and his Apostles (with Reverence be it spoken) were very strange Preachers; or that the Evangelists, and Author of the *Acts*, were very strange Historians. The first were to instruct the World in a new Religion, consisting of a great number of Articles, says the *Unmasker*, necessary to be believ'd to make a Man a Christian, *i. e.* a great number of Propositions making a large System, every one whereof is so necessary for a Man to understand and believe, that if any one be omitted, he cannot be of that Religion. What now did our Saviour and his Apostles do? Why! if the *Unmasker* may be believ'd, they went up and down with danger of their Lives, and preach'd to the World. What did they preach? Even this single Proposition to make way for the rest, *viz.* *This is the eminent Man sent from God to teach you other things:* which amounts to no more but this, That *Jesus* was the Person which was to teach them the true Religion, but that true Religion it self is not to be found in all their Preaching; nay scarce a word of it. Can there be any thing more ridiculous than this? And yet this was all they preach'd; if it be true, that this was all which they meant by the preaching every where *Jesus* to be the *Messiah*, and if it were only an Introduction, and a *making way* for the Doctrines of the Gospel. But it is plain it was call'd the Gospel it self. Let the *Unmasker*, as a true Successor of the Apostles, go and preach the Gospel, as the Apostles did, to some part of the Heathen World, where the Name of Christ is not known: Would not he himself, and every body think he was very foolishly employ'd, if he should tell them nothing but this, that *Jesus* was the Person promis'd and sent from God to reveal the true Religion; but should teach them nothing of that true Religion, but this Preliminary Article? Such the *Unmasker* makes all the Preaching, recorded in the New Testament, for the Conversion of the Unbelieving World. He makes the Preaching of our Saviour and his Apostles to be no more but this; That the great Prophet promis'd to the World was come, and that *Jesus* was he: But what his Doctrine was, that they were silent in, and taught not one Article of it. But the *Unmasker* mis-represents it: For as to his accusing the Historians, the Evangelists, and Writers of the *Acts* of the Apostles, for their shameful Omision of the whole Doctrine of the Christian Religion, to save his Hypothesis, as he does under his next Head, in these Words; *That tho this one Proposition be mention'd alone in some places, yet there is reason to think and be persuaded, that at the same time other Matters of Faith were propos'd;* I shall shew how bold he makes with those inspir'd Historians, when I come to consider that Particular.

How

How ridiculous, how senseless this bold *Unmasker*, and Reformer of the History of the New Testament, makes the Preaching of our Saviour and his Apostles, as it stands recorded of them by infallible Writers, is visible. But taking it as in truth it is there, we shall have a quite other view of it. Our Saviour preach'd every where the Kingdom of God, and by his Miracles declar'd himself to be the King of that Kingdom. The Apostles preach'd the same, and after his Ascension, openly avow'd him to be the Prince and Saviour promis'd: But preach'd not this as a bare speculative Article of simple Belief; but that Men might receive him for their King, and become his Subjects. When they told the World that he was the Christ, it was not as the *Unmasker* will have it: Believe this Man to be a Prophet, and then he will teach you his new Religion; which when you have receiv'd and embrac'd all and every Article thereof, which are a great number, you will then be Christians, if you be not ignorant or incredulous of any of them. But it was, Believe this Man to be your King sent from God: Take him for such, with a Resolution to observe the Laws he has given you, and you are his Subjects, you are Christians. For those that truly did so, made themselves his Subjects: And to continue so, there was no more requir'd than a sincere Endeavour to know his Will in all things, and to obey it. Such a preaching as this of *Jesus* to be the *Messiah*, the King and Deliverer that God Almighty had promis'd to Mankind, and now had effectually sent to be their Prince and Ruler, was not a simple Preparation to the Gospel: but when receiv'd with the Obedience of Faith, was the very receiving of the Gospel; and had all that was requisite to make Men Christians. And without it be so understood, nobody can clear the Preaching of our Saviour and his Apostles from that incredible Imperfection; or their Historians from that unpardonable Negligence, and not doing either what they ought, or what they undertook; which our *Unmasker* hath so impiously charg'd upon them, as will appear yet plainer in what I have to say to the *Unmasker's* next Particular. For as to the Remainder of this Paragraph, it contains nothing but his Censure and Contempt of me, for not being of his mind, for not seeing as he sees; i. e. in effect not laying that blame, which he does, either on the Preaching of our Saviour and his Apostles, or on the inspir'd Writings of their Historians, to make them comply with his System, and the Christianity he would make.

The *Unmasker's* second Particular, p. 76. tells us, *That tho this one Proposition or Article be mention'd alone in some places, yet there is reason to think, and be persuaded, that at the same time other Matters of Faith were propos'd. For it is confess'd by all intelligent and observing Men, that the History of the Scripture is concise; and that in relating of Matter of Fact, many Passages are omitted by the Sacred Penmen. Wherefore, tho but this one Article of Belief (because it is a leading one, and makes way for the rest) be expressly mention'd in some of the Gospels, yet we must not conclude thence, that no other Matter of Faith was requir'd to be admitted of. For things are briefly set down in the Evangelical Records, and we must suppose many things which are not in direct terms related.*

Ans. The *Unmasker* here keeps to his usual custom of speaking in doubtful terms. He says, that where this one Article, that *Jesus* is the *Messiah*, is alone recorded in the Preaching of our Saviour and his Apostles; *We have reason to be persuaded, that at the same time other Matters of Faith were propos'd.* If this be to his purpose, by *Matters of Faith* must be meant Fundamental Articles of Faith, absolutely necessary to be believ'd by every Man to make him a Christian. That such *Matters of Faith* are omitted, in the History of the Preaching of our Saviour and his Apostles, by the Sacred Historians; this, he says, *we have reason to be persuaded of.*

Ans. They need be good Reasons to persuade a rational Man, that the Evangelists, in their History of our Saviour and his Apostles (if they were but ordinarily fair and prudent Men) did, in an History publish'd to instruct the World in a new Religion, leave out the necessary and fundamental Parts of that Religion. But let them be consider'd as inspir'd Writers, under the Conduct of the infallible Spirit of God, putting them upon and directing them in the writing of this History of the Gospel; and then it is impossible for any Christian but the *Unmasker* to think, that they made any such gross Omissions,

contrary to the design of their Writing, without a Demonstration to convince him of it. Now all the reason that our *Unmasker* gives, is this: *That it is confess'd by all intelligent and observing Men, that the History of the Scripture is concise; and that in relating Matters of Fact, many Passages are omitted by the Sacred Penmen.*

Answ. The *Unmasker* might have spar'd the Confession of intelligent and observing Men, after so plain a Declaration of St. John himself, Chap. XX. 31. *Many other things did Jesus in the Presence of his Disciples, which are not written in this Book.* And again, XXI. 25. *There are also many other things that Jesus did, the which if they should be written every one, I suppose the World could not contain the Books that should be written.* There needs therefore no Opinion of intelligent and observing Men to convince us, that the History of the Gospel is so far concise, that a great many *Matters of Fact* are omitted, and a great many less material Circumstances, even of those that are set down. But will any intelligent or observing Man, any one that bears the Name of a Christian, have the Impudence to say, that the inspir'd Writers, in the relation they give us of what Christ and his Apostles preach'd to Unbelievers to convert them to the Faith, omitted the Fundamental Articles which those Preachers propos'd to make Men Christians; and without a Belief of which they could not be Christians?

The *Unmasker* talks after his wonted fashion; seems to say something, which when examin'd proves nothing to his purpose. He tells us, *That in some places; where the Article of Jesus the Messiah is mention'd alone, at the same time other Matters of Faith were propos'd.* I ask, were these other *Matters of Faith* all the *Unmasker's* necessary Articles? If not, what are those other *Matters of Faith* to the *Unmasker's* purpose? As for example, in St. Peter's Sermon, Acts II. *Other Matters of Faith were propos'd with the Article of Jesus the Messiah.* But what does this make for his Fundamental Articles? Were they all propos'd with the Article of *Jesus the Messiah*? If not, Unbelievers were converted and brought into the Church, without the *Unmasker's* necessary Articles. Three Thousand were added to the Church by this one Sermon. I pass by now St. Luke's not mentioning a Syllable of the greatest part of the *Unmasker's* necessary Articles; and shall consider only how long that Sermon may have been. 'Tis plain from v. 15. that it began not till about nine in the Morning; and from v. 41. that before Night Three Thousand were converted and baptiz'd. Now I ask the *Unmasker*, whether so small a number of Hours as St. Peter must necessarily employ in preaching to them, were sufficient to instruct such a mix'd Multitude so fully in all those Articles, which he has propos'd as necessary to be believ'd to make a Man a Christian; as that every one of those Three Thousand, that were that day baptiz'd, did understand and explicitly believe every one of those his Articles, just in the sense of our *Unmasker's* System? Not to mention those remaining Articles which the *Unmasker* will not be able in twice as many Months to find and declare to us.

He says, *That in some places, where the Article of Jesus the Messiah is mention'd alone, at the same time other Matters of Faith were propos'd.* Let us take this for so at present, yet this helps not the *Unmasker's* Cause. The Fundamental Articles, that were propos'd by our Saviour and his Apostles, necessary to be believ'd to make Men Christians, are not set down; but only this single one of *Jesus the Messiah*: Therefore will any one dare to say they are omitted every where by the Evangelists? Did the Historians of the Gospel make their Relation so concise and short, that giving an account in so many places of the Preaching of our Saviour and his Apostles for the Conversion of the Unbelieving World, they did not in any one place, nor in all of them together, set down the necessary Points of that Faith, which their Unbelieving Hearers were converted to? If they did not, how can their Histories be call'd the Gospels of *Jesus Christ*? Or how can they serve to the end for which they were written? Which was, to publish to the World the Doctrine of *Jesus Christ*, that Men might be brought into his Religion. Now I challenge the *Unmasker* to shew me, not out of any one place, but out of all the preachings of our Saviour and his Apostles, recorded in the four Gospels, and the Acts, all those Propositions which he has reckon'd up as Fundamental Articles of Faith.

Faith. If they are not to be found there, 'tis plain that either they are not Articles of Faith necessary to be believ'd to make a Man a Christian; or else that those inspir'd Writers have given us an account of the Gospel, or Christian Religion, wherein the greatest part of the Doctrines necessary to be believ'd to make a Man a Christian, are wholly omitted: Which in short is to say, that the Christianity, which is recorded in the Gospels and the Acts, is not that Christianity which is sufficient to make a Man a Christian. This (as absurd and impious as it is) is what our *Unmasker* charges upon the *Conciseness* (as he is pleas'd to call it) of the Evangelical History. And this we must take upon his word, tho these inspir'd Writers tell us the direct contrary. For St. Luke, in his Preface to his Gospel, tells *Theophilus*, that having a perfect Knowledge OF ALL THINGS, the Design of his writing was to set them in order, that he might know the Certainty of those things that were believ'd amongst Christians. And his History of the Acts begins thus, *The former Treatise* [i.e. his Gospel] *have I made, O Theophilus, of ALL that Jesus began to do and to teach.* So that how concise soever the *Unmasker* will have his History to be, he professes it to contain ALL that Jesus taught. Which ALL must, in the narrowest sense that can be given it, contain at least all things necessary to make a Man a Christian. 'Twould else be a very lame and imperfect History of ALL that Jesus taught; if the Faith contain'd in it were not sufficient to make a Man a Christian. This indeed, as the *Unmasker* hath been pleas'd to term it, would be a very *lank Faith*, a very *lank Gospel*.

St. John also says thus of his History of the Gospel, Ch. XX. 30, 31. *Many other Signs truly did Jesus in the presence of his Disciples, which are not written in this Book: So far his History is, by his own Confession, concise. But these, says he, are written, that ye might believe, that Jesus is the Messiah, the Son of God; and that believing, ye might have Life thro his Name.* As concise as it was, there was yet (if the Apostle's word may be taken for it against the *Unmasker's*) enough contain'd in his Gospel for the procuring of eternal Life to those who believ'd it. And whether it was that one Article that he there sets down, viz. That Jesus was the Messiah, or that Set of Articles which the *Unmasker* gives us, I shall leave to this modern Divine to resolve. And if he thinks still, that all the Articles he has set down in his Roll, are necessary to be believ'd to make a Man a Christian, I must desire him to shew them to me in St. John's Gospel, or else to convince the World, that St. John was mistaken, when he said, that he had written his Gospel, that Men might believe that Jesus is the Messiah, the Son of God; and that believing they might have Life thro his Name.

So that granting the History of the Scripture to be so concise as the *Unmasker* would have it, viz. That in some places the infallible Writers, recording the Discourses of our Saviour and his Apostles, omitted all the other Fundamental Articles, propos'd by them to be believ'd to make Men Christians, but this one, that Jesus was the Messiah; yet this will not remove the Objection that lies against his other Fundamentals, which are not to be found in the Histories of the four Evangelists; nay, not to be found in every one of them. If every one of them contains the Gospel of Jesus Christ, and consequently all things necessary to Salvation, whether this will not be a new ground of Accusation against me, and give the *Unmasker* a Right to charge me with laying by three of the Gospels with Contempt, as well as he did before charge me with a Contempt of the Epistles, must be left to his sovereign Authority to determine.

Having shew'd, that allowing all he says here to be as he would have it, yet it clears not the Objection that lies against his Fundamentals; I shall now examine what Truth there is in what he here pretends, viz. That tho the one Article, that Jesus is the Messiah, be mention'd alone in some places, yet we have reason to be persuaded, from the Conciseness of the Scripture-History, that there were at the same time join'd with it other necessary Articles of Faith, in the Preaching of our Saviour and his Apostles.

It is to be observ'd, that the *Unmasker* builds upon this false Supposition, that in some places other necessary Articles of Faith, join'd with that of Jesus the Messiah, are by the Evangelists mention'd to be propos'd by our Saviour and his Apostles, as necessary to be believ'd to make those they preach'd to Christians. For his saying, that in some places that one necessary Article is mention'd

mention'd alone, implies, that in other places it is not mention'd alone, but join'd with other necessary Articles. But then it will remain upon him to shew,

XXXVI. In what place either of the Gospels or of the Acts, other Articles of Faith are join'd with this, and propos'd as necessary to be believed to make Men Christians.

The *Unmasker*, 'tis probable, will tell us, that the Article of Christ's Resurrection is sometimes join'd with this of the *Messiah*, as particularly in that first Sermon of St. Peter, Acts II. by which there were three Thousand added to the Church at one time. *Ans.* This Sermon well consider'd, will explain to us both the Preaching of the Apostles, what it was that they propos'd to their unbelieving Auditors to make them Christians; and also the manner of St. Luke's recording their Sermons. 'Tis true, that here are deliver'd by St. Peter many other *Matters of Faith*, besides that of *Jesus* being the *Messiah*: for all that he said being of Divine Authority, is *Matter of Faith*, and may not be disbeliev'd. The first part of his Discourse is, to prove to the *Jews*, that what they had observed of Extraordinary at that time amongst the Disciples, who spake variety of Tongues, did not proceed from Wine, but from the Holy Ghost: And that this was the pouring out of the Spirit, prophesy'd of by the Prophet *Joel*. This is all *Matter of Faith*, and is written that it might be believed: But yet I think, that neither the *Unmasker*, nor any body else will say, that this is such a necessary Article of Faith, that no Man could, without an explicit Belief of it, be a Christian: Tho being a Declaration of the Holy Ghost by St. Peter, it is so much a *Matter of Faith*, that no body to whom it is now propos'd, can deny it and be a Christian. And thus all the Scripture of the New Testament, given by Divine Inspiration, is *Matter of Faith*, and necessary to be believed by all Christians to whom it is propos'd. But yet I do not think any one so unreasonable as to say, that every Proposition in the New Testament is a Fundamental Article of Faith, which is requir'd explicitly to be believed to make a Man a Christian.

Here now is a *Matter of Faith* join'd, in the same Sermon, with this Fundamental Article, That *Jesus* is the *Messiah*; and reported by the Sacred Historian so at large, that it takes up a third part of St. Peter's Sermon, recorded by St. Luke: And yet it is such a *Matter of Faith*, as is not contain'd in the *Unmasker's* Catalogue of necessary Articles. I must ask him then, whether St. Luke were so concise an Historian, that he would so at large set down a *Matter of Faith* propos'd by St. Peter, that was not necessary to be believ'd to make a Man a Christian, and wholly leave out the very mention of all the *Unmasker's* additional necessary Articles, if indeed they were necessary to be believ'd to make Men Christians? I know not how any one could charge the Historian with greater Unfaithfulness, or greater Folly. But this the *Unmasker* sticks not at, to preserve to himself the Power of appointing what shall, and what shall not be necessary Articles; and of making his System the Christianity necessary, and only necessary to be receiv'd.

The next thing that St. Peter proceeds to in this his Sermon, is, to declare to the Unbelieving *Jews*, that *Jesus* of *Nazareth*, who had done Miracles amongst them, whom they had crucify'd and put to death, and whom God had rais'd again from the Dead, was the *Messiah*.

Here indeed our Saviour's Crucifixion, Death and Resurrection are mention'd: And if they were no where else recorded, are *Matters of Faith*; which, with all the rest of the New Testament, ought to be believ'd by every Christian to whom it is thus propos'd, as a part of Divine Revelation. But that these were not here propos'd to the Unbelieving *Jews*, as the Fundamental Articles, which St. Peter principally aimed at, and endeavour'd to convince them of, is evident from hence; that they are made use of as Arguments to persuade them of this Fundamental Truth, *viz.* That *Jesus* was the *Messiah*, whom they ought to take for their Lord and Ruler. For whatsoever is brought as an Argument to prove another Truth, cannot be thought to be the principal thing aimed at in that Argumentation; tho it may have so strong and immediate a Connection with the Conclusion, that you cannot deny it without denying even what

what is infer'd from it, and is therefore the fitter to be an Argument to prove it. But that our Saviour's Crucifixion, Death, and Resurrection, were used here as Arguments to persuade them into a belief of this Fundamental Article, That *Jesus* was the *Messiah*, and not as Propositions of a new Faith they were to receive; is evident from hence, that *St. Peter* preach'd here to those who knew the Death and Crucifixion of *Jesus* as well as he: and therefore these could not be propos'd to them as new Articles of Faith to be believ'd. But those Matters of Fact being what the *Jews* knew already, were a good Argument, join'd with his Resurrection, to convince them of that Truth, which he endeavour'd to give them a Belief of. And therefore he rightly infer'd from these Facts join'd together, this Conclusion, the believing whereof would make them Christians: *Therefore let all the House of Israel know assuredly, that God hath made that same Jesus, whom ye have crucified, Lord and Christ.* To the making good this sole Proposition, his whole Discourse tended: This was the sole Truth he labour'd to convince them of; this the Faith he endeavour'd to bring them into; which as soon as they had receiv'd with Repentance, they were by Baptism admitted into the Church, and three Thousand at once made Christians.

Here *St. Luke's* own Confession, without that of *intelligent and observing Men*, which the *Unmasker* has recourse to, might have satisfy'd him again, that in relating Matters of Fact, many Passages are omitted by the sacred Pen-men. For, says *St. Luke* here, ver. 40. *And with many other Words*, which are not set down.

One would at first sight, wonder why the *Unmasker* neglects these demonstrative Authorities of the Holy Pen-men themselves, where they own their Omissions, to tell us, that it is confessed by all intelligent and observing Men, that in relating Matters of Fact, many Passages are omitted by the sacred Pen-men. *St. John*, in what he says of his Gospel, directly professes large Omissions, and so does *St. Luke* here. But these Omissions would not serve the *Unmasker's* turn; for they are directly against him, and what he would have: and therefore he had reason to pass them by. For *St. John* in that Passage above-cited, Chap. XX. 30, 31. tells us, that how much soever he had left out of his History, he had inserted that, which was enough to be believ'd to eternal Life. *But these are written that ye might believe, and believing ye might have Life.* But this is not all he assures us of, viz. That he had recorded all that was necessary to be believ'd to eternal Life: but he, in express words, tells us what is that *ALL* that is necessary to be believed to eternal Life; and for the proof of which Proposition alone, he writ all the rest of his Gospel, viz. That *we might believe.* What? Even this; *That Jesus is the Christ the Son of God*, and that believing this, *we might have Life through his Name.*

This may serve for a Key to us, in reading the History of the New Testament; and shew us why this Article, that *Jesus* was the *Messiah*, is no where omitted, tho a great part of the Arguments used to convince Men of it, nay very often the whole Discourse made to lead Men into the Belief of it, be intirely omitted. The Spirit of God directed them every where to set down the Article, which was absolutely necessary to be believ'd to make Men Christians; so that that could no ways be doubted of nor mistaken: But the Arguments and Evidences, which were to lead Men into this Faith, would be sufficient, if they were once found any where, tho scatter'd here and there in those Writings, whereof that infallible Spirit was the Author. This preserv'd the Decorum us'd in all Histories, and avoided those continual large and unnecessary Repetitions, which our critical *Unmasker* might have call'd tedious, with juster reason than he does the Repetition of this short Proposition, That *Jesus* is the *Messiah*; which I set down no oftner in my Book, than the Holy Ghost thought fit to insert in the History of the New Testament, as concise as it is. But this it seems to our nice *Unmasker*, is tedious, tedious and offensive. And if a Christian, and a Successor of the Apostles, cannot bear the being so often told, what it was that our Saviour and his Apostles every where preach'd to the Believers of one God, tho it be contain'd in one short Proposition; what cause of Exception and Disgust would it have been to Heathen Readers, some whereof might perhaps have been as Critical as the *Unmasker*,

masker, if this sacred History had in every Page been fill'd with the repeated Discourses of the Apostles, all of them every where to the same purpose, *viz.* to persuade Men to believe, that *Jesus* was the *Messiah*? It was necessary even by the Laws of History, as often as their preaching any where was mention'd, to tell to what purpose they spoke; which being always to convince Men of this one Fundamental Truth, 'tis no wonder we find it so often repeated. But the Arguments and Reasonings, with which this one Point is urged, are, as they ought to be, in most places left out. A constant Repetition of them had been superfluous, and consequently might justly have been blam'd as *tedious*. But there is enough recorded abundantly to convince any rational Man, any one not wilfully blind, that he is that promised Saviour. And in this we have a reason of the Omissions in the History of the New Testament; which were no other than such, as became prudent, as well as faithful Writers. Much less did that Conciseness (with which the *Unmasker* would cover his bold Censure of the Gospels and the Acts, and as it seems, lay them by with *Contempt*) make the holy Writers omit any thing, in the preaching of our Saviour and his Apostles, absolutely necessary to be known and believed to make Men Christians.

Conformable hereunto we shall find St. *Luke* writes his History of the *Acts* of the Apostles. In the beginning of it he sets down at large some of the Discourses made to the unbelieving *Jews*. But in most other places, unless it be where there was something particular in the Circumstances of the matter, he contents himself to tell to what purpose they spoke; which was every where only this, That *Jesus* was the *Messiah*. Nay, St. *Luke* in the first Speech of St. *Peter*, *Acts* II. which he thought fit to give us a great part of, yet owns the Omission of several things that the Apostle said. For having expressed this Fundamental Doctrine, That *Jesus* was the *Messiah*, and recorded several of the Arguments wherewith St. *Peter* urged it, for the Conversion of the unbelieving *Jews* his Auditors, he adds, *vers.* 40. *And with many other words did he testify and exhort, saying, Save your selves from this untoward Generation.* Here he confesses, that he omitted a great deal which St. *Peter* had said to persuade them. To what? To that which in other words he had just said before, *vers.* 38. *Repent and be baptized every one of you in the name of Jesus Christ, i. e. Believe Jesus to be the Messiah, take him as such for your Lord and King, and reform your Lives by a sincere Resolution of Obedience to his Laws.*

Thus we have an account of the Omissions in the Records of *Matters of Fact* in the New Testament. But will the *Unmasker* say, that the preaching of those Articles that he has given us as necessary to be believ'd to make a Man a Christian, was part of those *Matters of Fact*, which have been omitted in the History of the New Testament? Can any one think, that the *Corruption and Degeneracy of human Nature, with the true Original of it (the Defection of our first Parents) the Propagation of Sin and Mortality, our Restoration and Reconciliation by Christ's Blood, the Eminency and Excellency of his Priesthood, the Efficacy of his Death, the full Satisfaction thereby made to divine Justice, and his being made an all-sufficient Sacrifice for Sin, our Justification by Christ's Righteousness, Election, Adoption, &c.* were all propos'd, and that too in the sense of our Author's System, by our Saviour and his Apostles, as Fundamental Articles of Faith, necessary to be explicitly believ'd by every Man, to make him a Christian, in all their Discourses to Unbelievers; and yet that the inspired Pen-men of those Histories, every where left the mention of these Fundamental Articles wholly out? This would have been to have writ not a *concise*, but an imperfect History of all that *Jesus* and his Apostles taught.

What an account would it have been of the Gospel, as it was first preach'd and propagated, if the greatest part of the necessary Doctrines of it were wholly left out, and a Man could not find from one end to the other of this whole History, that Religion which is necessary to be believ'd to make a Man a Christian? And yet this is that, which under the Notion of their being *concise*, the *Unmasker* would persuade us to have been done by St. *Luke* and the other Evangelists in their Histories. And 'tis no less than what he plainly says in his *Thoughts concerning the Causes of Atheism*, p. 109. where, to aggravate my Fault in passing by the Epistles, and to shew the Necessity of

searching

searching in them for Fundamentals, he in words blames me; but in effect, condemns the Sacred History contain'd in the Gospels and the Acts. *It is most evident*, says he, *to any thinking Man*, that the Author of the Reasonableness of Christianity purposely omits the *Epistolary Writings of the Apostles*, because they are fraught with other Fundamental Doctrines besides that one which he mentions. There we are instructed concerning these grand Heads of Christian Divinity. Here, i. e. in the Epistles, says he, there are Discoveries concerning Satisfaction, &c. And in the close of his List of Grand Heads, as he calls them, some whereof I have above set down out of him, he adds, *These are the Matters of Faith contained in the Epistles*. By all which Expressions he plainly signifies, that these which he calls Fundamental Doctrines, are none of those we are instructed in, in the Gospels and the Acts; that they are not discover'd nor contain'd in the historical Writings of the Evangelists: Whereby he confesses, that either our Saviour and his Apostles did not propose them in their Preachings to their unbelieving Hearers; or else, that the several faithful Writers of their History, wilfully, i. e. unfaithfully, every where omitted them in the account they have left us of those Preachings; which could scarce possibly be done by them all, and every where, without an actual Combination amongst them, to smother the greatest and most material parts of our Saviour's and his Apostles Discourses. For what else did they, if all that the *Unmasker* has set down in his List be Fundamental Doctrines; every one of them absolutely necessary to be believ'd to make a Man a Christian, which our Saviour and his Apostles every where preach'd to make Men Christians; but yet St. Luke and the other Evangelists, by a very guilty and unpardonable Conciseness, every where omitted them, and throughout their whole History never once tell us, they were so much as propos'd, much less that they were those Articles which the Apostles labour'd to establish and convince Men of every where, before they admitted them to Baptism? Nay, the far greatest part of them, the History they writ does not any where so much as once mention? How after such an Imputation as this the *Unmasker* will clear himself from laying by the four Gospels and the Acts with Contempt, let him look; if my not collecting Fundamentals out of the Epistles had that Guilt in it. For I never deny'd all the Fundamental Doctrines to be there, but only said, that there they were not easy to be found out, and distinguish'd from Doctrines not Fundamental. Whereas our good *Unmasker* charges the historical Books of the New Testament with a total Omission of the far greatest part of those Fundamental Doctrines of Christianity, which he says are absolutely necessary to be believed to make a Man a Christian.

To convince the Reader what was absolutely requir'd to be believed to make a Man a Christian, and thereby clear the holy Writers from the *Unmasker's* Slander, any one need but look a little further into the History of the Acts, and observe St. Luke's Method in the Writing of it. In the beginning (as we observ'd before) and in some few other places, he sets down at large the Discourses made by the Preachers of Christianity to their unbelieving Auditors. But in the Process of his History, he generally contents himself to relate, what it was their Discourses drive at; what was the Doctrine they endeavour'd to convince their unbelieving Hearers of, to make them Believers. This we may observe is never omitted. This is every where set down. Thus Acts V. 42. he tells us, that *daily in the Temple, and in every House, the Apostles ceased not to teach, and to preach JESUS THE MESSIAH*. The Particulars of their Discourses he omits, and the Arguments they used to induce Men to believe, he omits: But never fails to inform us carefully what it was the Apostles taught and preached, and would have Men believe. The account he gives us of St. Paul's preaching at Thessalonica, is this: That *three Sabbath Days he REASON'D with the Jews out of the Scriptures, OPENING and ALLEDGING, that the Messiah must needs have Suffer'd and Risen again from the Dead; and that Jesus was the Messiah*: Acts XVII. 2, 3. At Corinth, that he *REASON'D in the Synagogue every Sabbath, and PERSUADED the Jews and the Greeks, and TESTIFIED that Jesus was the Messiah*; XVIII. 4, 5. That Apollos mightily convinced the Jews, *SHEWING BY THE SCRIPTURES that Jesus was the Messiah*; XVIII. 27.

By these, and the like places, we may be satisfy'd what it was that the Apostles Taught and Preach'd, even this one Proposition, That *Jesus was the Messiah*: For this was the sole Proposition they reason'd about; this alone they testify'd, and they shew'd out of the Scriptures; and of this alone they endeavour'd to convince the Jews and the Greeks, that believed one God. So that it is plain from hence, that St. Luke omitted nothing that the Apostles Taught and Preach'd; none of those Doctrines, that it was necessary to convince Unbelievers of, to make them Christians: Tho he in most places omitted, as was fit, the Passages of Scripture which they alledg'd, and the Arguments those inspired Preachers used to persuade Men to believe and imbrace that Doctrine.

Another convincing Argument, to shew that St. Luke omitted none of those Fundamental Doctrines which the Apostles any where propos'd as necessary to be believ'd, is from that different Account he gives us of their Preaching in other places, and to Auditors otherwise dispos'd. Where the Apostles had to do with Idolatrous Heathens, who were not yet come to the knowledg of the only true God, there he tells us they propos'd also the Article of the one Invisible God, Maker of Heaven and Earth: And this we find recorded in him out of their Preaching to the *Lystrians*, Acts XIV. and to the *Athenians*, Acts XVII. In the latter of which, St. Luke, to convince his Reader that he, out of *Conciseness*, omits none of those Fundamental Articles that were any where propos'd by the Preachers of the Gospel, as necessary to be believ'd to make Men Christians, sets down not only the Article of *Jesus the Messiah*, but that also of the one Invisible God, Creator of all things, which (if any necessary one might) this of all other Fundamental Articles might, by an Author that affected brevity, with the fairest Excuse have been omitted, as being implied in that other of the *Messiah ordained by God*. Indeed, in the Story of what Paul and Barnabas said at *Lystra*, the Article of the *Messiah* is not mention'd. Not that St. Luke omitted that Fundamental Article, where the Apostles taught it: But they having here begun their Preaching with that of the one living God, they had not, as appears, time to proceed farther, and propose to them what yet remain'd to make them Christians: All that they could do at that time, was to hinder the People from sacrificing to them. And before we hear any more of their preaching, they were, by the Instigation of the Jews, fallen upon, and Paul stoned.

This, by the way, shews the *Unmasker's* mistake in his first Particular, p. 74. where he says (as he does here again in his second Particular, which we are now examining) that *believing Jesus to be the Messiah, is the first step to Christianity; and therefore this, rather than any other, was propounded to be believed by all those, whom either our Saviour, or the Apostles, invited to embrace Christianity*. The contrary whereof appears here; where the Article of one God is propos'd in the first place, to those whose Unbelief made such a Proposal necessary. And therefore if his Reason (which he uses again here, p. 76.) were good, viz. That the Article of the *Messiah* is expressly mention'd alone, because it is a leading Article and makes way for the rest, this Reason would rather conclude for the Article of one God; and that alone should be expressly mention'd instead of the other. Since, as he argues for the other, p. 74. *If they did not believe this in the first place, viz. That there was one God, there could be no hopes that they would attend unto any other Proposal relating to the Christian Religion*. The Vanity and Falshood of which reasoning, viz. That the Article of Jesus the Messiah was every where propounded rather than any other, because it was the leading Article; we see in the History of St. Paul's preaching to the *Athenians*. St. Luke mentions more than one Article, where more than one was propos'd by St. Paul; tho the first of them was that leading Article of one God, which if not received in the first place, there could be no hope they would attend to the rest.

Something the *Unmasker* would make of this Argument of a leading Article for want of a better, tho he knows not what. In his first Particular, p. 74. he makes use of it to shew, why there was but that one Article propos'd by the first Preachers of the Gospel; and how well that succeeds with him, we have seen. For this is Demonstration, that if there were but that

one propos'd by our Saviour and the Apostles, there was but that one necessary to be believ'd to make Men Christians; unless he will impiously say, that our Saviour and the Apostles went about preaching to no purpose: For if they propos'd not all that was necessary to make Men Christians, 'twas in vain for them to preach, and others to hear; if when they heard and believ'd all that was propos'd to them, they were not yet Christians: For if any Article was omitted in the Proposal, which was necessary to make a Man a Christian, tho they believ'd all that was propos'd to them, they could not yet be Christians; unless a Man can from an Infidel become a Christian, without doing what is necessary to make him a Christian.

Further, if his Argument of its being a *leading Article* proves, that that alone was propos'd, it is a Contradiction to give it as a reason, why it was set down alone by the Historian, where it was not propos'd alone by the Preacher, but other necessary *Matters of Faith* were propos'd with it; unless it can be true, that this Article of *Jesus is the Messiah*, was propos'd alone by our Saviour and his Apostles, because it was a *leading Article*, and was mention'd alone in the History of what they preach'd, because it was a *leading Article*, tho it were not propos'd alone, but jointly with other necessary *Matters of Faith*. For this is the use he makes here again, p. 76. of his *leading Article* under his second Particular, viz. To shew why the Historians mention'd this necessary Article, of *Jesus the Messiah*, alone, in places where the Preachers of the Gospel propos'd it not alone, but with other necessary Articles. But in this latter case it has no shew of a Reason at all. It may be granted as reasonable for the Teachers of any Religion not to go any farther, where they see the first Article which they propose is rejected; where the *leading Truth*, on which all the rest depends, is not received. But it can be no reason at all for an Historian, who writes the History of these first Preachers, to set down only the one first and leading Article, and omit all the rest, in instances where more were not only propos'd, but believ'd and imbrac'd, and upon that the Hearers and Believers admitted into the Church. 'Tis not for Historians to put any distinction between leading or not leading Articles; but if they will give a true and useful account of the Religion, whose Original they are writing, and of the Converts made to it, they must tell, not one, but all those necessary Articles, upon Assent to which Converts were baptiz'd into that Religion, and admitted into the Church. Whoever says otherwise, accuses them of falsifying the Story, misleading the Readers, and giving a wrong account of the Religion which they pretend to teach the World, and to preserve and propagate to future Ages. This (if it were so) no pretence of *Conciseness* could excuse or palliate.

There is yet remaining one Consideration, which were sufficient of it self to convince us, that it was the sole Article of Faith which was preach'd; and that if there had been other Articles necessary to be known and believed by Converts, they could not, upon any pretence of *Conciseness*, be suppos'd to be omitted: And that is the Commissions of those, that were sent to preach the Gospel. Which since the Sacred Historians mention, they cannot be suppos'd to leave out any of the material and main Heads of those Commissions.

St. Luke records it, Chap. IV. 43. that our Saviour says of himself, *I must go unto the other Towns to tell the good News of the Kingdom, for (as it is) upon this Errand am I SENT.* This St. Mark calls simply *Preaching*. This Preaching, what it contain'd, St. Matthew tells us, Chap. IV. 23. *And Jesus went about all Galilee, teaching in their Synagogues, and preaching the good News of the Kingdom, and healing all manner of Sickness, and all manner of Diseases amongst the People.* Here we have his Commission, or End of his being sent, and the Execution of it; both terminating in this, that he declar'd the good News that the Kingdom of the *Messiah* was come; and gave them to understand by the Miracles he did, that he himself was he. Nor does St. Matthew seem to affect such *Conciseness*, that he would have left it out, if the Gospel had contained any other Fundamental Parts necessary to be believ'd to make Men Christians. For he here says, *All manner of Sickness, and all manner of Diseases*, when either of them might have been better left out, than any necessary Article of the Gospel, to make his History concise.

We see what our Saviour was sent for. In the next place, let us look into the Commission he gave the Apostles, when he sent them to preach the Gospel. We have it in the tenth of St. Matthew, in these words: *Go not into the way of the Gentiles, and into any City of the Samaritans enter ye not. But go rather to the lost Sheep of the House of Israel. And as ye go PREACH, SAYING THE KINGDOM OF HEAVEN IS AT HAND. Heal the Sick, cleanse the Lepers, raise the Dead, cast out Devils: Freely have ye received, freely give. Provide neither Gold, nor Silver, nor Brasse in your Purses; nor Scrip in your Journey; neither two Coats, neither Shoes, nor yet Staves (for the Workman is worthy of his Meat). And into whatsoever City or Town ye shall enter, inquire who in it is worthy, and there abide till ye go thence. And when ye come into any House, salute it. And if the House be worthy, let your Peace come upon it; but if it be not worthy, let your Peace return to you. And whosoever shall not receive you, nor hear your words; when ye depart out of that House or City, shake off the Dust of your Feet. Verily, I say unto you, it shall be more tolerable for the Land of Sodom and Gomorrah, in the Day of Judgment, than for that City. Behold, I send you forth as Sheep in the midst of Wolves: Be ye therefore wise as Serpents, and harmless as Doves. But beware of Men, for they will deliver you up to the Councils, and they will scourge you in their Synagogues. And ye shall be brought before Governours, and Kings, for my sake, for a Testimony against them and the Gentiles. But when they deliver you up, take no thought how, or what ye shall speak; for it shall be given you in that same Hour, what ye shall speak. For it is not ye that speak, but the Spirit of your Father which speaketh in you. And the Brother shall deliver up the Brother to Death, and the Father the Child: and the Children shall rise up against the Parents, and cause them to be put to Death. And ye shall be hated of all Men for my Name's sake: But he that endureth to the end shall be saved. But when they persecute you in this City, flee ye into another: For verily I say unto you, ye shall not have gone over the Cities of Israel, till the Son of Man be come. The Disciple is not above his Master, nor the Servant above his Lord. It is enough for the Disciple that he be as his Master, and the Servant as his Lord. If they have called the Master of the House Beelzebub, how much more shall they call them of his Household? Fear them not therefore: for there is nothing covered which shall not be revealed; and hid that shall not be known. What I tell you in Darkness, that speak ye in Light: And what ye hear in the Ear, that preach ye upon the House-tops. And fear not them which kill the Body, but are not able to kill the Soul: But rather fear him which is able to destroy both Soul and Body in Hell. Are not two Sparrows sold for a Farthing? and one of them shall not fall on the ground without your Father. But the very Hairs of your Head are all numbered. Fear ye not therefore, ye are of more Value than many Sparrows. Whosoever therefore shall confess me before Men, him will I confess also before my Father which is in Heaven. But whosoever shall deny me before Men, him will I also deny before my Father which is in Heaven. Think not that I am come to send Peace on Earth: I came not to send Peace, but a Sword. For I am come to set a Man at variance against his Father, and the Daughter against her Mother, and the Daughter-in-Law against her Mother-in-Law. And a Man's Foes shall be they of his own Household. He that loveth Father and Mother more than me, is not worthy of me: and he that loveth Son or Daughter more than me, is not worthy of me. And he that taketh not his Cross, and followeth after me, is not worthy of me. He that findeth his Life shall lose it: and he that loseth his Life for my sake, shall find it. He that receiveth you, receiveth me; and he that receiveth me, receiveth him that sent me. He that receiveth a Prophet in the name of a Prophet, shall receive a Prophet's Reward; and he that receiveth a righteous Man, shall receive a righteous Man's Reward. And whosoever shall give to drink unto one of these little ones, a Cup of cold Water only in the name of a Disciple, verily I say unto you, he shall in no wise lose his Reward. And it came to pass, when Jesus had made an end of commanding his twelve Disciples—*

This is the Commission our Saviour gave the Apostles, when he sent them abroad to recover, and save the lost Sheep of the House of Israel. And will any of the Unmasker's intelligent and observing Men say, that the History of the Scripture is so concise, that any Passages, any essential, any material, nay any parts at all of the Apostles Commission, are here omitted by the Sacred Pen-
man?

man? This Commission is set down so at full, and so particularly, that St. Matthew, who was one of them to whom it was given, seems not to have left out one word, of all that our Saviour gave him in charge. And it is so large, even to every particular Article of their Instructions, that I doubt not but my citing so much, *verbatim*, out of the sacred Text, will here again be troublesome to the Unmasker. But whether he will venture again to call it *redundant*, must be as Nature or Caution happen to have the better on't. Can any one who reads this Commission, unless he hath the Brains as well as the Brow of an Unmasker, alledge that the Conciseness of the History of the Scripture has conceal'd from us those Fundamental Doctrines, which our Saviour and his Apostles preach'd; but the sacred Historians thought fit by consent, for unconceivable Reasons, to leave out in the Narrative they give us, of those preachings? This Passage here, wholly confuteth that. They could preach nothing but what they were sent to preach: And that we see is contained in these few words, *Preach, saying, the Kingdom of Heaven is at hand. Heal the Sick, cleanse the Lepers, raise the Dead, cast out Devils; i. e. acquaint them that the Kingdom of the Messiah is come, and let them know by the Miracles you do in my Name, that I am that King and Deliverer they expect.* If there were any other necessary Articles that were to be believ'd, for the saving of the *lost Sheep* they were sent to, can one think that St. Matthew, who sets down so minutely every Circumstance of their Commission, would have omitted the most important and material of it? He was an Ear-witness, and one that was sent; and so (without supposing him inspir'd) could not be misled by the short account he might receive from others, who by their own, or others Forgetfulness, might have drop'd those other Fundamental Articles, that the Apostles were order'd to preach.

The very like account St. Luke gives us of our Saviour's Commission to the Seventy, Chap. X. 1—16. *After these things the Lord appointed other seventy also, and sent them two and two before his Face, into every City and Place whither he himself would come. Therefore said he unto them, The Harvest truly is great, but the Labourers are few: Pray ye therefore the Lord of the Harvest, that he would send forth Labourers into his Harvest. Go your ways: behold I send you forth as Lambs among Wolves. Carry neither Purse, nor Scrip, nor Shoes: and salute no Man by the way. And into whatsoever House ye enter, first say, Peace be to this House. And if the Son of Peace be there, your Peace shall rest upon it; if not, it shall return to you again. And in the same House remain eating and drinking such things as they give: for the Labourer is worthy of his Hire. Go not from House to House. And into whatsoever City ye enter and they receive you, eat such things as are set before you. And heal the Sick that are therein, and SAY UNTO THEM, THE KINGDOM OF GOD IS COME NIGH UNTO YOU. But in whatsoever City ye enter, and they receive you not, go your ways out into the Streets of the same, and say, Even the very Dust of your City which cleaveth on us, we do wipe off against you: Notwithstanding be ye sure of this, that the Kingdom of God is come nigh unto you. But I say unto you, that it shall be more tolerable in that day for Sodom, than for that City. Wo unto thee Chorazin, wo unto thee Bethsaida: For if the mighty Works had been done in Tyre and Sidon, which have been done in you, they had a great while ago repented, sitting in Sackcloth and Ashes. But it shall be more tolerable for Tyre and Sidon at the Day of Judgment, than for you. And thou Capernaum, which art exalted to Heaven, shalt be thrust down to Hell. He that heareth you, heareth me: and he that despiseth you, despiseth me: and he that despiseth me, despiseth him that sent me.*

Our Saviour's Commission here to the Seventy, whom he sent to preach, is so exactly conformable to that which he had before given to the Twelve Apostles, that there needs but this one thing more to be observ'd, to convince any one that they were sent to convert their Hearers to this sole Belief, That the Kingdom of the Messiah was come, and that Jesus was the Messiah: And that the Historians of the New Testament are not so concise in their Account of this matter, that they would have omitted any other necessary Articles of Belief that had been given to the Seventy in Commission. That which I mean is, the Kingdom of the Messiah is twice mention'd in it to be come, *vers. 9.* and

and 11. If there were other Articles given them by our Saviour to propose to their Hearers, St. Luke must be very fond of this one Article, when for Conciseness sake, leaving out the other Fundamental Articles that our Saviour gave them in charge to preach, he repeats this more than once.

The *Unmasker's* third Particular, p. 76. begins thus: *This also must be thought of, that tho there are several Parts and Members of the Christian Faith, yet they do not all occur in any one place of Scripture.* Something is in it (whether owing to his Will, or Understanding, I shall not enquire) that the *Unmasker* always delivers himself in doubtful and ambiguous Terms. It had been as easy for him to have said, There are several Articles of the Christian Faith necessary to be believ'd to make a Man a Christian, as to say, (as he does here) *There are several Parts and Members of the Christian Faith.* But as an evidence of the Clearness of his Notions, or the Fairness of his Arguing, he always rests in generals. *There are, I grant, several Parts and Members of the Christian Faith, which do no more occur in any one place of Scripture, than the whole New Testament can be said to occur in any one place of Scripture.* For every Proposition deliver'd in the New Testament, for Divine Revelation, is a Part and Member of the Christian Faith. But 'tis not those Parts and Members of the Christian Faith we are speaking of; but only such Parts and Members of the Christian Faith, as are absolutely necessary to be believ'd by every Man, before he can be a Christian. And in that sense I deny his Assertion to be true, viz. That they do not occur in any one place of Scripture: For they do all occur in that first Sermon of St. Peter, Acts II. 11. by which three Thousand were at that time brought into the Church, and that in these words: *Therefore let all the House of Israel know assuredly, that God hath made that same Jesus, whom you have crucified, Lord and Christ. Repent and be baptized every one of you in the Name of Jesus Christ.* Here is the Doctrine of Jesus the Messiah, the Lord, and of Repentance, propos'd to those who already believe one God; which, I say, are all the parts of the Christian Faith necessary to be receiv'd to make a Man a Christian. To suppose, as the *Unmasker* does here, that more is requir'd, is to beg, not prove the Question.

If he disputes this Collection of mine out of that Sermon of St. Peter, I will give him a more authentick Collection of the necessary parts of the Christian Faith, from an Author that he will not question. Let him look into Acts XX. 20, &c. and there he will find St. Paul saying thus to the Elders of Ephesus, whom he was taking his last leave of, with an Assurance that he should never see them again: *I have kept back nothing that was profitable unto you; but have shew'd you, and have taught you publickly, and from House to House, testifying both to the Jews, and also to the Greeks, Repentance towards God, and Faith towards our Lord Jesus Christ.* If St. Paul knew what was necessary to make a Christian, here it is: Here he (if he knew how to do it, for 'tis plain from his words he design'd to do it) has put it together. But there is a greater yet than St. Paul, who has brought all the parts of Faith necessary to Salvation into one place; I mean our Saviour himself, John XVII. 13. in these words: *This is Life eternal, that they might know thee the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom thou hast sent.*

But the *Unmasker* goes on: *Therefore when in some places, only one single part of the Christian Faith is made mention of, as necessarily to be embrac'd in order to Salvation, we must be careful not to take it alone, but to supply it from several other places, which make mention of other necessary and indispensable Points of Belief.* I will give the Reader a plain instance of this, Rom. X. 9. *If thou shalt believe in thy Heart, that God hath rais'd him (i. e. the Lord Jesus) from the dead, thou shalt be saved.* Here one Article of Faith, viz. the Belief of Christ's Resurrection (because it is of so great Importance in Christianity) is only mention'd: but all the rest must be suppos'd, because they are mention'd in other places.

Ans. One would wonder that any one conversant in Holy Writ, with ever so little Attention, much more that an Expounder of the Scriptures, should so mistake the Sense and Style of the Scripture. Believing Jesus to be the Messiah with a lively Faith, i. e. as I have shew'd, taking him to be our King, with a sincere Submission to the Laws of his Kingdom, is all that is requir'd to make a Man a Christian; for this includes Repentance too. The believing him therefore to be the Messiah, is very often, and with great reason, put both for

Faith

Faith and Repentance too; which are sometimes set down singly, where one is put for both, as implying the other: and sometimes they are both mention'd; and then Faith, as contradistinguish'd to Repentance, is taken for a simple Assent of the Mind to this Truth, That *Jesus* is the *Messiah*. Now this Faith is variously expressed in Scripture.

There are some particulars in the History of our Saviour, allow'd to be so peculiarly appropriated to the *Messiah*, such incommunicable Marks of him, that to believe them of *Jesus of Nazareth* was in effect the same, as to believe him to be the *Messiah*, and so are put to express it. The principal of these is his Resurrection from the Dead; which being the great and demonstrative Proof of his being the *Messiah*, 'tis not at all strange that the believing his Resurrection should be put for believing him to be the *Messiah*: since the declaring his Resurrection, was a declaring him to be the *Messiah*. For thus St. Paul argues, *Acts XIII. 32, 33. We declare unto you good Tidings, or, we preach the Gospel to you, [for so the word signifies] how that the Promise that was made unto the Fathers, God hath fulfilled the same unto us their Children, in that he hath raised up Jesus again.* The Force of which Argument lies in this, That if *Jesus* was raised from the dead, then he was certainly the *Messiah*: And thus the Promise of the *Messiah* was fulfilled, in raising *Jesus* from the dead. The like Argument St. Paul useth, *1 Cor. XV. 17. If Christ be not raised, your Faith is vain, you are yet in your Sins; i. e. if Jesus be not risen from the dead, he is not the Messiah, your believing it is in vain, and you will receive no benefit by that Faith.* And so likewise from the same Argument of his Resurrection, he at *Thessalonica* proves him to be the *Messiah*, *Acts XVII. 2, 3. And Paul, as his manner was, went into the Synagogue, and three Sabbath Days reasoned with the Jews out of the Scriptures, opening and alledging that the Messiah must needs have suffer'd, and risen again from the dead: And that this Jesus, whom I preach unto you, is the Messiah.*

The necessary Connection of these two, that if he rose from the Dead, he was the *Messiah*; and if he rose not from the Dead, he was not the *Messiah*; the chief Priest and Pharisees that had prosecuted him to Death, understood very well: who therefore came together unto Pilate, saying, Sir, we remember that that Deceiver said, whilst he was yet alive, After three Days I will rise again. Command therefore that the Sepulchre be made sure unto the third Day, lest his Disciples come by Night and steal him away, and say unto the People, he is risen from the Dead: So the last Error shall be worse than the first. The Error they here speak of, 'tis plain, was the Opinion, that he was the *Messiah*. To stop that Belief, which his Miracles had procured him amongst the People, they had got him put to Death: But if after that, it should be believed, that he rose again from the Dead, this Demonstration that he was the *Messiah*, would but establish what they had labour'd to destroy, by his Death: Since no one, who believ'd his Resurrection, could doubt of his being the *Messiah*.

'Tis not at all therefore to be wonder'd, that his Resurrection, his Ascension, his Rule and Dominion, and his coming to judg the Quick and the Dead, which are Characteristical Marks of the *Messiah*, and belong peculiarly to him, should sometimes in Scripture be put alone, as sufficient Descriptions of the *Messiah*; and the believing them of him, put for believing him to be the *Messiah*. Thus, *Acts X.* our Saviour in Peter's Discourse to *Cornelius*, when he brought him the Gospel, is describ'd to be the *Messiah*, by his Miracles, Death, Resurrection, Dominion, and coming to judg the Quick and the Dead.

These, (which in my *Reasonableness of Christianity*, I have upon this ground taken the liberty to call concomitant Articles) where they are set alone for the Faith to which Salvation is promis'd, plainly signify the believing *Jesus* to be the *Messiah*, that Fundamental Article which has the Promise of Life; and so give no Foundation at all for what the *Unmasker* says, in these words: *Here one Article of Faith, viz. the Belief of Christ's Resurrection (because it is of so great Importance in Christianity) is only mention'd; but all the rest must be suppos'd, because they are mention'd in other places.*

Ans. If all the rest be of absolute and indispensable Necessity to be believ'd to make a Man a Christian, all the rest are every one of them of equal Importance. For things of equal Necessity to any End, are of equal Importance to

to that End. But here the Truth forc'd its way unawares from the *Unmasker*. Our Saviour's Resurrection, for the Reason I have given, is truly of great Importance in Christianity; so great, that his being or not being the Messiah stands or falls with it: So that these two important Articles are inseparable, and in effect make but one. For since that time, believe one, and you believe both; deny one of them, and you can believe neither. If the *Unmasker* can shew me any one of the Articles in his List, which is not of this great Importance, mention'd alone with a Promise of Salvation for believing it, I will grant him to have some colour for what he says here. But where is to be found in the Scripture any such Expression as this; If thou shalt believe with thy Heart the Corruption and Degeneracy of human Nature, thou shalt be saved? or the like. This place therefore out of the *Romans* makes not for, but against his List of necessary Articles. One of them alone he cannot shew me any where set down, with a Supposition of the rest, as having Salvation promis'd to it. Tho it be true, that that one which alone is absolutely necessary to be superadded to the Belief of one God, is in divers places differently express'd.

That which he subjoins, as a Consequence of what he had said, is a farther Proof of this: *And consequently*, says he, *if we would give an impartial Account of our Belief, we must consult those places: And they are not all together, but dispersed here and there. Wherefore we must look them out, and acquaint our selves with the several particulars which make up our Belief, and render it intire and consummate.*

Answ. Never was Man constanter to a loose way of talking. The Question is only about Articles necessary to be believ'd to make a Man a Christian: And here he talks of the several Particulars which make up our Belief, and render it intire and consummate; confounding, as he did before, Essential and Integral parts, which it seems he cannot distinguish. Our Faith is true and saving, when it is such as God, by the new Covenant, requires it to be: But it is not intire and consummate, till we explicitly believe all the Truths contain'd in the Word of God. For the whole Revelation of Truth in the Scripture, being the proper and intire Object of Faith; our Faith cannot be intire and consummate, till it be adequate to its proper Object, which is the whole divine Revelation contain'd in the Scripture: And so to make our Faith intire and consummate, we must not look out those places, which he says, are not all together. To talk of looking out, and culling of places, is Nonsense, where the whole Scripture alone can make up our Belief, and render it intire and consummate: Which no one, I think, can hope for in this frail State of Ignorance and Error. To make the *Unmasker* speak Sense, and to the purpose here, we must understand him thus: *That if we will give an impartial account of the Articles that are necessary to be believ'd to make a Man a Christian, we must consult those places where they are, for they are not all together, but dispersed here and there; wherefore we must look them out, and acquaint our selves with the several particulars which make up the Fundamental Articles of our Belief, and will render a Catalogue of them intire and consummate.* If his Supposition be true, I grant his Method to be reasonable, and upon that I join Issue with him. Let him thus give us an impartial Account of our Belief; let him acquaint us with the several Particulars which make up a Christian's Belief, and render it intire and consummate. Till he has done this, let him not talk thus in the Air of a Method, that will not do: let him not reproach me, as he does, for not taking a course, by which he himself cannot do, what he reviles me for failing in. But our hasty Author, says he, took another course, and thereby deceiv'd himself, and unhappily deceiv'd others. If it be so, I desire the *Unmasker* to take the course he proposes, and thereby undeceive me, and others; and acquaint us with the several Particulars which make up a Christian's Belief, and render it intire and consummate: For I am willing to be undeceiv'd: but till he has done that, and shewn us by the success of it, that his course is better, he cannot blame us for following that course we have done.

I come now to his fourth and last Particular, p. 78. which he says, is the main Answer to the Objection; and therefore I shall set it down in his own words intire as it stands together. This, says he, must be born in our Minds, that Christianity was erected by degrees, according to that Prediction and Promise of our Saviour, that the Spirit should teach them all things, John XIV. 26. and that

that he should guide them into all Truth, John XVI. 13. viz; after his Departure and Ascension, when the Holy Ghost was to be sent in a special manner to enlighten Mens Minds, and to discover to them the great Mysteries of Christianity. This is to be noted by us, as that which gives great Light in the present case. The discovery of the Doctrines of the Gospel was gradual. It was by certain steps that Christianity climbed to its height. We are not to think then, that all the necessary Doctrines of the Christian Religion were clearly publish'd to the World in our Saviour's Time. Not but that all that were necessary for that time, were publish'd: But some which were necessary for the succeeding one, were not then discover'd, or at least, not fully. They had ordinarily no Belief, before Christ's Death and Resurrection, of those substantial Articles, i. e. that he should die and rise again: But we read in the Acts, and in the Epistles, that these were formal Articles of Faith afterwards, and are ever since necessary to compleat the Christian Belief. So as to other great Verities, the Gospel increased by degrees, and was not perfect at once. Which furnishes us with a Reason, why most of the choicest and sublimest Truths of Christianity are to be met with in the Epistles of the Apostles, they being such Doctrines as were not clearly discover'd and open'd in the Gospels and the Acts. Thus far the Unmasker.

I thought hitherto, that the Covenant of Grace in Christ Jesus had been but one, immutably the same: But our Unmasker here makes two, or I know not how many. For I cannot tell how to conceive, that the Conditions of any Covenant should be chang'd, and the Covenant remain the same; every Change of Conditions, in my apprehension, makes a new and another Covenant. We are not to think, says the Unmasker, That all the necessary Doctrines of the Christian Religion were clearly publish'd to the World in our Saviour's Time; not but that all that were necessary for that time were publish'd: But some which were necessary for the succeeding one, were not then discover'd, or, at least, not fully. *Ans.* The Unmasker, constant to himself, speaks here doubtfully, and cannot tell whether he should say, that the Articles necessary to succeeding Times, were discover'd in our Saviour's Time, or no: And therefore, that he may provide himself a Retreat in the Doubt he is in, he says, They were not clearly publish'd; they were not then discover'd, or at least not fully. But we must desire him to pull off his Mask, and to that purpose,

1. I ask him how he can tell, that all the necessary Doctrines were obscurely publish'd, or, in part discover'd? For an obscure publishing, a Discovery in part, is oppos'd to, and intimated in not clearly publish'd, not fully discover'd. And if a clear and full Discovery be all that he denies to them, I ask,

XXXVII. Which those Fundamental Articles are, which were obscurely publish'd, but not fully discover'd, in our Saviour's Time?

And next, I shall desire him to tell me,

XXXVIII. Whether there are any Articles necessary to be believed to make a Man a Christian, that were not discover'd at all in our Saviour's Time; and which they are?

If he cannot shew these distinctly, it is plain he talks at random about them; but has no clear and distinct Conception of those that were publish'd, or not publish'd, clearly or obscurely discover'd, in our Saviour's Time. It was necessary for him to say something, for those his pretended necessary Articles, which are not to be found any where propos'd in the Preaching of our Saviour and his Apostles, to their yet Unbelieving Auditors; and therefore he says, We are not to think all the necessary Doctrines of the Christian Religion were clearly publish'd to the World in our Saviour's Time. But he barely says it, without giving any Reason, why we are not to think so. It is enough that it is necessary to his Hypothesis. He says, we are not to think so, and we are presently bound not to think so. Else from another Man, that did not usurp an Authority over our Thoughts, it would have requir'd some Reason to make them think, that something more was requir'd to make a Man a Christian after, than in our Saviour's Time. For, as I take it, it is not a very probable, much less a

self-evident Proposition, to be receiv'd without Proof, That there was something *necessary for that Time*, to make a Man a Christian, and something more that was *necessary* to make a Man a Christian in the *succeeding Time*.

However, since this great Master says *we ought to think so*, let us in Obedience think so as well as we can; till he vouchsafes to give us some Reason to think, that there was more requir'd to be believ'd to make a Man a Christian in the succeeding time, than in our Saviour's. This, instead of removing, does but increase the Difficulty: For if more were necessary to be believed to make a Man a Christian after our Saviour's time, than was during his Life; how comes it, that no more was propos'd by the Apostles in their Preaching to Unbelievers for the making them Christians, after our Saviour's Death, than there was before; even this one Article, that he was the *Messiah*? For I desire the *Unmasker* to shew me any of those Articles mention'd in his List (except the Resurrection and Ascension of our Saviour, which were intervening Matters of Fact, evidencing him to be the *Messiah*) that were propos'd by the Apostles, after our Saviour's time, to their Unbelieving Hearers, to make them Christians. This one Doctrine, that *Jesus* was the *Messiah*, was that which was propos'd in our Saviour's time to be believ'd, as necessary to make a Man a Christian: The same Doctrine was likewise what was propos'd afterwards, in the preaching of the Apostles to Unbelievers, to make them Christians.

I grant this was more *clearly* propos'd after, than in our Saviour's time: but in both of them it was all that was propos'd to the Believers of one God, to make them Christians. Let him shew, that there were any other propos'd in, or after our Saviour's time, to be believ'd, to make Unbelievers Christians. If he means by *necessary Articles publish'd to the World*, the other Doctrines contain'd in the Epistles; I grant they are all of them necessary Articles to be believ'd by every Christian, as far as he understands them. But I deny, that they were propos'd to those they were writ to, as necessary to make them Christians, for this demonstrative Reason; Because they were Christians already. For example, Many Doctrines proving, and explaining, and giving a farther Light into the Gospel, are publish'd in the Epistles to the *Corinthians* and *Thessalonians*. These are all of Divine Authority, and none of them may be disbeliev'd by any one who is a Christian: But yet what was propos'd or publish'd to both the *Corinthians* and *Thessalonians* to make them Christians, was only this Doctrine, That *Jesus* was the *Messiah*: as may be seen, *Acts* XVII, XVIII. This then was the Doctrine necessary to make Men Christians in our Saviour's time; and this the only Doctrine necessary to make Unbelievers Christians after our Saviour's time. The only difference was, that it was more clearly propos'd after, than before his Ascension: the Reason whereof has been sufficiently explain'd. But any other Doctrine but this, propos'd clearly or obscurely, in, or after our Saviour's time, as necessary to be believed to make Unbelievers Christians, That remains yet to be shewn.

When the *Unmasker* speaks of the Doctrines that were necessary for the *succeeding time* after our Saviour, he is in doubt whether he should say they were, or were not *discover'd* in our Saviour's time; and how far they were then *discover'd*: and therefore he says, *Some of them were not then discover'd, or at least not fully*. We must here excuse the doubtfulness of his talking, concerning the discovery of his other necessary Articles. For how could he say they were discover'd or not discover'd, clearly or obscurely, fully or not fully; when he does not yet know them all, nor can tell us, what those necessary Articles are? If he does know them, let him give us a List of them, and then we shall see easily whether they were at all publish'd or discover'd in our Saviour's time. If there are some of them that were not at all discover'd in our Saviour's time, let him speak it out, and leave shifting: And if some of those that were *not necessary for our Saviour's time*, but for the *succeeding one only*, were yet discover'd in our Saviour's time, why were they not necessary to be believ'd in that time? But the truth is, he knows not what these Doctrines necessary for succeeding Times are, and therefore can say nothing positive about their Discovery. And for those that he has set down, as soon as he shall name any one of them to be of the number of those *not necessary for our Saviour's*

Time,

time, but necessary for the succeeding one, it will presently appear, either that it was discover'd in our Saviour's Time; and then it was as necessary for his Time as the succeeding: or else, that it was not discover'd in his Time, nor to several Converts after his Time, before they were made Christians; and therefore it was no more necessary to be believ'd to make a Man a Christian in the succeeding, than it was in our Saviour's Time. However, general Positions and Distinctions without a Foundation, serve for shew, and to beguile unwary and inattentive Readers.

2. Having thus minded him, that the Question is about Articles of Faith necessary to be explicitly and distinctly believ'd to make a Man a Christian; I then, in the next place, demand of him to tell me,

XXXIX. *Whether or no all the Articles necessary now to be distinctly and explicitly believ'd to make any Man a Christian, were distinctly and explicitly publish'd or discover'd in our Saviour's Time.*

And then I shall desire to know of him,

XL. *A Reason why they were not.*

Those that he instances in, of *Christ's Death and Resurrection*, will not help him one jot: for they are not new Doctrines reveal'd, new Mysteries discover'd; but Matters of Fact, which happen'd to our Saviour in their due Time, to compleat in him the Character and Predictions of the *Messiah*, and demonstrate him to be the Deliverer promis'd. These are recorded of him by the Spirit of God in Holy Writ, but are no more necessary to be believ'd to make a Man a Christian, than any other part of Divine Revelation, but as far as they have an immediate Connexion with his being the *Messiah*, and cannot be denied without denying him to be the *Messiah*: And therefore this Article of his Resurrection (which supposes his Death) and such other Propositions as are convertible with his being the *Messiah*, are, as they very well may be, put for his being the *Messiah*; and as I have shew'd, propos'd to be believ'd in the place of it.

All that is reveal'd in Scripture has a consequential Necessity of being believ'd by all those, to whom it is propos'd; because it is of Divine Authority, one part as much as another. And in this sense all the Divine Truths in the inspired Writings are Fundamental and Necessary to be believ'd. But then this will destroy our *Unmasker's* select number of Fundamental Articles: and the choicest and sublimest Truths of Christianity, which he tells us, are to be met with in the Epistles, will not be more necessary to be believ'd than any, which he may think the commonest or meanest Truths in any of the Epistles or the Gospels. Whatsoever part of Divine Revelation, whether reveal'd before, or in, or after our Saviour's Time; whether it contain (according to the distinction of our *Unmasker's* nice Palate) choice or common, sublime or not sublime Truths, is necessary to be believ'd by every one, to whom it is propos'd, as far as he understands what is propos'd. But God, by *Jesus Christ*, has entred into a Covenant of Grace with Mankind; a Covenant of Faith, instead of that of Works, wherein some Truths are absolutely necessary to be explicitly believ'd by them to make Men Christians; and therefore those Truths are necessary to be known, and consequently necessary to be propos'd to them to make them Christians. This is peculiar to them to make Men Christians. For all Men, as Men, are under a necessary Obligation to believe what God proposes to them to be believ'd: But there being certain distinguishing Truths which belong to the Covenant of the Gospel, which if Men know not, they cannot be Christians; and they being some of them such as cannot be known without being propos'd: those, and those only, are the necessary Doctrines of Christianity I speak of; without a Knowledge of, and Assent to which, no Man can be a Christian.

To come therefore to a clear Decision of this Controversy, I desire the *Unmasker* to tell me,

XLI. What those Doctrines are, which are absolutely necessary to be propos'd to every Man, to make him a Christian?

XLII. 1. Whether they are all the Truths of Divine Revelation contain'd in the Bible?

For, I grant his Argument (which in another place he uses for some of them, and truly belongs to them all) viz. That they were reveal'd and written there on purpose to be believ'd, and that it is indispensably necessary for Christians to believe them.

XLIII. 2. Or whether it be only that one Article of Jesus being the Messiah, which the History of our Saviour and his Apostles Preaching has, with such a peculiar distinction, every where propos'd?

XLIV. 3. Or whether the Doctrines necessary to be propos'd to every one to make him a Christian, be any Set of Truths between these two?

And if he says this latter, then I must ask him,

XLV. What they are? that we may see why those rather than any other contain'd in the New Testament, are necessary to be propos'd to every Man to make him a Christian; and if they are not every one propos'd to him, and assented to by him, he cannot be a Christian.

The Unmasker makes a great Noise, and hopes to give his unwary, tho well-meaning Readers, odd Thoughts, and strong Impressions against my Book, by declaiming against my *lank Faith*, and my *narrowing of Christianity to one Article*; which, as he says, is the next way to reduce it to *none*. But when it is consider'd, it will be found, that 'tis he that narrows Christianity. The Unmasker, as if he were Arbitrator and Dispenser of the Oracles of God, takes upon him to single out some Texts of Scripture; and, where the words of Scripture will not serve his turn, to impose on us his Interpretations and Deductions as necessary Articles of Faith; which is in effect, to make them of equal Authority with the unquestionable Word of God. And thus, partly in the Words of Scripture, and partly in Words of his own, he makes a Set of Fundamentals, with an exclusion of all the other Truths deliver'd by the Spirit of God, in the Bible; tho all the rest be of the same Divine Authority and Original, and ought therefore all equally, as far as they are understood by every Christian, to be believ'd. I tell him, and I desire him to take notice of it, God has no where given him an Authority thus to garble the inspir'd Writings of the Holy Scriptures. Every part of it is his Word, and ought every part of it to be believ'd by every Christian Man, according as God shall enable him to understand it. It ought not to be narrow'd to the Cut of the Unmasker's peculiar System; 'tis a Presumption of the highest nature, for him thus to pretend, according to his own Fancy, to establish a Set of Fundamental Articles. This is to diminish the Authority of the Word of God, to set up his own; and create a Reverence to his System, from which the several parts of Divine Revelations are to receive their Weight, Dignity and Authority. Those Passages of Holy Writ which suit with that, are *Fundamental, Choice, Sublime and Necessary*; the rest of the Scripture (as of no great moment) is not Fundamental, is not necessary to be believ'd, may be neglected, or must be tortur'd to comply with an Analogy of Faith of his own making. But tho he pretend to a certain Set of Fundamentals, yet to shew the Vanity, and Impudence of that Pretence, he cannot tell us which they are; and therefore in vain contends for a Creed he knows not, and is yet no where. He neither does, and which is more, I tell him he never can give us a Collection of his Fundamentals gather'd upon his Principles, out of the Scripture, with the Rejection of all the rest as not Fundamental. He does not observe the difference there is between what is necessary to be believed by every Man to make him a

Christian,

Christian, and what is requir'd to be believ'd by every Christian. The first of these is what, by the Covenant of the Gospel, is necessary to be known, and consequently to be propos'd to every Man, to make him a Christian: The latter is no less than the whole Revelation of God; all the Divine Truths contain'd in Holy Scripture; which every Christian Man is under a necessity to believe, so far as it shall please God, upon his serious and constant endeavours, to enlighten his Mind to understand them.

The Preaching of our Saviour and his Apostles, has sufficiently taught us what is necessary to be propos'd to every Man, to make him a Christian. He that believes him to be the promis'd *Messiah*, takes *Jesus* for his King; and repenting of his former Sins, sincerely resolves to live for the future, in obedience to his Laws, is a Subject of his Kingdom, is a Christian. If he be not, I desire the *Unmasker* to tell me, what more is requisite to make him so. Till he does that, I rest satisfy'd, that this is all that was at first, and is still necessary to make a Man a Christian.

This, tho it be contain'd in a few words, and those not hard to be understood; tho it be in one voluntary Act of the Mind relinquishing all irregular Courses, and submitting it self to the rule of him, whom God had sent to be our King, and promis'd to be our Saviour: yet it having relation to the Race of Mankind, from the first Man *Adam*, to the end of the World; it being a Contrivance, wherein God has display'd so much of his Wisdom and Goodness to the corrupt and lost Sons of Men, and it being a Design to which the Almighty had a peculiar regard in the whole Constitution and Oeconomy of the *Jews*, as well as in the Prophecies and History of the Old Testament: This was a Foundation capable of large Superstructures. 1. In explaining the Occasion, Necessity, Use and End of his Coming. 2. Next, in proving him to be the Person promis'd, by a Correspondence of his Birth, Life, Sufferings, Death, and Resurrection, to all those Prophecies and Types of him, which had given the expectation of such a Deliverer, and to those Descriptions of him whereby he might be known, when he did come. 3. In the Discovery of the Sort, Constitution, Extent, and Management of his Kingdom. 4. In shewing from what we are deliver'd by him, and how that Deliverance is wrought out, and what are the Consequences of it.

These, and a great many more the like, afford great numbers of Truths deliver'd both in the Historical, Epistolary, and Prophetical Writings of the New Testament, wherein the Mysteries of the Gospel hidden from former Ages were discover'd; and that more fully, I grant, after the pouring out of the Holy Ghost upon the Apostles. But could no body take Christ for their promis'd King, and resolve to obey him, unless he understood all the Truths that concern'd his Kingdom, or, as I may say, Mysteries of State of it? The truth of the contrary is manifest out of the plain and uniform preaching of the Apostles, after they had receiv'd the Holy Ghost, that was to guide them into all Truth. Nay, after the writing of those Epistles, wherein were contain'd the *Unmasker's* sublimest Truths; they every where propos'd to Unbelievers *Jesus the Messiah* to be their King, ordain'd of God; and to this join'd Repentance: And this alone they preach'd for the Conversion of their Unbelieving Hearers. As soon as any one assented to this, he was pronounc'd a Believer; and these inspir'd Rulers of the Church, these infallible Preachers of the Gospel, admitted him into Christ's Kingdom by Baptism. And this after, long after our Saviour's Ascension, when (as our *Unmasker* expresses it) the Holy Ghost was to be sent in a special manner to enlighten Mens Minds, and to discover to them the great Mysteries of Christianity, even as long as the Apostles liv'd: And what others were to do, who afterwards were to preach the Gospel, St. Paul tells us, 1 Cor. III. 11. Other Foundation can no Man lay than that is laid, even *Jesus the Messiah*. Tho upon this Foundation Men might build variously, things that would, or would not hold the touch; yet however, as long as they kept firm to this Foundation, they should be sav'd, as appears in the following Verses.

And indeed, if all the Doctrines of the Gospel, which are contain'd in the Writings of the Apostles and Evangelists, were necessary to be understood, and explicitly believ'd, in the true sense of those that deliver'd them, to make a Man a Christian; I doubt whether ever any one, even to this Day, was a true

true Christian: tho I believe the *Unmasker* will not deny but that, e'er this, Christianity (as he expresses it) is by certain steps climbed to its height.

But for this, the *Unmasker* has found a convenient and wise Remedy. 'Tis but for him to have the Power to declare, which of the Doctrines deliver'd in Holy Writ are, and which are not necessary to be believ'd, with an additional Power to add others of his own, that he cannot find there; and the business is done. For unless this be allow'd him, his System cannot stand: unless his Interpretations be receiv'd for authentick Revelation, we cannot have all Doctrines necessary for our time; in truth, we cannot be Christians. For to this only, what he says concerning the gradual Discovery of the Doctrines of the Gospel, tends. We are not to think, says he, that all the necessary Doctrines of the Christian Religion were clearly publish'd to the World in our Saviour's time: Not but that all that were necessary for that time were publish'd; but some that were necessary for the succeeding one were not then discover'd, or at least not fully.

I must here ask the *Unmasker* a short Question, or two; as First,

XLVI. Are not all the Doctrines necessary for our Time contained in his System?

Next,

XLVII. Can all the Doctrines necessary for our Time, be propos'd in the express words of the Scripture?

When he has answer'd these two plain Questions (and an Answer to them I shall expect) the World will then see, what he designs by *Doctrines necessary for our Saviour's Time*, and *Doctrines necessary for succeeding Times*; whether he means any thing else by it, but the setting up his System, as the exact Standard of the Gospel, and the true and unalterable Measure of Christianity, in which it has climb'd to its height.

Let not good and sincere Christians be deceiv'd, nor perplex'd by this Maker of another Christianity, than what the infallible Spirit of God has left us in the Scriptures. 'Tis evident from thence, that whoever takes *Jesus the Messiah* for his King, with a Resolution to live by his Laws, and does sincerely repent as often as he transgresses any of them, is his Subject; all such are Christians. What they are to know, or believe more, concerning him and his Kingdom, when they are his Subjects, he has left upon Record in the great and sacred Code, and Constitutions of his Kingdom; I mean in the Holy Scriptures. All that is contain'd therein, as coming from the God of Truth, they are to receive as Truth, and imbrace as such. But since it is impossible explicitly to believe any Proposition of the Christian Doctrine but what we understand, or in any other Sense than we understand it to have been deliver'd in; an explicit Belief is, or can be requir'd in no Man, of more than what he understands of that Doctrine. And thus, whatsoever upon fair Endeavours he understands to be contain'd in that Doctrine, is necessary to him to be believ'd: nor can he continue a Subject of Christ upon other Terms.

What he is persuaded is the meaning of Christ his King, in any Expression he finds in the Sacred Code; that, by his Allegiance, he is bound to submit his Mind to receive for true, or else he denies the Authority of Christ, and refuses to believe him: nor can be excus'd, by calling any one on Earth Master. And hence it is evidently impossible for a Christian to understand any Text in one sense, and believe it in another, by whomsoever dictated.

All that is contain'd in the inspir'd Writings, is all of Divine Authority, must all be allow'd for such, and receiv'd for Divine and Infallible Truth, by every Subject of Christ's Kingdom, i. e. every Christian. How comes then the *Unmasker* to distinguish these Dictates of the Holy Spirit into necessary and not necessary Truths? I desire him to produce his Commission, whereby he hath the Power given him to tell which of the Divine Truths contain'd in the Holy Scripture are of necessity to be believ'd, and which not. Who made him a Judge or Divider between them? Who gave him this Power over the Oracles of God, to set up one, and debase another at his pleasure? Some, as he thinks fit, are the choicest Truths: And what I beseech him are the other?

ther? Who made him a Chuser, where no body can pick and chuse? Every Proposition there, as far as any Christian can understand it, is indispensably necessary to be believ'd: And farther than he does understand it, it is impossible for him to believe it. The Laws of Christ's Kingdom do not require Impossibilities, for they are all reasonable, just, and good.

Some of the Truths deliver'd in Holy Writ are very plain: 'Tis impossible, I think, to mistake their Meaning: And those certainly are all necessary to be explicitly believ'd. Others have more difficulty in them, and are not easy to be understood. Is the *Unmasker* appointed Christ's Vicegerent here, or the Holy Ghost's Interpreter, with Authority to pronounce which of these are necessary to be believ'd, and in what sense, and which not? The Obscurity that is to be found in several Passages of the Scripture, the Difficulties that cover and perplex the Meaning of several Texts, demand of every Christian, Study, Diligence, and Attention in reading and hearing the Scriptures; in comparing and examining them; and receiving what light he can from all manner of helps, to understand these Books, wherein are contain'd the Words of Life. This the *Unmasker*, and every one is to do for himself; and thereby find out what is necessary for him to believe. But I do not know that the *Unmasker* is to understand and interpret for me, more than I for him. If he has such a Power, I desire him to produce it. Till then, I can acknowledg no other infallible, but that Guide, which he directs me to himself here in these Words; *According to our Saviour's Promise, the Holy Ghost was to be sent in a special manner to enlighten Mens Minds, and to discover to them the great Mysteries of Christianity.* For whether by *Men* he here means those on whom the Holy Ghost was so eminently pour'd out, *Acts II.* or whether he means by these Words, that special Assistance of the Holy Ghost, whereby particular Men, to the end of the World, are to be led into the Truth, by opening their Understandings, that they may understand the Scriptures (for he always loves to speak doubtfully and indefinitely) I know no other infallible Guide, but the Spirit of God in the Scriptures. Nor has God left it in my Choice, to take any Man for such. If he had, I should think the *Unmasker* the unlikeliest to be he, and the last Man in the World to be chosen for that Guide: And herein I appeal to any sober Christian, who hath read what the *Unmasker* has with so little Truth and Decency (for 'tis not always Mens fault if they have not Sense) writ upon this Question, whether he would not be of the same mind?

But yet as very an *Unmasker* as he is, he will be extremely apt to call you Names, nay to declare you no Christian; and boldly affirm you have no Christianity, if you will not swallow it just as it is of his Cooking. You must take it just as he has been pleas'd to dose it; no more, nor no less, than what is in his System. He hath put himself into the Throne of Christ, and pretends to tell you which are, and which are not the indispensable Laws of his Kingdom: Which Parts of his Divine Revelation you must necessarily know, understand, and believe, and in what sense; and which you need not trouble your head about, but may pass by as not necessary to be believ'd. He will tell you that some of his necessary Articles are Mysteries, and yet (as he does p. 115. of his *Thoughts concerning the Causes of Atheism*) that they are easy to be understood by any Man, when explain'd to him. In answer to that, I demanded of him "who was to explain them? The *Papists*, I told him, would explain some "of them one way, and the *Reform'd* another; the *Remonstrants* and *Anti-Remonstrants* give them different Senses; and probably the *Trinitarians* and "Unitarians will profess, that they understand not each other's Explications." But to this, in his Reply, he has not vouchsafed to give me any Answer; which yet I expect, and I will tell him why: because as there are different Explainers, there will be different Fundamentals. And therefore, unless he can shew his Authority to be the sole Explainer of Fundamentals, he will in vain make such a pudder about his Fundamentals. Another Explainer, of as good Authority as he, will set up others against them. And what then shall we be the better for all this stir and noise of Fundamentals? All the effect of it will be just the same it has been these thousand Years and upwards; Schisms, Separations, Contentions, Animosities, Quarrels, Blood and Butchery, and all that Train of Mischiefs which has so long haras'd and defam'd Christianity,

and

and are so contrary to the Doctrine, Spirit, and End of the Gospel: and which must still continue as long as any such *Unmasker* shall take upon him to be the Dispenser and Dictator to others of Fundamentals; and peremptorily to define which Parts of Divine Revelation are necessary to be believ'd, and which Christians may with safety dispense with, and not believe.

To conclude; What was sufficient to make a Man a Christian in our Saviour's time, is sufficient still, viz. the taking him for our King and Lord, ordain'd so by God. What was necessary to be believ'd by all Christians in our Saviour's time as an indispensable Duty, which they ow'd to their Lord and Master, was the believing all Divine Revelation, as far as every one could understand it: and just so it is still, neither more nor less. This being so, the *Unmasker* may make what use he pleases of his Notion, *That Christianity was erected by degrees*, it will no way (in that sense in which it is true) turn to the advantage of his select Fundamental necessary Doctrines.

The next Chapter has nothing in it but his great Bug-bear, whereby he hopes to fright People from reading my Book, by crying out, *Socinianism*, *Socinianism*. Whereas I challenge him again to shew one word of *Socinianism* in it. But however it is worth while to write a Book to prove me a *Socinian*. Truly, I did not think my self so considerable, that the World need be troubled about me, whether I were a Follower of *Socinus*, *Arminius*, *Calvin*, or any other Leader of a Sect amongst Christians. A Christian I am sure I am, because I believe *Jesus to be the Messiah*, the King and Saviour promis'd, and sent by God: And as a Subject of his Kingdom, I take the Rule of my Faith and Life from his Will, declar'd and left upon Record in the inspir'd Writings of the Apostles and Evangelists in the New Testament; which I endeavour, to the utmost of my power, as is my Duty, to understand in their true Sense and Meaning. To lead me into their true Meaning, I know (as I have above declar'd) no infallible Guide, but the same Holy Spirit, from whom these Writings at first came. If the *Unmasker* knows any other infallible Interpreter of Scripture, I desire him to direct me to him: till then, I shall think it according to my Master's Rule, not to be call'd, nor to call any Man on Earth *Master*. No Man, I think, has a right to prescribe to my Faith, or magisterially to impose his Interpretations or Opinions on me: nor is it material to any one what mine are, any farther than they carry their own Evidence with them. If this, which I think makes me of no Sect, entitles me to the Name of a *Papist*, or a *Socinian*, because the *Unmasker* thinks these the worst, and most invidious he can give me; and labours to fix them on me for no other reason, but because I will not take him for my *Master on Earth*, and his System for my Gospel: I shall leave him to recommend himself to the World by this Skill, who no doubt will have reason to thank him for the Rareness and Subtility of his Discovery. For, I think, I am the first Man that ever was found out to be at the same time a *Socinian*, and a Factor for *Rome*. But what is too hard for such an *Unmasker*? I must be what he thinks fit; when he pleases, a *Papist*; and when he pleases, a *Socinian*; and when he pleases, a *Mahometan*. And probably, when he has consider'd a little better, an *Atheist*; for I hardly escap'd it when he writ last. My Book, he says, had a Tendency to it; and if he can but go on, as he has done hitherto, from Surmises to Certainties, by that time he writes next, his Discovery will be advanc'd, and he will certainly find me an *Atheist*. Only one thing I dare assure him of, that he shall never find, that I treat the things of God or Religion so, as if I made only a Trade, or a Jest of them. But let us now see how at present he proves me a *Socinian*.

His first Argument is, my not answering for my leaving out *Matth. XXVIII. 19.* and *John I. 1. pag. 82.* of his *Socinianism Unmask'd*. This he takes to be a Confession, that I am a *Socinian*. I hope he means fairly, and that if it be so on my side, it must be taken for a standing Rule between us, that where any thing is not answer'd, it must be taken for granted. And upon that score, I must desire him to remember some Passages of my *Vindication*, which I have already, and others which I shall mind him of hereafter, which he pass'd over in silence, and had nothing to say to; which therefore, by his own Rule, I shall desire the Reader to observe, that he has granted.

This

This being premised, I must tell the *Unmasker*, that I perceive he reads my Book with the same Understanding that he writes his own. If he had done otherwise, he might have seen, that I had given him a reason for my omission of those two, and other plain and obvious Passages, and famous Testimonies in the *Evangelists*, as he calls them; where I say, p. 547. "That if I have left out none of those Passages or Testimonies, which contain what our Saviour and his Apostles preach'd and requir'd Assent to, to make Men Believers, I shall think my Omissions (let them be what they will) no Faults in the present Case. Whatever Doctrines Mr. *Edwards* would have to be believ'd, to make a Man a Christian, he will be sure to find them in those Preachings and famous Testimonies of our Saviour and his Apostles I have quoted. And if they are not there, he may rest satisfy'd, that they were not propos'd by our Saviour and his Apostles, as necessary to be believ'd to make Men Christ's Disciples." From which words, any one, but an *Unmasker*, would have understood my Answer to be, That all that was necessary to be believ'd to make Men Christians, might be found in what our Saviour and his Apostles propos'd to Unbelievers for their Conversion: But the two Passages above-mention'd, as well as a great many others in the *Evangelists*, being none of those, I had no reason to take notice of them. But the *Unmasker* having out of his good pleasure put it once upon me, as he does in his *Thoughts of the Causes of Atheism*, p. 107. That I was an *Epitomizer of the Evangelical Writings*, tho every one may see I make not that my Business, yet 'tis no matter for that, I must be always accountable to that Fancy of his. But when he has prov'd,

XLVII. *That this is not as just a Reason for my omitting them, as several other obvious Passages and famous Testimonies in the Evangelists, which I there mention, for whose Omission he does not blame me;*

I will undertake to give him another Reason, which I know not whether he were not better let alone.

The next Proof of my being a Socinian, is, that I take the Son of God to be an Expression us'd to signify the *Messiah*. *Slichtingius* and *Socinus* understood it so; and therefore I am, the *Unmasker* says, a Socinian. Just as good an Argument, as that I believe *Jesus* to be a Prophet, and so do the *Mahometans*; therefore I am a *Mahometan*: Or thus, the *Unmasker* holds that the Apostles Creed does not contain all things necessary to Salvation; and so says *Knot the Jesuit*: Therefore the *Unmasker* is a Papist. Let me turn the Tables, and by the same Argument I am Orthodox again. For two Orthodox, Pious, and very Eminent Prelates of our Church; whom, when I follow Authorities, I shall prefer to *Slichtingius* and *Socinus*, understand it as I do, and therefore I am Orthodox. Nay, it so falls out, that if it were of force either way, the Argument would weigh most on this side: since I am not wholly a Stranger to the Writings of these two Orthodox Bishops; but I never read a Page in either of those Socinians. The never sufficiently admir'd and valu'd Archbishop *Tillotson's* Words, which I quoted, the *Unmasker* says, do not necessarily import any such thing. I know no Words that necessarily import any thing to a Caviller. But he was known to have such clear Thoughts, and so clear a Stile; so far from having any thing doubtful or fallacious in what he said, that I shall only set down his Words as they are in his Sermon of Sincerity, p. 2. to shew his meaning. *Nathanael*, says he, being satisfy'd, that he [our Saviour] was the *Messiah*, he presently own'd him for such, calling him THE SON OF GOD, and the King of Israel.

The Words of the other Eminent Prelate, the Bishop of *Ely*, whom our Church is still happy in, are these: To be the Son of God, and to be Christ, being but different Expressions of the same thing: Witness p. 14. And p. 10. It is the very same thing to believe that *Jesus* is the Christ, and to believe that *Jesus* is the Son of God, express it how you please. This ALONE is the Faith which can regenerate a Man, and put a Divine Spirit into him, that it makes him a Conqueror over the World, as *Jesus* was. Of this the *Unmasker* says, that this Reverend Author speaking only in a general way, represents these two as the same thing, viz.

That Jesus is the Christ, and that Jesus is the Son of God, because these Expressions are apply'd to the same Person, and because they are both comprehended in one general Name, viz. *Jesus*. *Ans.* The Question is whether these two Expressions, *the Son of God*, and *the Messiah*, in the Learned Bishop's Opinion signify the same thing. If his Opinion had been ask'd in the Point, I know not how he could have declar'd it more clearly. For he says they are Expressions of the same thing, and that it is the very same thing to believe that *Jesus is the Messiah*, and to believe that he is the Son of God; which cannot be so, if *Messiah* and *Son of God* have different Significations: For then they will make two distinct Propositions in different Senses, which it can be no more the same thing to believe, than it is the same thing to believe that Mr. Edwards is a notable Preacher, and a notable Rascal; or than it is to believe one Truth and all Truths. For by the same reason, that it is the same thing to believe two distinct Truths, it will be the same thing to believe two thousand distinct Truths, and consequently all Truths. The Unmasker, that he might seem to say something, says that the Reverend Author represents these as the same thing. *Ans.* The Unmasker never fails, like *Midas*, to turn every thing he touches into his own Metal. The Learned Bishop says very directly and plainly, that to be the Son of God, and to be the Messiah, are Expressions of the same thing: And the Unmasker says, he represents these Expressions as one thing: For 'tis of Expressions that both the Bishop and he speak. Now, Expressions can be one thing, but one of these two ways: Either in Sound, and so these two Expressions are not one; or in Signification, and so they are. And then the Unmasker says, but in other Words, what the Bishop had said before, viz. That these two, to be the Son of God, and to be the Messiah, are Expressions of the same thing. Only the Unmasker has put in the word *Represents* to amuse his Reader, as if he had said something, and so indeed he does after his fashion, i. e. obscurely and fallaciously; which when it comes to be examin'd, is but the same thing under shew of a difference: Or else, if it has a different meaning, is demonstratively false. But so it be obscure enough to deceive a willing Reader, who will not be at the pains to examine what he says, it serves his turn.

But yet, as if he had said something of weight, he gives Reasons for putting *Represents these two Expressions as one thing*, instead of saying, these two are but different Expressions of the same thing.

The first of his Reasons is, Because the Reverend Author is here speaking only in a General way. *Ans.* What does the Unmasker mean by a General way? The Learned Bishop speaks of two particular Expressions apply'd to our Saviour. But was his Discourse ever so general, how could that alter the plain Signification of his Words, viz. That those two are but different Expressions of the same thing?

Secondly, Because these Expressions are apply'd to the same Person. *Ans.* A very demonstrative Reason, is it not, that therefore they cannot be different Expressions of the same thing?

Thirdly, And because they are both comprehended in one general Name, viz. *Jesus*. *Ans.* It requires some Skill to put so many Falshoods in so few words. For neither both nor either of these Expressions are comprehended in the Name *Jesus*: And that *Jesus*, the Name of a particular Person, should be a general Name, is a Discovery reserv'd to be found out by this new Logician. However general is a Learned Word, which when a Man of Learning has us'd twice, as a Reason of the same thing, he is cover'd with Generals. He need not trouble himself any farther about Sense; he may safely talk what stuff he pleases, without the least Suspicion of his Reader.

Having thus strongly prov'd just nothing, he proceeds and tells us, p. 91. *Yet it does not follow thence, but that if we will speak strictly and closely, we must be forc'd to confess they are of different Significations.* By which Words (if his Words have any Signification) he plainly allows, that the Bishop meant as he says, that these two are but different Expressions of the same thing: But withal tells him, that if he will speak closely and strictly, he must say, they are of different Significations. My Concernment in the case being only, that in the Passage alledg'd, the Reverend Author said, that the Son of God, and the Messiah, were different Expressions of the same thing, I have no more to demand after these

these words of the *Unmasker*; he has in them granted all I would have: and I shall not meddle with his *speaking closely and strictly*, but shall leave it to the decisive Authority of this Superlative Critick to determine, whether this learned Bishop, or any one living, besides himself, can understand the Phrases of the New Testament, and *speak strictly and closely* concerning them. Perhaps his being yet alive, may preserve this eminent Prelate from the malicious driveling of this *Unmasker's Pen*, which has bespatter'd the Ashes of two of the same Order, who were no mean Ornaments of the *English Church*; and if they had been now alive, no body will doubt but the *Unmasker* would have treated them after another fashion.

But let me ask the *Unmasker*, whether (if either of these pious Prelates, whose words I have above quoted, did understand that Phrase of the *Son of God* to stand for the *Messiah*; which they might do without holding any one *Socinian* Tenet) he will dare to pronounce him a *Socinian*. This is so ridiculous an Inference, that I could not but laugh at it. But withal tell him, *Vindic. p. 550*. "That if the Sense wherein I understand those Texts be a mistake, I shall be beholden to him to set me right: But they are not popular Authorities, or frightful Names, whereby I judg of Truth or Falshood." To which I subjoin these words: "You will now no doubt applaud your Conjectures, the Point is gain'd, and I am openly a *Socinian*: Since I will not disown, that I think the *Son of God* was a Phrase, that among the *Jews* in our Saviour's Time, was us'd for the *Messiah*, tho the *Socinians* understand it in the same Sense. And therefore I must certainly be of their Persuasion in every thing else. I admire the Acuteness, Force, and Fairness of your Reasoning; and so I leave you to triumph in your Conjectures." Nor has he fail'd my Expectation: For here, *p. 91*. of his *Socinianism Unmask'd*, he, upon this, erects his Comb, and crows most mightily. We may, says he, from hence as well as other Reasons, pronounce him the same with those Gentlemen (i. e. as he is pleas'd to call them, my good Patrons and Friends the *Racovians*) which you may perceive he is very apprehensive of, and thinks, that this will be reckon'd a good Evidence of his being, what he deny'd himself to be before. The Point is gain'd, saith he, and I am openly a *Socinian*. He never utter'd truer words in his Life, and they are the Confutation of all his Pretences to the contrary. This Truth, which unwarily dropt from his Pen, confirms what I have laid to his Charge. Now you have sung your Song of Triumph, 'tis fit you should gain your Victory, by shewing,

XLIX. How my understanding the *Son of God* to be a Phrase us'd amongst the *Jews* in our Saviour's Time, to signify the *Messiah*, proves me to be a *Socinian*.

Or if you think you have prov'd it already, I desire you to put your Proof into a Syllogism: for I confess my self so dull, as not to see any such Conclusion deducible from my understanding that Phrase as I do, even when you have prov'd that I am mistaken in it.

The places, which in the New Testament shew that the *Son of God* stands for the *Messiah*, are so many, and so clear, that I imagine no body that ever consider'd and compar'd them together, could doubt of their meaning, unless he were an *Unmasker*. Several of them I have collected and set down in my *Reasonableness of Christianity*, *p. 479—483, 485—487, 494—496*.

First, *John the Baptist*, *John I. 20*. when the *Jews* sent to know who he was, confess'd he himself was not the *Messiah*. But of *Jesus* he says, *ver. 34*. after having several ways, in the foregoing Verses, declar'd him to be the *Messiah*; And I saw and bare Record, that this is the *SON OF GOD*. And again, *Chap. III. 26—36*. he declaring *Jesus* to be, and himself not to be the *Messiah*, he does it in these synonymous Terms, of the *Messiah* and the *Son of God*; as appears by comparing, *v. 28, 35, 36*.

Nathanael owns him to be the *Messiah*, in these words, *John I. 50*. Thou art the *SON OF GOD*, Thou art the *King of Israel*: Which our Saviour, in the next Verse, calls *Believing*; a Term, all through the History of our Saviour,

used for owning *Jesus* to be the *Messiah*. And for confirming that Faith of his, that he was the *Messiah*, our Saviour further adds, that he should see greater things; i. e. should see him do greater Miracles, to evidence that he was the *Messiah*.

Luke IV. 41. And Devils also came out of many, crying, Thou art the Messiah, the Son of God; and he rebuking them, suffer'd them not to speak. And so again, St. Mark tells us, Chap. III. 11, 12. That unclean Spirits, when they saw him, fell down before him, and cry'd, saying, Thou art the Son of God. And he strictly charg'd them, that they should not make him known. In both these Places, which relate to different Times, and different Occasions, the Devils declare *Jesus* to be the *Son of God*. 'Tis certain, whatever they meant by it, they us'd a Phrase of a known Signification in that Country. And what may we reasonably think they design'd to make known to the People by it? Can we imagine these unclean Spirits were Promoters of the Gospel, and had a mind to acknowledge and publish to the People the Deity of our Saviour, which the *Unmasker* would have to be the Signification of the *Son of God*? Who can entertain such a Thought? No, they were no Friends to our Saviour: and therefore desir'd to spread a Belief of him, that he was the *Messiah*, that so he might by the Envy of the *Scribes* and *Pharisees* be disturb'd in his Ministry, and be cut off before he had compleated it. And therefore we see our Saviour in both Places forbids them to make him known; as he did his Disciples themselves, for the same Reason. For when *St. Peter, Mat. XVI. 16.* had own'd *Jesus* to be the *Messiah*, in these Words; *Thou art the Messiah, the Son of the living God*; it follows, *ver. 20. Then charg'd he his Disciples, that they should tell no Man, that he was Jesus the Messiah*: just as he had forbid the Devils to make him known, i. e. to be the *Messiah*. Besides, these Words here of *St. Peter* can be taken in no other Sense, but barely to signify that *Jesus* was the *Messiah*, to make them a proper Answer to our Saviour's Question. His first Question here to his Disciples, *ver. 13. is, Whom do Men say that I the Son of Man am?* The Question is not, of what Original do you think the *Messiah*, when he comes, will be? For then this Question would have been as it is, *Mat. XXII. 42. What think you of the Messiah, whose Son is he?* if he had enquir'd about the common Opinion concerning the Nature and Descent of the *Messiah*. But his Question is concerning himself; *Whom* of all the extraordinary Persons, known to the *Jews*, or mention'd in their Sacred Writings, the People thought him to be? That this was the meaning of his Question, is evident from the Answer the Apostles gave to it; and his further Demand, *ver. 14, 15. They said, Some say thou art John the Baptist, some Elias, and others Jeremias, or one of the Prophets. He saith unto them, But WHO M say ye that I am?* The People take me, some for one of the Prophets or extraordinary Messengers from God, and some for another: But which of them do you take me to be? *Simon Peter answer'd and said, Thou art the Messiah, the Son of the living God.* In all which Discourse, 'tis evident there was not the least Enquiry made by our Saviour concerning the Person, Nature, or Qualifications of the *Messiah*; but whether the People or his Apostles thought him, i. e. *Jesus* of *Nazareth*, to be the *Messiah*. To which *St. Peter* gave him a direct and plain Answer in the foregoing Words, declaring their Belief of him to be the *Messiah*: which is all that, with any manner of Congruity, could be made the Sense of *St. Peter's* Answer. This alone of it self were enough to justify my Interpretation of *St. Peter's* words, without the Authority of *St. Mark* and *St. Luke*, both whose words confirm it. For *St. Mark, Chap. VIII. 29.* renders it, *Thou art the Messiah*, and *St. Luke, Chap. IX. 18. The Messiah of God.* To the like Question, *Who art thou?* *John the Baptist* gives a like Answer, *Joh. I. 19, 20. I am not the Christ.* By which Answer, as well as by the following Verses, it is plain, nothing was understood to be meant by that Question, but, which of the extraordinary Persons promis'd to or expected by the *Jews*, art thou?

Joh. XI. 27. The Phrase of the *Son of God* is made use of by *St. Martha*: and that it was us'd by her to signify the *Messiah*, and nothing else, is evident out of the Context. *Martha* tells our Saviour, that if he had been there before her Brother died, he, by that Divine Power which he had manifested in

so many Miracles which he had done, could have sav'd his Life: and that now, if our Saviour would ask it of God, he might obtain the Restoration of his Life. *Jesus* tells her, he shall rise again: which Words *Martha* taking to mean, at the general Resurrection, at the last Day; *Jesus* thereupon takes occasion to intimate to her, that he was the *Messiah*, by telling her, that he was *the Resurrection and the Life*: i. e. That the Life, which Mankind should receive at the general Resurrection, was by and thro him. This was a Description of the *Messiah*: It being a receiv'd Opinion amongst the *Jews*, that when the *Messiah* came, the Just should rise, and live with him for ever. And having made this Declaration of himself to be the *Messiah*, he asks *Martha*, *Believest thou this? What! Not whose Son the Messiah should be? But whether he himself was the Messiah, by whom Believers should have Eternal Life at the last Day.* And to this she gives this direct and apposite Answer; *Yea, Lord, I believe that thou art the Christ, the Son of God, which should come into the World.* The question was only whether she was persuaded that those, who believe in him, should be rais'd to eternal Life; that was in effect, whether he was the *Messiah*: And to this she answers, *Yea, Lord, I believe this of thee: and then she explains what was contain'd in that Faith of hers; even this, That he was the Messiah, that was promis'd to come, by whom alone Men were to receive eternal Life.*

What the *Jews* also understood by the *Son of God*, is also clear from that Passage at the latter end of *Luke XXII.* They having taken our Saviour, and being very desirous to get a Confession from his own Mouth, that he was the *Messiah*, that they might from thence be able to raise a formal and prevalent Accusation against him before *Pilate*; the only thing the Council ask'd him, was, whether he was the *Messiah*, v. 67. To which he answers so in the following Words, that he lets them see he understood, that the Design of their Question was to entrap him, and not to believe in him, whatever he should declare of himself. But yet he tells them, *Hereafter shall the Son of Man sit on the right Hand of the Power of God*: Words that to the *Jews* plainly enough own'd him to be the *Messiah*; but yet such as could not have any force against him with *Pilate*. He having confess'd so much, they hope to draw yet a clearer Confession from him. Then said they all, *Art thou then the Son of God? And he said unto them, Ye say that I am. And they said, What need we any further Witness? For we our selves have heard of his own Mouth.* Can any one think that the Doctrine of his Deity (which is that which the *Unmasker* accuses me for waving) was that which the *Jews* design'd to accuse our Saviour of before *Pilate*; or that they needed Witnesses for? Common Sense, as well as the Current of the whole History, shews the contrary. No, it was to accuse him, that he own'd himself to be the *Messiah*, and thereby claim'd a Title to be King of the *Jews*. The Son of God was so known a Name amongst the *Jews* to stand for the *Messiah*; that having got that from his Mouth, they thought they had Proof enough of Treason against him. This carries with it a clear and easy meaning. But if the *Son of God* be to be taken, as the *Unmasker* would have it, for a Declaration of his Deity, I desire him to make common and coherent Sense of it.

I shall add one Consideration more, to shew that the *Son of God* was a Form of Speech then us'd amongst the *Jews* to signify the *Messiah*, from the Persons that us'd it, viz. *John the Baptist, Nathanael, St. Peter, St. Martha, the Sanhedrim, and the Centurion, Luke XXVII. 54.* Here are *Jews, Heathens; Friends, Enemies; Men, Women; Believers, and Unbelievers*; all indifferently use this Phrase of the *Son of God*, and apply it to *Jesus*. The Question between the *Unmasker* and me, is, whether it was us'd by these several Persons, as an Appellation of the *Messiah*, (or as the *Unmasker* would have it) in a quite different Sense; as such an Application of Divinity to our Saviour, that he that shall deny that to be the meaning of it in the Minds of these Speakers, denies the Divinity of *Jesus Christ*. For if they did speak it without that meaning, it is plain it was a Phrase known to have another meaning; or else they had talk'd unintelligible Jargon. Now I will ask the *Unmasker*, whether he thinks that the *Eternal Generation*, or as the *Unmasker* calls it, *Filiation of Jesus* the Son of God, was a Doctrine that had enter'd into the Thoughts of all the Persons

Persons above-mention'd, even of the *Roman Centurion*, and the Soldiers that were with him watching Jesus? If he say he does, I suppose he thinks so only for this time, and for this occasion: And then it will lie upon him to give the World convincing Reasons for his Opinion, that they may think so too: or if he does not think so, he must give up this Argument, and allow that this Phrase, in these places, does not necessarily import the Deity of our Saviour, and the Doctrine of his eternal Generation: And so a Man may take it to be an Expression standing for the *Messiah*, without being a *Socinian*, any more than he himself is one.

There is one Place, the *Unmasker* tells us, p. 87. that confutes all the Surmises about the Identity of these Terms. It is, says he, that famous Confession of Faith which the *Ethiopian Eunuch* made, when Philip told him he might be baptiz'd if he believ'd. This, without doubt, was said according to that Apprehension which he had of Christ, from Philip's instructing him; for it is said, he preach'd unto him Jesus, v. 35. He had acquainted him that Jesus was the Christ, the Anointed of God, and also that he was the Son of God, which includes in it that he was God. And accordingly this noble Profelyte gives this Account of his Faith, in order to his being baptiz'd, in order to his being admitted a Member of Christ's Church; I believe that Jesus is the Son of God: or you may read it according to the Greek, I believe the Son of God to be Jesus Christ. Where there are these two distinct Propositions:

1st, That Jesus is the Christ, the Messiah.

2dly, That he is not only the Messiah, but the Son of God.

The *Unmasker* is every where steddily the same subtle Arguer. Whether he has prov'd, that the Son of God, in this Confession of the *Eunuch*, signifies what he would have, we shall examine by and by. This at least is Demonstration, that this Passage of his overturns his Principles; and reduces his long List of Fundamentals to two Propositions, the Belief whereof is sufficient to make a Man a Christian. This noble Profelyte, says the *Unmasker*, gives this Account of his Faith, in order to his being baptiz'd, in order to his being admitted a Member of Christ's Church. And what is that Faith, according to the *Unmasker*? He tells you there are in it these two distinct Propositions, viz. I believe, 1st, That Jesus is the Christ, the Messiah: 2dly, That he is not only the Messiah, but the Son of God. If this famous Confession, containing but these two Articles, were enough to his being baptiz'd; if this Faith were sufficient to make this noble Profelyte a Christian; what is become of all those other Articles of the *Unmasker's* System, without the Belief whereof, he in other places tells us a Man cannot be a Christian? If he had here told us, that Philip had not Time nor Opportunity, during his short stay with the *Eunuch*, to explain to him all the *Unmasker's* System, and make him understand all his Fundamentals; he had had Reason on his side: and he might have urg'd it as a Reason why Philip taught him no more. But nevertheless he had, by allowing the *Eunuch's* Confession of Faith sufficient for his Admittance as a Member of Christ's Church, given up his other Fundamentals as necessary to be believ'd to make a Man a Christian; even that of the *Holy Trinity*: And he has at last reduc'd his necessary Articles to these two, viz. That Jesus is the Messiah; and that Jesus is the Son of God. So that after his ridiculous calling mine a *lank Faith*, I desire him to consider what he will now call his own. Mine is next to none, because, as he says, it is but one Article. If that Reasoning be good, his is not far from none: it consists but in two Articles, which is next to one, and very little more remote from none than one is. If any one had but as much Wit as the *Unmasker*, and could be but as smart upon the number Two, as he has been upon an *Unit*, here were a brave opportunity for him to lay out his Parts; and he might make vehement Complaints against one, that has thus cramp'd our Faith, corrupted Mens Minds, deprav'd the Gospel, and abus'd Christianity. But if it should fall out, as I think it will, that the *Unmasker's* two Articles should prove to be but one; he has sav'd another that labour, and he stands painted to himself with his own Charcoal.

The *Unmasker* would have the Son of God, in the Confession of the *Eunuch*, to signify something different from the Messiah: And his reason is, because else it would be an absurd Tautology. *Ans.* There are many Exegetical Expressions put together in the Scripture, which tho they signify the same thing, yet

yet are not *absurd Tautologies*: The *Unmasker* here inverts the Proposition, and would have it to signify thus, *The Son of God is Jesus the Messiah*; which is a Proposition so different from what the Apostles propos'd every where else, that he ought to have given a Reason why, when every where else they made the Proposition to be of something affirm'd of *Jesus of Nazareth*, the Eunuch should make the Affirmation to be of something concerning the Son of God: As if the Eunuch knew very well what the *Son of God* signify'd, viz. as the *Unmasker* tells us here, that it included or signify'd *God*; and that *Philip* (who we read at *Samaria* preach'd $\kappa\epsilon\iota\sigma\theta\epsilon\iota$, the *Messiah*, i. e. instructed them who the *Messiah* was) had here taken pains only to instruct him, that this God was *Jesus the Messiah*, and to bring him to assent to that Proposition. Whether this be natural to conceive, I leave to the Reader.

The *Tautology*, on which the *Unmasker* builds his whole Objection, will be quite remov'd, if we take *Christ* here for a proper Name, in which way it is us'd by the Evangelists and Apostles in other places, and particularly by St. *Luke*; as *Acts* II. 38. III. 6, 20. IV. 10. XXIV. 24, &c. In two of these places it cannot with any good Sense be taken otherwise; for if it be not in *Acts* III. 6, and IV. 10. us'd as a proper Name, we must read those places thus, *Jesus the Messiah of Nazareth*. And I think it is plain in those others cited, as well as in several other places of the New Testament, that the word *Christ* is us'd as a proper Name. We may easily conceive, that long before the *Acts* were writ, the Name of *Christ* was grown by a familiar use to denote the Person of our Saviour, as much as *Jesus*. This is so manifest, that it gave a Name to his Followers; who, as St. *Luke* tells us, XI. 26. were call'd *Christians*; and that, if Chronologists mistake not, twenty Years before St. *Luke* writ his History of the Apostles: And this so generally, that *Agrippa* a Jew uses it, *Acts* XXVI. 28. And that *Christ*, as the proper Name of our Saviour, was got as far as *Rome*, before St. *Luke* writ the *Acts*, appears out of *Suetonius*, l. 5. And by that Name he is call'd in *Tacitus*, Ann. l. 15. 'Tis no wonder then that St. *Luke*, in writing this History, should sometimes set it down alone, sometimes join'd with that of *Jesus*, as a proper Name; which is much easier to conceive he did here, than that *Philip* propos'd more to the Eunuch to be believ'd to make him a Christian, than what in other places was propos'd for the Conversion of others, or than what he himself propos'd at *Samaria*.

His 7th Chapter is to prove, that I am a *Socinian*, because I omitted *Christ's Satisfaction*. That Matter having been answer'd, p. 594. where it came properly under Consideration, I shall only observe here, that the great stress of his Argument lies as it did before; not upon my total Omission of it out of my Book, but on this, that *I have no such thing in the place where the Advantages of Christ's coming are purposely treated of*; from whence he will have this to be an unavoidable Inference, viz. *That I was of opinion, that Christ came not to satisfy for us*. The reason of my Omission of it in that place, I told him, was because my Book was chiefly design'd for *Deists*; and therefore I mention'd only those Advantages, which all Christians must agree in; and in omitting of that, comply'd with the Apostle's Rule, *Rom. XIV*. To this he tells me flatly, that was not the Design of my Book. Whether the *Unmasker* knows with what Design I publish'd it better than I my self, must be left to the Reader to judg: For as for his Veracity in what he knows, or knows not, he has given so many Instances of it, that I may safely refer that to any body. One Instance more of it may be found in this very Chapter, where he says, *I pretend indeed*, p. 546. *that in another place of my Book, I mention Christ's restoring all Mankind from the State of Death, and restoring them to Life; and his laying down his Life for another, as our Saviour professes he did. These few words this Vindicator hath pick'd up in his Book since he wrote it. This is all, thro his whole Treatise, that he hath drop'd concerning that Advantage of Christ's Incarnation; i. e. Christ's Satisfaction.* Answ. But that this is not all that I drop'd thro my whole Treatise concerning that Advantage, may appear by those places above-mention'd, p. 597. where I say, that the Design of *Christ's coming* was to be offer'd up; and speak of the Work of *Redemption*; which are Expressions taken to imply our Saviour's Satisfaction. But the *Unmasker* thinking I should have quoted them, if there had been any more, besides those mention'd in my *Vindication*,
upon

upon that Presumption sticks not boldly to affirm, that there were no more; and so goes on with the Veracity of an *Unmasker*. If affirming would do it, nothing could be wanting in his Cause that might be for his Purpose. Whether he be as good at proving, this Consequence (amongst other Propositions which remain upon him to be prov'd) will try, viz.

L. *That if the Satisfaction of Christ be not mention'd in the place where the Advantages of Christ's coming are purposely treated of, then I am of opinion, that Christ came not to satisfy for us:*

Which is all the Argument of his 7th Chapter.

His last Chapter, as his first, begins with a Commendation of himself; particularly, it boasts his freedom from *Bigotism, Dogmatizing, Censoriousness, and Uncharitableness*. I think he hath drawn himself so well with his own Pen, that I shall need refer the Reader only to what he himself has writ in this Controversy, for his Character.

In the next Paragraph, p. 104. he tells me, *I laugh at Orthodoxy*. Answ. There is nothing that I think deserves a more serious Esteem than right Opinion (as the word signifies) if taken up with the Sense and Love of Truth. But this way of becoming Orthodox, has always Modesty accompanying it, and a fair Acknowledgment of Fallibility in our selves, as well as a Supposition of Error in others. On the other side, there is nothing more ridiculous than for any Man or Company of Men to assume the Title of Orthodoxy to their own Set of Opinions, as if Infallibility were annex'd to their Systems, and those were to be the standing Measure of Truth to all the World; from whence they erect to themselves a power to censure and condemn others for differing at all from the Tenets they have pitch'd upon. The Consideration of human Frailty ought to check this Vanity: but since it does not, but that with a sort of Allowance it shews it self in almost all religious Societies, the playing the trick round sufficiently turns it into Ridicule. For each Society having an equal right to a good Opinion of themselves, a Man by passing but a River or a Hill, loses that Orthodoxy in one Company, which puffed him up with such Assurance and Insolence in another; and is there, with equal Justice, himself expos'd to the like Censures of Error and Heresy, which he was so forward to lay on others at home. When it shall appear that Infallibility is entail'd upon one Set of Men of any Denomination, or Truth confin'd to any Spot of Ground, the Name and Use of Orthodoxy, as now it is in fashion every where, will in that one place be reasonable. Till then, this ridiculous Cant will be a Foundation too weak to sustain that Usurpation that is rais'd upon it. 'Tis not that I do not think every one should be persuaded of the Truth of those Opinions he professes. 'Tis that I contend for; and 'tis that which I fear the great Sticklers for Orthodoxy often fail in. For we see generally that Numbers of them exactly jump in a whole large Collection of Doctrines, consisting of abundance of Particulars; as if their Notions were by one common Stamp printed on their Minds, even to the least Lineament. This is very hard, if not impossible, to be conceiv'd of those who take up their Opinions only from Conviction. But how fully soever I am persuaded of the Truth of what I hold, I am in common Justice to allow the same Sincerity to him that differs from me; and so we are upon equal Terms. This Persuasion of Truth on each side, invests neither of us with a Right to censure or condemn the other. I have no more reason to treat him ill for differing from me, than he has to treat me ill for the same cause. Pity him, I may; inform him fairly, I ought: but condemn, malign, revile, or any otherwise prejudice him for not thinking just as I do, that I ought not. My Orthodoxy gives me no more Authority over him, than his (for every one is Orthodox to himself) gives him over me. When the word Orthodoxy (which in effect signifies no more but the Opinions of my Party) is made use of as a pretence to domineer (as ordinarily it is) it is, and always will be ridiculous.

He says, *I hate even with a deadly Hatred all Catechisms and Confessions, all Systems and Models*. I do not remember, that I have once mention'd the word *Catechism*, either in my *Reasonableness of Christianity*, or *Vindication*: but he knows

knows *I hate them deadly*, and I know I do not. And as for *Systems* and *Models*, all that I say of them, in the Pages he quotes to prove my Hatred of them, is only this, viz. in my *Vindication*, p. 546. "Some Men had rather you should write booty, and cross your own Design of removing Mens Prejudices to Christianity, than leave out one tittle of what they put into their Systems.——Some Men will not bear it, that any one should speak of Religion, but according to the Model that they themselves have made of it." In neither of which places do I speak against *Systems* or *Models*, but the ill use that some Men make of them.

He tells me also in the same place, p. 104. that I *deride Mysteries*. But for this he hath quoted neither words nor place: And where he does not do that, I have reason, from the frequent Liberties he takes to impute to me what no where appears in my Books, to desire the Reader to take what he says not to be true. For did he mean fairly, he might, by quoting my words, put all such Matters of Fact out of doubt; and not force me so often as he does to demand where it is: as I do now here again,

LI. *Where it is that I deride Mysteries?*

His next Words, p. 104. are very remarkable: They are, *O how he [the Vindicator] grins at the Spirit of Creed-making?* P. 548. *Vind. The very Thoughts of which do so haunt him, so plague and torment him, that he cannot rest till it be conjured down. And here, by the way, seeing I have mention'd his Rancour against Systematick Books and Writings, I might represent the Misery that is coming upon all Booksellers, if this Gentleman and his Correspondents go on successfully. Here is an effectual Plot to undermine Stationers-Hall; for all Systems and Bodies of Divinity, Philosophy, &c. must be cashier'd: Whatsoever looks like System must not be bought or sold. This will fall heavy on the Gentlemen of St. Paul's Church-yard, and other places. Here the politick Unmasker seems to threaten me with the Posses of Paul's Church-yard, because my Book might lessen their Gain in the Sale of Theological Systems. I remember that Demetrius the Shrine-maker, which brought no small Gain to the Crafts-men whom he call'd together, with the Workmen of like Occupation, and said to this purpose; Sirs, Ye know, that by this Craft we have our Wealth: Moreover ye see, and hear, that this Paul hath persuaded, and turn'd away much People, saying, that they be no Gods that are made with Hands; so that this our Craft is in danger to be set at nought. And when they heard these Sayings, they were full of Wrath, and cry'd out, saying, Great is Diana of the Ephesians. Have you, Sir, who are so good at Speech-making, as a worthy Successor of the Silver-Smith, regulating your Zeal for the Truth, and your writing Divinity by the Profit it will bring, made a Speech to this purpose to the Craftsmen, and told them, that I say, Articles of Faith, and Creeds, and Systems in Religion cannot be made by Mens Hands or Fancies; but must be just such, and no other than what God hath given us in the Scriptures? And are they ready to cry out to your content, Great is Diana of the Ephesians? If you have well warm'd them with your Oratory, 'tis to be hop'd they will heartily join with you, and bestir themselves, and chuse you for their Champion, to prevent the Misery, you tell them, is coming upon them, in the loss of the Sale of Systems and Bodies of Divinity: For, as for Philosophy, which you name too, I think you went a little too far; nothing of that kind, as I remember, hath been so much as mention'd. But however, some sort of Orators, when their hands are in, omit nothing true or false, that may move those they would work upon. Is not this a worthy Employment, and becoming a Preacher of the Gospel, to be a Solicitor for Stationers-Hall? and make the Gain of the Gentlemen of Paul's Church-yard a Consideration for or against any Book writ concerning Religion? This, if it were ever thought on before, no body but an Unmasker, who lays all open, was ever so foolish as to publish. But here you have an account of his Zeal: The Views of Gain are to measure the Truths of Divinity. Had his Zeal, as he pretends in the next Paragraph, no other Aims, but the Defence of the Gospel; 'tis probable this Controversy would have been manag'd after another fashion.*

Whether what he says in the next, p. 105. to excuse his so often pretending to *know my Heart and Thoughts*, will satisfy the Reader; I shall not trouble my self. By his so often doing it again in his *Socinianism Unmask'd*, I see he cannot write without it. And so I leave it to the Judgment of the Readers, whether he can be allow'd to know other Mens Thoughts, who in many Occasions seems not well to know his own. The Railing in the Remainder of this Chapter I shall pass by, as I have done a great deal of the same strain in his Book: Only to shew how well he understands or represents my Sense, I shall set down my Words, as they are in the Pages he quotes, and his Inferences from them.

Vindication, p. 549, 550.

I know not but it may be true, that the *Anti-Trinitarians* and *Racovians* understand those places as I do: But 'tis more than I know that they do so. I took not my Sense of those Texts from those Writers, but from the Scripture it self, giving Light to its own meaning, by one place compar'd with another. What in this way appears to me its true meaning, I shall not decline; because I am told that it is so understood by the *Racovians*, whom I never yet read; nor embrace

the contrary, tho the generality of Divines I more converse with, should declare for it. If the sense wherein I understand those Texts be a mistake, I shall be beholden to you, if you will set me right. But they are not popular Authorities, or frightful Names whereby I judg of Truth or Falshood.

He tells me here of the *Generality of Divines*. If he had said of the Church of England, I could have understood him: But he says, *The profess'd Divines of England*; and there being several sorts of Divines in England, who, I think, do not every where agree in their Interpretations of Scripture; which of them is it I must have regard to, where they differ? If he cannot tell me that, he complains here of me for a Fault, which he himself knows not how to mend.

Vindication, p. 548, 549.

The List of Materials for his Creed, for the Articles are not yet form'd; Mr. Edwards closes, p. 111. with these words: *These are the Matters of Faith contain'd in the Epistles; and they are Essential and Integral Parts of the Gospel it self*. What just these, neither more nor less? l. 4. If you are sure of it, pray let us have them speedily, for the reconciling of Differences in the Christian Church, which has been so cruelly torn about the Articles of the Christian Faith, to the great Reproach of Christian Charity, and Scandal of our true Religion.

Does the Vindicator here *scoff at the Matters of Faith contain'd in the Epistles*? or shew the vain pretences of the *Unmasker*; who undertakes to give us out of the Epistles a Collection of Fundamentals, without being able to say whether those he sets down be all or no?

Vindication, p. 552.

I hope you do not think, how contemptibly soever you speak of the *Venerable Mob*, as you are pleas'd to dignify them, p. 117. that the Bulk of Mankind, or in your Phrase the *Rabble*, are not concern'd in Religion, or ought not

Socinianism Unmask'd, p. 108.

The profess'd Divines of England, you must know, are but a pitiful sort of Folks with this great Racovian Rabbi. He tells us plainly, that he is not mindful of what the generality of Divines declare for, p. 549. *He labours so concernedly to ingratiate himself with the Mob, the Multitude (which he so often talks of) that he hath no regard to these. The generality of the Rabble are more considerable with him, than the generality of Divines.*

Socinianism Unmask'd, p. 109.

This Author, as demure and grave as he would sometimes seem to be, can scoff at the Matters of Faith contain'd in the Apostles Epistles, p. 548.

Socinianism Unmask'd, p. 110.

To coaks the Mob, he profanely brings in that place of Scripture; Have any of the Rulers believ'd in him?

not

not to understand it in order to their Salvation. I remember the Pharisees treated the Common People with Contempt; and said, *Have any of the Rulers or of the Pharisees believ'd in him? But this People, who knoweth not the Law, are cursed.* But yet these, who in the Censure of the Pharisees were cursed, were some of the Poor, or, if you please to have it so, the Mob, to whom the Gospel was preach'd by our Saviour, as he tells *John's Disciples*, Mat. XI. 5.

Where the *Profaneness* of this is, I do not see; unless some unknown Sacredness of the *Unmasker's* Person make it *Profaneness* to shew, that he, like the Pharisees of old, has a great Contempt for the Common People, i. e. the far greater part of Mankind; as if they and their Salvation were below the regard of this elevated Rabbi. But this of *Profaneness* may be well borne from him, since in the next words my mentioning another part of his Carriage is no less than *Irreligion*.

Vindication, p. 550.

Socinianism Unmask'd, p. 110.

He prefers what I say to him my *Ridiculously and irreligiously he pretends*, self, to what is offer'd to him from that I prefer what he saith to me, to the Word of God, and makes me what is offer'd to me from the Word this Compliment, that I begin to mend of God, p. 550. about the Close, i. e. when I leave off quoting of Scripture, and the dull Work was done of *going thro the History of the Evangelists and the Acts*, which he computes, p. 105. to take up three quarters of my Book.

The Matter of Fact is as I relate it, and so is beyond *pretence*; and for this I refer the Reader to the 105th and 114th Pages of his *Thoughts concerning the Causes of Atheism*. But had I mistaken, I know not how he could have call'd it *Irreligiously*. Make the worst of it that can be, how comes it to be *Irreligious*? What is there Divine in an *Unmasker*; that one cannot pretend (true or false) that he prefers what I say, to what is offer'd him from the Word of God, without doing it *Irreligiously*? Does the very assuming the Power to define Articles, and determine who are, and who are not Christians, by a Creed not yet made, erect an *Unmasker* presently into God's Throne, and bestow on him the Title of *Dominus Deusque noster*, whereby Offences against him come to be *irreligious Acts*? I have misrepresented his Meaning; let it be so: Where is the *Irreligion* of it? Thus it is: The Power of making a Religion for others (and those that make Creeds do that) being once got into any one's Fancy, must at last make all Oppositions to those Creeds and Creed-makers, *Irreligion*. Thus we see in process of time it did in the Church of Rome: But it was in length of time, and by gentle degrees. The *Unmasker*, it seems, cannot stay, is in haste, and at one jump leaps into the Chair. He has given us yet but a piece of his Creed, and yet that is enough to set him above the state of human Mistakes or Frailties; and to mention any such thing in him, is to do *Irreligiously*.

We may further see, says the *Unmasker*, p. 110. how counterfeited the *Vindicator's* Gravity is, whilst he condemns frothy and light Discourses, p. 550. *Vindic.* And yet in many Pages together most irreverently treats a great part of the *Apostolical Writings*, and throws aside the main Articles of Religion as unnecessary. *Answ.* In my *Vindic.* p. 549. you may remember these words; "I require you to publish to the World those Passages which shew my Contempt of the Epistles." Why do you not (especially having been so call'd upon to do it) set down those words, wherein I most irreverently treat a great part of the *Apostolical Writings*? As least, why do you not quote those many Pages wherein I do it? This looks a little suspiciously, that you cannot: and the more, because you have in this very Page not been sparing to quote places which you thought to your purpose. I must take leave therefore (if it may be done without *Irreligion*) to assure the Reader, that this is another of your many Mistakes in Matters of Fact, for which you have not so much as the excuse of *Inadvertency*: For, as he sees, you have been minded of it before. But an *Unmasker*, say what you will to him, will be an *Unmasker* still.

He closes what he has to say to me, in his *Socinianism Unmask'd*, as if he were in the Pulpit, with an Use of Exhortation. The false Insinuations it is fill'd with, make the Conclusion of a piece with the Introduction. As he sets out, so he ends, and therein shews wherein he places his Strength. A custom of making bold with Truth, is so seldom curable in a grown Man, and the *Unmasker* shews so little sense of Shame, where it is charg'd upon him, beyond a possibility of clearing himself; that no body is to trouble themselves any farther about that part of his establish'd Character. Letting therefore that alone to Nature and Custom, two sure Guides, I shall only intreat him, to prevent his taking Railing for Argument (which I fear he too often does) that upon his Entrance every where upon any new Argument, he would set it down in Syllogism; and when he has done that (that I may know what is to be answer'd) let him then give vent as he pleases, to his noble Vein of Wit and Oratory.

The lifting a Man's self up in his own Opinion, has had the Credit in former Ages to be thought the lowest Degradation that human Nature could well sink it self to. Hence says the Wise Man, *Prov. XXVI. 6. Answer a Fool according to his Folly, lest he be wise in his own Conceit*: hereby shewing, that Self-conceitedness is a degree beneath ordinary Folly. And therefore he there provides a Fence against it, to keep even Fools from sinking yet lower, by falling into it. Whether what was not so in Solomon's days, be now, by length of of time, in ours, grown into a Mark of Wisdom and Parts, and an Evidence of great Performances; I shall not enquire. Mr. Edwards, who goes beyond all that ever I yet met with, in the Commendation of his own, best knows why he so extols what he has done in this Controversy. For fear the Praises he has not been sparing of in his *Socinianism Unmask'd*, should not sufficiently trumpet out his Worth, or might be forgotten; he, in a new Piece, entitled, *The Socinian Creed*, proclaims again his mighty Deeds, and the Victory he has establish'd to himself by them, in these words: *But he and his Friends (the One-Article-Men) seem to have made satisfaction by their profound silence lately, whereby they acknowledg to the World, that they have nothing to say in Reply to what I laid to their Charge, and fully prov'd against them, &c. Socinian Creed, p. 128.* This fresh Testimony of no ordinary Conceit, which Mr. Edwards hath of the Excellency and Strength of his Reasoning in his *Socinianism Unmask'd*, I leave with him and his Friends to be consider'd of at their leisure: And if they think I have mis-apply'd the term of Conceitedness, to so wise, understanding, and every way accomplish'd a Disputant (if we may believe himself) I will teach them a way how he, or any body else, may fully convince me of it. There remains on his score, mark'd in this Reply of mine, several Propositions to be prov'd by him. If he can but find Arguments to prove them that will bear the setting down in form, and will so publish them, I will allow my self to be mistaken. Nay, which is more, if he or any body in the 112 Pages of his *Socinianism Unmask'd*, can find but ten Arguments that will bear the Test of Syllogism, the true Touchstone of right arguing; I will grant that that Treatise deserves all those Commendations he has bestow'd upon it, tho it be made up more of his own Panegyrick, than a Confutation of me.

In his *Socinian Creed* (for a Creed-maker he will be; and whether he has been as lucky for the Socinians as for the Orthodox, I know not) p. 120. he begins with me, and that with the same conquering Hand and Skill which can never fail of Victory; if a Man has but Wit enough to know what Proposition he is able to confute, and then make that his Adversary's Tenet. But the Repetitions of his old Song concerning *one Article, the Epistles, &c.* which occur here again, I shall only set down; that none of these excellent things may be lost, whereby this acute and unanswerable Writer has so well deserv'd his own Commendations: viz. That I say *there is but one single Article of the Christian Truth necessary to be believ'd and assented to by us*, p. 121. That I *sight the Christian Principles, curtail the Articles of our Faith, and ravish Christianity it self from him*, p. 123. And that I *turn the Epistles of the Apostles into waste Paper*, p. 127, &c.

These, and the like Slanders, I have already given an Answer to in my Reply to his former Book. Only one new one here I cannot pass over in silence; because

because of the remarkable Profaneness which seems to me to be in it; which, I think, deserves publick notice. In my *Reasonableness of Christianity*, I have laid together those Passages of our Saviour's Life, which seem'd to me most eminently to shew his Wisdom, in that Conduct of himself, with that Reserve and Caution which was necessary to preserve him, and carry him thro the appointed time of his Ministry. Some have thought I had herein done considerable Service to the Christian Religion, by removing those Objections which some were apt to make from our Saviour's Carriage, not rightly understood. This *Creed-maker* tells me, p. 127. *That I make our Saviour a Coward: A word not to be apply'd to the Saviour of the World by a pious or discreet Christian upon any pretence, without great Necessity and sure Grounds.* If he had set down my words, and quoted the Page (which was the least could have been done to excuse such a Phrase) we should then have seen which of us two, this impious and irreligious Epithet given to the Holy *Jesus*, has for its Author. In the mean time, I leave it with him, to be accounted for by his Piety, to those, who by his Example shall be encourag'd to entertain so vile a Thought, or use so profane an Expression of the *Captain of our Salvation*, who freely gave himself up to Death for us.

He also says in the same, p. 127. *That I every where strike at Systems, the Design of which is to establish one of my own, or to foster Scepticism, by beating down all others.*

For clear Reason or good Sense, I do not think our *Creed-maker* ever had his fellow. In the immediate preceding words of the same Sentence, he charges me with a *great Antipathy against Systems*; and before he comes to the end of it, finds out my *Design* to be the *establishing one of my own*. So that this, my *Antipathy against Systems*, makes me in love with one. My *Design*, he says, *is to establish a System of my own, or to foster Scepticism in beating down all others.* Let my Book, if he pleases, be my System of Christianity. Now is it in me any more *fostering Scepticism*, to say my System is true, and others not, than it is in the *Creed-maker* to say so of all other Systems but his own? For, I hope, he does not allow any System of Christianity to be true, that differs from his, any more than I do.

But I have spoke against all Systems. *Ans.* And always shall, so far as they are set up by particular Men or Parties, as the just Measure of every Man's Faith; wherein every thing that is contain'd, is requir'd and impos'd to be believ'd to make a Man a Christian: Such an Opinion and Use of Systems I shall always be against, till the *Creed-maker* shall tell me, amongst the Variety of them, which alone is to be receiv'd and rested in, in the absence of his Creed; which is not yet finish'd, and, I fear, will not as long as I live. That every Man should receive from others, or make to himself such a System of Christianity as he found most conformable to the Word of God, according to the best of his understanding, is what I never spoke against, but think it every one's Duty to labour for, and to take all Opportunities as long as he lives, by studying the Scriptures every day, to perfect.

But this, I fear, will not go easily down with our Author; for then he cannot be a *Creed-maker* for others: A thing he shews himself very forward to; how able to perform it, we shall see when his Creed is made. In the mean time, talking loudly and at random about Fundamentals, without knowing what is so, may stand him in some stead.

This being all that is new, which I think my self concern'd in, in this *Socinian Creed*, I pass on to his *Postscript*. In the first Page whereof, I find these words: *I found that the Manager of the Reasonableness of Christianity had prevail'd with a Gentleman to make a Sermon upon my Refutation of that Treatise, and the Vindication of it.* Such a piece of Impertinency as this might have been borne from a fair Adversary: But the Sample Mr. Edwards has given of himself in his *Socinianism Unmask'd*, persuades me this ought to be bound up with what he says of me in his *Introduction* to that Book, in these words: *Among others, they thought and made choice of a Gentleman, who they knew would be extraordinary useful to them. And he, it is probable, was as forward to be made use of by them, and presently accepted of the Office that was assign'd him: and more there to the same purpose.* All which, I know to be utterly false.

'Tis

'Tis pity that one who relies so intirely upon it, should have no better an Invention. The *Socinians* set the Author of the *Reasonableness of Christianity*, &c. on work to write that Book; by which Discovery the World being (as Mr. *Edwards* says) *let into the Project*, that Book is confounded, baffled, blown off, and by this skilful Artifice there is an end of it. Mr. *Bold* preaches and publishes a Sermon without this irrefragable Gentleman's good Leave and Liking: What now must be done to discredit it, and keep it from being read? Why, Mr. *Bold* too, was set on work by the *Manager of the Reasonableness of Christianity*, &c. In your whole Store-house of Stratagems, you that are so great a Conqueror, have you but this one way to destroy a Book which you set your Mightiness against, but to tell the World it was a Job of Journey-work for some body you do not like? Some other would have done better in this new Cafe, had your happy Invention been ready with it: for you are not so bashful or reserv'd, but that you may be allow'd to be as great a Wit as he who profess'd himself ready at any time, to say a good or a new thing, if he could but think of it. But in good earnest, Sir, if one should ask you, do you think no Books contain Truth in them which were undertaken by the *Procurator* of a Bookseller? I desire you to be a little tender in the Point, not knowing how far it may reach. Ay, but such Booksellers live not at the *Lower End of Pater-Noster-Row*, but in *Paul's Church-Yard*, and are the Managers of other-guests Books, than *The Reasonableness of Christianity*. And therefore you very rightly subjoin, *Indeed it was a great Master-piece of Procurator, and we can't but think that Man must speak Truth, and defend it very impartially and substantially, who is thus brought on to undertake the Cause.* And so Mr. *Bold's* Sermon is found to have neither Truth nor Sense in it, because it was printed by a Bookseller at the lower end of *Pater-Noster-Row*; for that, I dare say, is all you know of the matter. But that is hint enough for a happy Diviner to be sure of the rest, and with Confidence to report that for certain Matter of Fact, which had never any being but in the fore-casting Side of his Politick Brain.

But whatever were the Reasons that mov'd Mr. *B* — to preach that Sermon, of which I know nothing; this I am sure, it shews only the Weakness and Malice (I will not say, and ill Breeding, for that concerns not one of Mr. *Edwards's* pitch) of any one who excepts against it, to take notice of any thing more than what the Author has publish'd. Therein alone consists the Error, if there be any; and that alone those meddle with, who write for the sake of Truth. But poor Cavillers have other purposes, and therefore must use other Shifts, and make a bustle about something besides the Argument, to prejudice and beguile unwary Readers.

The only Exception the *Creed-maker* makes to Mr. *Bold's* Sermon, is the Contradiction he imputes to him, in saying; "That there is but one Point or Article necessary to be believ'd for the making a Man a Christian: And that there are many Points *besides this*, which Jesus Christ hath taught and reveal'd, which every sincere Christian is indispenibly oblig'd to endeavour to understand:" And, "That there are particular Points and Articles, which being known to be reveal'd by Christ, Christians must indispenibly assent to." And where now is there any thing like a Contradiction in this? Let it be granted, for example, that the *Creed-maker's* Set of Articles (let their number be what they will, when he has found them all out) are necessary to be believ'd, for the making a Man a Christian. Is there any Contradiction in it to say, There are many Points *besides these*, which Jesus Christ hath taught and reveal'd, which every sincere Christian is indispenibly oblig'd to endeavour to understand? If this be not so, it is but for any one to be perfect in Mr. *Edwards's* Creed, and then he may lay by the Bible, and from thence-forth he is absolutely dispens'd with, from studying or understanding any thing more of the Scripture.

But Mr. *Edwards's* Supremacy is not yet so far establish'd, that he will dare to say, that Christians are not oblig'd to endeavour to understand any other Points reveal'd in the Scripture, but what are contain'd in his Creed. He cannot yet well discard all the rest of the Scripture, because he has yet need of it for the compleating of his Creed, which is like to secure the Bible to us for some time yet. For I will be answerable for it, he will not be quickly able to resolve what Texts of the Scripture do, and what do not contain Points necessary to

to be believ'd. So that I am apt to imagine, that the *Creed-maker*, upon second Thoughts, will allow that saying, There is but One, or there are but Twelve, or there are but as many as he shall set down (when he has resolv'd which they shall be) necessary to the making a Man a Christian; and the saying, there are other Points besides contain'd in the Scripture, which every sincere Christian is indispensibly oblig'd to endeavour to understand, and must believe when he knows them to be reveal'd by Jesus Christ, are two Propositions that may consist together with a Contradiction.

Every Christian is to partake of that Bread and that Cup, which is the Communion of the Body and Blood of Christ. And is not every sincere Christian indispensibly oblig'd to endeavour to understand these Words of our Saviour's Institution, *This is my Body*, and *This is my Blood*? And if upon his serious Endeavour to do it, he understands them in a literal Sense, that Christ meant that that was really his Body and Blood, and nothing else; must he not necessarily believe, that the Bread and Wine in the Lord's Supper, is chang'd really into his Body and Blood, tho he doth not know how? Or, if having his Mind set otherwise, he understands the Bread and Wine to be really the Body and Blood of Christ, without ceasing to be true Bread and Wine: Or, else, If he understands them, that the Body and Blood of Christ are verily and indeed given and receiv'd in the Sacrament, in a Spiritual manner: Or, lastly, If he understands our Saviour to mean by those words, only the Bread and Wine to be a Representation of his Body and Blood; in which way soever of these Four, a Christian understands these words of our Saviour to be meant by him, is he not oblig'd in that sense to believe them to be true, and assent to them? Or can he be a Christian, and understand these words to be meant by our Saviour, in one sense, and deny his Assent to them as true, in that sense? Would not this be to deny our Saviour's Veracity, and consequently his being the *Messiah* sent from God? And yet this is put upon a Christian, where he understands the Scripture in one sense, and is requir'd to believe it in another. From all which 'tis evident, that to say there is One, or any Number of Articles necessary to be known and believ'd to make a Man a Christian, and that there are others contain'd in the Scripture, which a Man is oblig'd to endeavour to understand, and oblig'd also to assent to as he does understand them, is no Contradiction.

To believe Jesus to be the *Messiah*, and to take him to be his Lord and King, let us suppose to be that only which is necessary to make a Man a Christian: May it not yet be necessary for him, being a Christian, to study the Doctrine and Law of this his Lord and King, and believe that all that he deliver'd is true? Is there any Contradiction in holding of this? But this *Creed-maker*, to make sure Work, and not to fail of a Contradiction in Mr. *Bold's* words, mis-repeats them, p. 241. and quite contrary both to what they are in the Sermon, and what they are as set down by the *Creed-maker* himself, in the immediately preceding Page. Mr. *Bold* says, "There are other Points that Jesus Christ hath taught and reveal'd, which every sincere Christian is indispensibly oblig'd to understand; and which being known to be reveal'd by Christ, he must indispensibly assent to." From which the *Creed-maker* argues thus, p. 240. *Now if there be other Points and particular Articles, and those many, which a sincere Christian is oblig'd, and that necessarily and indispensibly to understand, believe, and assent to; then this Writer hath in effect yielded to that Proposition I maintain'd, viz. That the Belief of one Article is not sufficient to make a Man a Christian, and consequently he runs counter to the Proposition he had laid down.*

Is there no difference, I beseech you, between being indispensibly oblig'd to endeavour to understand, and being indispensibly oblig'd to understand any Point? 'Tis the first of these Mr. *Bold* says, and 'tis the latter of these you argue from, and so conclude nothing against him; nor can you to your purpose. For till Mr. *Bold* says (which he is far from saying) that every sincere Christian is necessarily and indispensibly oblig'd to understand all those Texts of Scripture, from whence you should have drawn your necessary Articles (when you have perfected your Creed) in the same sense that you do; you can conclude nothing against what he hath said concerning that one Article, or any thing that looks like *running counter* to it. For it may be enough to constitute a Man a Christian, and one of Christ's Subjects, to take Jesus to be the *Messiah*,

Messiah, his appointed King, and yet without a Contradiction; so that it may be his indispensable Duty, as a Subject of that Kingdom, to endeavour to understand all the Dictates of his Sovereign, and to assent to the Truth of them, as far as he understands them.

But that which the good *Creed-maker* aims at, without which, all his necessary Articles fall, is that it should be granted him, that every sincere Christian was necessarily and indispensibly oblig'd to understand all those Parts of Divine Revelation, from whence he pretends to draw his Articles in their true meaning, *i. e.* just as he does. But his Infallibility is not yet so establish'd, but that there will need some proof of that Proposition. And when he has prov'd that every sincere Christian is necessarily and indispensibly oblig'd to understand those Texts in their true meaning; and that his Interpretation of them is that true meaning: I shall then ask him, whether every sincere Christian is not as necessarily and indispensibly oblig'd to understand other Texts of Scripture in their true meaning, tho they have no place in his System?

For example, To make use of the Instance above-mention'd, is not every sincere Christian necessarily and indispensibly oblig'd to endeavour to understand these Words of our Saviour, *This is my Body*, and *This is my Blood*, that he may know what he receives in the Sacrament? Does he cease to be a Christian, who happens not to understand them just as the *Creed-maker* does? Or may not the old Gentleman at Rome (who has somewhat the antienter Title to Infallibility) make Transubstantiation a Fundamental Article necessary to be believ'd there, as well as the *Creed-maker* here makes his Sense of any disputed Text of Scripture a Fundamental Article necessary to be believ'd?

Let us suppose Mr. Bold had said that instead of *one Point*, the right Knowledge of the *Creed-maker's* one hundred Points (when he has resolv'd on them) doth constitute and make a Person a Christian; yet there are many other Points Jesus Christ hath taught and reveal'd, which every sincere Christian is indispensibly oblig'd to endeavour to understand, and to make a due use of: For this I think the *Creed-maker* will not deny. From whence, in the *Creed-maker's* words, I will thus argue: *Now if there be other Points and particular Articles; and those many, which a sincere Christian is oblig'd, and that necessarily and indispensibly, to understand and believe, and assent to; then this Writer doth in effect yield to that Proposition which I maintain'd, viz. That the Belief of those one hundred Articles is not sufficient to make a Man a Christian:* for this is that which I maintain; That upon this ground, the Belief of the Articles which he has set down in his List, are not sufficient to make a Man a Christian; and that upon Mr. Bold's Reason, which the *Creed-maker* insists on against one Article, *viz.* because there are many other Points Jesus Christ hath taught and reveal'd, which every sincere Christian is as necessarily and indispensibly oblig'd to endeavour to understand and make a due use of.

But this *Creed-maker* is cautious, beyond any of his Predecessors: He will not be so caught by his own Argument; and therefore is very shy to give you the precise Articles that every sincere Christian is necessarily and indispensibly oblig'd to understand, and give his Assent to. Something he is sure there is that he is indispensibly oblig'd to understand and assent to, to make him a Christian; but what that is, he cannot yet tell. So that whether he be a Christian or no, he does not know; and what other People will think of him, from his treating of the serious things of Christianity, in so trifling and scandalous a way, must be left to them.

In the next Paragraph, p. 242. the *Creed-maker* tells us, Mr. Bold goes on to confute himself, in saying, "A true Christian must assent unto this, that Christ *is* Jesus is God." But this is just such another Confutation of himself as the before-mention'd, *i. e.* as much as a Falshood substituted by another Man, can be a Confutation of a Man's self, who has spoken Truth all of a-piece. For the *Creed-maker*, according to his sure way of baffling his Opponents, so as to leave them nothing to answer, hath here, as he did before, chang'd Mr. Bold's words, which in the 35th Page, quoted by the *Creed-maker*, stand thus: "When a true Christian understands that Christ Jesus hath taught, that *He is a God*, he must assent unto it:" which is true and conformable to what he had said before, That every sincere Christian must endeavour to understand the

the Points taught and reveal'd by Jesus Christ, which being known to be reveal'd by him, he must assent unto.

The like piece of Honesty the *Creed-maker* shews in the next Paragraph, p. 243. where he charges Mr. *Bold* with saying, *That a true Christian is as much oblig'd to believe that the Holy Spirit is God, as to believe that Jesus is the Christ*, p. 40. In which place, Mr. *Bold's* words are; "When a true Christian understands that Christ Jesus hath given this Account of the Holy Spirit, viz. that He is God; he is as much oblig'd to believe it, as he is to believe that Jesus is the Christ." Which is an uncontestable Truth, but such an one as the *Creed-maker* himself saw would do him no service, and therefore he mangles it, and leaves out half to serve his turn. But he that should give a Testimony in the slight Affairs of Men, and their temporal Concerns, before a Court of Judicature, as the *Creed-maker* does here, and almost every where, in the great Affairs of Religion, and the everlasting Concern of Souls, before all Mankind, would lose his Ears for it. What therefore this worthy Gentleman alledges out of Mr. *Bold*, as a Contradiction to himself, being only the *Creed-maker's* Contradiction to Truth and clear Matter of Fact, needs no other Answer.

The rest of what he calls *Reflections on Mr. Bold's Sermon*, being nothing but either rude and mis-becoming Language of him; or pitiful childish Application to him, to change his Persuasion at the *Creed-maker's* Intreaty, and give up the Truth he hath own'd, in courtesy to this doughty Combatant; shews the Ability of the Man. Leave off begging the Question, and superciliously presuming that you are in the right; and instead of that, shew it by Argument: and I dare answer for Mr. *Bold*, you will have him, and I promise you with him one Convert more. But arguing is not, it seems, this notable Disputant's way. If boasting of himself, and contemning others, false Quotations, and feign'd Matters of Fact, which the Reader neither can know, nor is the Question concern'd in if he did know, will not do; there is an end of him: he has shewn his Excellency in scurrilous Declamation; and there you have the whole of this unanswerable Writer. And for this, I appeal to his own Writings in this Controversy, if any judicious Reader can have the patience to look them over.

In the beginning of his *Reflections on Mr. Bold's Sermon*, he confidently tells the World, That he had found that the *Manager of the Reasonableness of Christianity* had prevail'd on Mr. *Bold* to preach a Sermon upon his *Reflections, &c.* And adds, *And we cannot but think, that that Man must speak the Truth, and defend it very impartially and substantially, who is thus brought on to undertake the Cause.* And at the latter end he addresses himself to Mr. *Bold*, as one that is drawn off to be an under Journeyman-Worker in *Socinianism*. In his gracious Allowance, Mr. *Bold* is seemingly a Man of some relish of Religion and Piety, p. 244. He is forc'd also to own him to be a Man of Sobriety and Temper, p. 245. A very good rise, to give him out to the World, in the very next words, as a Man of a profligate Conscience: for so he must be, who can be drawn off to preach or write for *Socinianism*, when he thinks it a most dangerous Error; who can dissemble with himself, and choak his inward Persuasions (as the *Creed-maker* insinuates that Mr. *Bold* does, in the same Address to him, p. 248.) and write contrary to his Light. Had the *Creed-maker* had reason to think in earnest, that Mr. *Bold* was going off to *Socinianism*, he might have reason'd with him fairly, as with a Man running into dangerous Error: or if he had certainly known that he was by any By-ends prevail'd on to undertake a Cause contrary to his Conscience, he might have some reason to tell the World, as he does, p. 239. *That we cannot think he should speak Truth, who is thus brought to undertake the Cause.* If he does not certainly know that Mr. *Bold* was THUS brought to undertake the Cause, he could not have shewn a more villanous and unchristian Mind, than in publishing such a Character of a Minister of the Gospel, and a worthy Man, upon no other Grounds, but because it might be subservient to his Ends. He is engag'd in a Controversy, that by Argument he cannot maintain; nor knew any other way from the beginning to attack the Book he pretends to write against, but by crying out *Socinianism*; a Name he knows in great Disgrace with all other Sects of Christians, and therefore sufficient to deter all those who approve and condemn Books by hearsay, without

examining their Truth themselves, from perusing a Treatise to which he could affix that Imputation. Mr. *Bold's* Name (who is publickly known to be no *Socinian*) he foresees will wipe off that false Imputation, with a great many of those who are led by Names more than Things. This seems exceedingly to trouble him, and he labours might and main to get Mr. *Bold* to quit a Book as *Socinian*, which Mr. *Bold* knows is not *Socinian*, because he has read and consider'd it.

But tho' our *Creed-maker* be mightily concern'd that Mr. *B——d* should not appear in the Defence of it: yet this Concern cannot raise him one jot above that Honesty, Skill, and good Breeding, which appears towards others. He manages this Matter with Mr. *B——d*, as he has done the rest of the Controversy; just in the same strain of Invention, Civility, Wit, and good Sense. He tells him, besides what I have above set down, *That he is drawn off to debase himself and the Post, i. e. the Ministry, he is in, p. 245. That he hath said very ill things to the lessening and impairing, yea, to the defaming of that Knowledge and Belief of our Saviour, and of the Articles of Christianity, which are necessarily requir'd of us, p. 245. That the Devout and Pious (whereby he means himself, for one and none is his own beloved Wit and Argument) observing that Mr. Bold is come to the necessity of but ONE Article of Faith, they expect that he may in time hold that NONE is necessary, p. 248. That if he writes again in the same strain, he will write rather like a Turkish Spy, than a Christian Preacher; That he is a Backslider, and sailing to Racovia with a side Wind: than which, what can there be more scurrilous, or more malicious? And yet at the same time that he outrages him thus, beyond not only what Christian Charity, but common Civility would allow in an ingenuous Adversary, he makes some aukard Attempts to sooth him, with some ill-tim'd Commendations; and would have his under-valuing Mr. *Bold's Animadversions* pass for a Compliment to him: because he, for that reason, pretends not to believe so crude and shallow a thing (as he is pleas'd to call it) to be his. A notable Contrivance to gain the greater Liberty of railing at him under another Name, when Mr. *B——d's*, it seems, is too well known to serve him so well to that purpose. Besides, it is of good use to fill up three or four Pages of his *Reflections*; a great Convenience to a Writer, who knows all the ways of baffling his Opponents, but Argument, and who always makes a great deal of stir about Matters foreign to his Subject; which, whether they are granted or deny'd, make nothing at all to the Truth of the Question on either side. For what is it to the Shallowness or Depth of the *Animadversions*, who writ them? or to the Truth or Falshood of Mr. *B——d's* Defence of the Reasonableness of Christianity, whether a *Layman*, or a *Church-man*; a *Socinian*, or one of the *Church of England*, answer'd the *Creed-maker* as well as he? yet this is urg'd as a matter of great weight: But yet in reality it amounts to no more but this, that a Man of any Denomination, who wishes well to the Peace of Christianity, and has observ'd the horrible Effects the Christian Religion has felt from the Impositions of Men in Matters of Faith, may have reason to defend a Book, wherein the Simplicity of the Gospel, and the Doctrine propos'd by our Saviour and his Apostles, for the Conversion of Unbelievers, is made out, tho' there be not one word of the distinguishing Tenets of his Sect in it. But that all those, who under any Name are for imposing their own Orthodoxy, as necessary to be believ'd, and persecuting those who dissent from them, should be all against it, is not perhaps very strange.*

One thing more I must observe of the *Creed-maker* on this occasion: In his *Socinian Creed*, Ch. VI. the Author of the *Reasonableness of Christianity*, &c. and his Book, must be judg'd of by the Characters and Writings of those, who entertain or commend his Notions. *A profess'd Unitarian has defended it; therefore he is a Socinian.* The Author of *A Letter to the Deists* speaks well of it; therefore he is a *Deist*. Another, as an Abettor of the *Reasonableness of Christianity*, he mentions, p. 125. whose Letters I have never seen: and his Opinions too are, I suppose, set down there as belonging to me. Whatever is bad in the Tenets or Writings of these Men, infects me. But the mischief is, Mr. *Bold's* Orthodoxy will do me no good: but because he has defended my Book against Mr. *Edwards*, all my Faults are become his, and he has a mighty

Load of Accusations laid upon him. Thus contrary Causes serve so good a natured, so charitable, and candid a Writer as the *Creed-maker*, to the same purpose of Censure and Railing. But I shall desire him to figure to himself the Loveliness of that Creature, which turns every thing into Venom. What others are, or hold, who have express'd favourable Thoughts of my Book, I think my self not concern'd in. What Opinions others have publish'd, make those in my Book neither true nor false; and he that for the sake of Truth would confute the Errors in it, should shew their Falshood and Weakness as they are there: But they who write for other Ends than Truth, are always busy with other Matters; and where they can do nothing by Reason and Argument, hope to prevail with some by borrow'd Prejudices and Party.

Taking therefore the *Animadversions*, as well as the *Sermon*, to be his whose Name they bear, I shall leave to Mr. B——d himself to take what notice he thinks fit of the little Sense, as well as great Impudence of putting his Name in Print to what is not his, or taking it away from what he hath set it to, whether it belongs to his Bookseller or Answerer. Only I cannot pass by the palpable falsifying of Mr. B——d's words, in the beginning of his Epistle to the Reader, without mention. Mr. B——d's words are; "Whereby I came to be furnish'd with a truer and more just Notion of the main Design of that *TREATISE*." And the good *Creed-maker* sets them down thus; *The main Design of MY OWN TREATISE OR SERMON*: A sure way for such a Champion for Truth to secure to himself the Laurel or the Whetstone.

This irresistible Disputant (who silences all that come in his way, so that those that would, cannot answer him) to make good the mighty Encomiums he has given himself, ought (one would think) to clear all as he goes, and leave nothing by the way unanswer'd, for fear he should fall into the Number of those poor baffled Wretches, whom he with so much Scorn reproaches, that they would answer if they could.

Mr. B——d begins his *Animadversions* with this Remark, that our *Creed-maker* had said, That I give it over and over again in these formal Words, viz. That nothing is requir'd to be believ'd by any Christian Man but this, That Jesus is the Messiah. To which Mr. B——d replies, p. 4. in these words; "Tho I have read over the *Reasonableness of Christianity*, &c. with some Attention, I have not observ'd those formal Words in any part of that Book, nor any Words that are capable of that Construction; provided they be consider'd with the Relation they have to, and the manifest Dependence they have on what goes before, or follows after them."

But to this Mr. Edwards Answers not.

Whether it was because he would not, or because he could not, let the Reader judge. But this is down upon his score already, and it is expected he should answer to it, or else confess that he cannot. And that there may be a fair Decision of this Dispute, I expect the same Usage from him, that he should set down any Proposition of his, I have not answer'd to, and call on me for an Answer, if I can; and if I cannot, I promise him to own it in Print.

The *Creed-maker* had said, That it is most evident to any thinking and considerate Person, that I purposely omit the Epistolary Writings of the Apostles, because they are fraught with other Fundamental Doctrines, besides that which I mention.

To this Mr. B——d answers, p. 5. That if by "Fundamental Articles, Mr. Edwards means here, all the Propositions deliver'd in the Epistles, concerning just those particular Heads he [Mr. Edwards] had there mention'd; it lies upon him to prove, That Jesus Christ hath made it necessary, that every Person must have an explicit Knowledge and Belief of all those, before he can be a Christian."

But to this Mr. Edwards Answers not.

And yet without an Answer to it, all his Talk about *Fundamentals*, and those which he pretended to set down in that place, under the Name of *Fundamentals*, will signify nothing in the present Case; wherein, by *Fundamentals*, were meant such Propositions which every Person must necessarily have an explicit Knowledge and Belief of, before he can be a Christian.

Mr. B—d, in the same place, p. 6, 7. very truly and pertinently adds, "That it did not pertain to [my] Undertaking to enquire what Doctrines either in the *Epistles*, or the *Evangelists* and the *Acts*, were of greatest moment to be understood by them who are Christians; but what was necessary to be known and believ'd to a Person's being a Christian. For there are many important Doctrines, both in the *Gospels*, and in the *Acts*, besides this, *That Jesus is the Messiah*. But how many soever the Doctrines be, which are taught in the *Epistles*, if there be no Doctrine besides this, *That Jesus is the Messiah*, taught there as necessary to be believ'd to make a Man a Christian; all the Doctrines taught there will not make any thing against what this Author has asserted, nor against the Method he hath observ'd: especially, considering we have an Account, in the *Acts of the Apostles*, of what those Persons, by whom the *Epistles* were writ, did teach as necessary to be believ'd to Peoples being Christians."

This, and what Mr. B—d subjoins, "That it was not my design to give an Abstract of any of the inspir'd Books," is so true, and has so clear Reason in it, that any but this Writer would have thought himself concern'd to have answer'd something to it.

But to this Mr. Edwards answers not.

It not being it seems a *Creed-maker's* Business to convince Mens Understanding by Reason, but to impose on their Belief by Authority, or where that is wanting, by Falshood and Bawling. And to such Mr. Bald observes well, p. 8.

"That if I had given the like Account of the *Epistles*, that would have been as little satisfactory, as what I have done already, to those who are resolv'd not to distinguish between what is necessary to be believ'd to make a Man a Christian, and those Articles which are to be believ'd by those who are Christians, as they can attain to know that Christ hath taught them."

This Distinction the *Creed-maker*, no where that I remember, takes any notice of; unless it be p. 255. where he has something relating herunto, which we shall consider when we come to that Place. I shall now go on to shew what Mr. Bald has said, to which he answers not.

Mr. Bald farther tells him, p. 10. That if he will prove any thing in opposition to the Reasonableness of Christianity, &c. it must be this; "That Jesus Christ and his Apostles have taught, that the Belief of some one Article, or certain Number of Articles distinct from this, *That Jesus is the Messiah*, either as exclusive of, or in conjunction with the Belief of this Article, doth constitute and make a Person a Christian: But that the Belief of this, *That Jesus is the Messiah*, alone, doth not make a Man a Christian."

But to this Mr. Edwards irrefragably answers nothing.

Mr. Bald also, p. 10. charges him with his fallily accusing me in these words: *He pretends to contend for one single Article, with the Exclusion of all the rest, for this reason; because all Men ought to understand their Religion.* And again, where he says I aim at this, viz. *That no man must not have any Point of Doctrine in our Religion, that the *Moh* doth not as the very first naming of it perfectly understand and agree to;* Mr. Bald has quoted my express words to the contrary.

But to this, this unanswerable Gentleman answers nothing.

But if he be such a mighty Disputant, that nothing can stand in his way; I shall expect his direct Answer to it, among those other Propositions which I have set down to his score, and I require him to prove if he can.

The *Creed-maker* spends above four Pages of his *Reflections* in a great stir who is the Author of those *Animadversions*: he is reflecting on. To which, I tell him, it matters not to a Lover of Truth, or a Confuter of Errors, who was the Author; but what they contain. He, who makes such a deal of do about that which is nothing to the Question, shews he has but little mind to the Argument; that his Hopes are more in the Recommendation of Names, and Prejudice of Parties, than in the Strength of his Reasons, and the Goodness of his Cause. A Lover of Truth follows That, whoever be for or against it, and can suffer himself to pass by no Argument of his Adversary, without taking notice of it either in allowing its Force, or giving it a fair Answer. Were the *Creed-maker* capable of giving such an Evidence as this, of his Love of Truth, he would not have pass'd over the Twenty first Pages of

Mr.

Mr. Bold's *Animadversions* in silence. The Falshoods that are therein charg'd upon him would have requir'd an Answer of him, if he *could* have given any: And I tell him he must give an Answer, or confess the Falshoods.

In his 255th Page, he comes to take notice of these words of Mr. Bold, in the 21st Page of his *Animadversions*, viz. "That a Convert to Christianity, or a Christian, must necessarily believe as many Articles as he shall attain to know that Christ Jesus hath taught." Which, says the Creed-maker, *wholly invalidates what he had said before in these words*, viz. "That Jesus Christ, and his Apostles, did not teach any thing as necessary to be believ'd to make a Man a Christian, but only this one Proposition, That Jesus of Nazareth was the Messiah." The reason he gives to shew, That the former of these Propositions (in Mr. Bold) *invalidates* the latter, and that the *Animadverter contradicts himself*, stands thus: For, says he, if a Christian must give assent to all the Articles taught by our Saviour in the Gospel, and that necessarily; then all those Propositions reckon'd up in my late Discourse, being taught by Christ or his Apostles, are necessary to be believ'd. *Ans.* And what, I beseech you, becomes of the rest of the Propositions taught by Christ or his Apostles, which you have not reckon'd up in your late Discourse? Are not they necessary to be believ'd, if a Christian must give an assent to ALL the Articles taught by our Saviour and his Apostles?

Sir, If you will argue right from that Antecedent, it must stand thus: If a Christian must give an Assent to ALL the Articles taught by our Saviour and his Apostles, and that necessarily; then all the Propositions in the New Testament, taught by Christ or his Apostles, are necessarily to be believ'd. This Consequence I grant to be true, and necessarily to follow from that Antecedent, and pray make your best of it: But withal remember, that it puts an utter end to your select Number of Fundamentals, and makes all the Truths deliver'd in the New Testament necessary to be explicitly believed by every Christian.

But, Sir, I must take notice to you, that if it be uncertain whether he that writ the *Animadversions*, be the same Person that preach'd the Sermon, yet it is very visible that 'tis the very same Person that reflects on both; because he here again uses the same Trick in answering in the *Animadversions*, the same thing that had been said in the Sermon, viz. By pretending to argue from words as Mr. Bold's, when Mr. Bold has said no such thing. The Proposition you argue from here, is this: If a Christian must give assent to all the Articles taught by our Saviour, and that necessarily. But Mr. Bold says no such thing. His words, as set down by your self, are: "A Christian must necessarily believe as many Articles as he shall attain to know that Christ Jesus hath taught." And is there no difference between ALL that Christ Jesus hath taught; and AS MANY as any one shall attain to know that Christ Jesus hath taught? There is so great a difference between these two, that one can scarce think even such a Creed-maker could mistake it. For one of them admits all those to be Christians, who taking Jesus for the Messiah, their Lord and King, sincerely apply themselves to understand and obey his Doctrine and Law, and do believe all that they understand to be taught by him: The other shuts out, if not all Mankind, yet Nine Hundred Ninety Nine of a Thousand, of those who profess themselves Christians, from being really so. For he speaks within compass, who says there is not one of a Thousand, if there be any one Man at all, who explicitly knows and believes all that our Saviour and his Apostles taught, i. e. All that is deliver'd in the New Testament, in the true sense that it is there intended. For if giving assent to it, in any sense, will serve the turn, our Creed-maker can have no Exceptions against Socinians, Papists, Lutherans, or any other, who acknowledging the Scripture to be the Word of God, do yet oppose his System.

But the Creed-maker goes on, p. 255. and endeavours to prove, that what is necessary to be believ'd by every Christian, is necessary to be believ'd to make a Man a Christian, in these words: But he will say, the Belief of those Propositions makes not a Man a Christian. Then, I say, they are not necessary and indispensable; for what is absolutely necessary in Christianity, is absolutely requisite to make a Man a Christian.

Ignorance,

Ignorance, or something worse, makes our *Creed-maker* always speak doubtfully or obscurely, whenever he pretends to argue; for here *absolutely necessary in Christianity* either signifies nothing, but *absolutely necessary* to make a Man a Christian; and then it is proving the same Proposition by the same Proposition: Or else has a very obscure and doubtful signification. For, if I ask him whether it be *absolutely necessary in Christianity* to obey every one of our Saviour's Commands, what will he answer me? If he answers, *NO*; I ask him which of our Saviour's Commands is it not *in Christianity absolutely necessary* to obey? If he answers, *YES*; then I tell him, by his Rule there are no Christians; because there is no one that does in all things obey all our Saviour's Commands, and therein fails to perform what is *absolutely necessary in Christianity*; and so, by his Rule, is no Christian. If he answers, Sincere Endeavour to obey, is all that is *absolutely necessary*; I reply, And so Sincere Endeavour to understand, is all that is *absolutely necessary*: Neither perfect Obedience, nor perfect Understanding is *absolutely necessary in Christianity*.

But his Proposition being put in Terms clear, and not loose and fallacious, should stand thus, *viz. What is absolutely necessary to every Christian, is absolutely requisite to make a Man a Christian.* But then I deny, that he can infer from Mr. Bold's words, that those Propositions (*i. e.* which he has set down as fundamental, or necessary to be believ'd) are *absolutely necessary* to be believ'd by every Christian. For that indispensable Necessity Mr. Bold speaks of, is not absolute, but conditional. His words are, *A Christian must believe as many Articles as he shall attain to know that Jesus Christ hath taught.* So that he places the indispensable necessity of Believing, upon the Condition of attaining to know that Christ taught so. An endeavour to know what *Jesus Christ* taught, Mr. B—d says truly, is *absolutely necessary* to every one who is a Christian; and to believe what he has attain'd to know that *Jesus Christ* taught, that also, he says, is *absolutely necessary* to every Christian. But all this granted (as true it is) it still remains (and eternally will remain) to be prov'd from this (which is all that Mr. Bold says) that something else is absolutely requir'd to make a Man a Christian, besides the unfeigned taking *Jesus* to be the *Messiah*, his King and Lord; and accordingly, a sincere Resolution to obey and believe all that he commanded and taught.

The Jailor, *Acts XVI. 30.* in answer to his Question, what he should *do to be sav'd*; was answer'd, That he should believe in the Lord *Jesus Christ*. And the Text says, that the Jailor took them the same Hour of the Night, and washed their Stripes, and was baptized, he and all his straight-way. Now, I will ask our *Creed-maker*, whether St. Paul, in speaking to him the Word of the Lord, propos'd and explain'd to him all those Propositions and Fundamental Heads of Doctrine, which our *Creed-maker* has set down as necessary to be believ'd to make a Man a Christian. Let it be consider'd, the Jailor was a Heathen, and one that seems to have no more Sense of Religion or Humanity, than those of that Calling use to have: For he had let them alone under the Pain of their Stripes without any Remedy, or so much as the Ease of washing them, from the Day before, till after his Conversion; which was not till after Midnight. And can any one think, that between his asking what he should *do to be sav'd*, and his being baptiz'd, which the Text says, was the same Hour and straightway; there was time enough for St. Paul and Silas, to explain to him all the *Creed-maker's* Articles, and make such a Man as that, and all his House, understand the *Creed-maker's* whole System: especially, since we hear nothing of it in the Conversion of these, or any others, who were brought into the Faith in the whole History of the Preaching of our Saviour and the Apostles? Now let me ask our *Creed-maker*, whether the Jailor was not a Christian, when he was baptized; and whether if he had then immediately died, he had not been saved, without the Belief of any one Article more than what Paul and Silas had then taught him? Whence it follows, that what was then propos'd to him to be believ'd (which appears to be nothing but that *Jesus* was the *Messiah*) was all that was absolutely necessary to be believ'd to make him a Christian; tho this hinders not but that afterwards it might be necessary for him, indispensibly necessary, to believe other Articles, when he attained to the Knowledg that Christ had taught them. And the reason of it is plain: Because the knowing
that

that Christ hath taught any thing, and the not receiving it for true, (which is believing it) is inconsistent with the believing him to be the *Messiah*, sent from God to enlighten and save the World. Every word of Divine Revelation, is absolutely and indispensibly necessary to be believ'd, by every Christian, as soon as he comes to know it to be taught by our Saviour or his Apostles, or to be of Divine Revelation. But yet this is far enough from making it absolutely necessary to every Christian to know every Text in the Scripture, much less to understand every Text in the Scripture; and least of all, to understand it as the *Creed-maker* is pleas'd to put his sense upon it.

This the good *Creed-maker* either will not, or cannot understand: But gives us a List of Articles cull'd out of the Scripture by his own Authority, and tells us those are absolutely necessary to be believ'd by every one, to make him a Christian. For what is of *absolute Necessity in Christianity*, as those he says are, he tells us is absolutely requisite to *make a Man a Christian*. But when he is ask'd, whether these are all the Articles of absolute Necessity to be believ'd to make a Man a Christian; this worthy Divine, that takes upon him to be a Successor of the Apostles, cannot tell. And yet, having taken upon him also to be a *Creed-maker*, he must suffer himself to be call'd upon for it again and again, till he tells us what is of absolute Necessity to be believ'd to make a Man a Christian, or confess that he cannot.

In the mean time, I take the liberty to say, that every Proposition deliver'd in the New Testament by our Saviour, or his Apostles, and so receiv'd by any Christian as of Divine Revelation, is of as absolute necessity to be assented to by him, in the Sense he understands it to be taught by them, as any one of those Propositions enumerated by the *Creed-maker*: And if he thinks otherwise, I shall desire him to prove it. The reason whereof is this, That in Divine Revelation the ground of Faith being only the Authority of the Proposer; where that is the same, there is no difference in the Obligation or Measure of believing. Whatever the *Messiah* that came from God taught, is equally to be believ'd by every one who receives him as the *Messiah*, as soon as he understands what it was he taught. There is no such thing as garbling his Doctrine, and making one part of it more necessary to be believ'd than another, when it is understood. His Saying is, and must be, of unquestionable Authority to all that receive him as their heavenly King; and carries with it an equal Obligation of Assent to all that he says as true. But since nobody can explicitly assent to any Proposition of our Saviour's as true, but in the sense he understands our Saviour to have spoken it in; the same Authority of the *Messiah*, his King, obliges every one absolutely and indispensibly to believe every part of the New Testament in that Sense he understands it: For else he rejects the Authority of the Deliverer, if he refuses his Assent to it in that Sense which he is persuaded it was deliver'd in. But the taking him for the *Messiah*, his King and Lord, laying upon every one who is his Subject an Obligation to endeavour to know his Will in all things; every true Christian is under an absolute and indispensable necessity, by being his Subject, to study the Scriptures with an unprejudiced Mind, according to that Measure of Time, Opportunity, and Helps which he has; that in these sacred Writings, he may find what his Lord and Master hath by himself, or by the Mouths of his Apostles, requir'd of him, either to be believ'd or done.

The *Creed-maker*, in the following Page, 256. hath these words: *It is worth the Reader's observing, That notwithstanding I had in twelve Pages together (viz. from the Eighth to the Twentieth) prov'd that several Propositions are necessary to be believ'd by us, in order to our being Christians; yet this Sham-Animadverter attends not to any one of the particulars which I had mention'd, nor offers any thing against them, but only in a Lumping way, dooms them all in those magisterial words; I do not see any Proof he produces, p. 21. This is his wonderful way of confuting me, by pretending that he cannot see any Proof in what I alledg; and all the World must be led by his Eyes.*

Ans. *It is worth the Reader's observing, that the Creed-maker does not reply to what Mr. Bold has said to him, as we have already seen, and shall see more as we go on; and therefore he has little reason to complain of him, for not having answer'd enough. Mr. Bold did well to leave that which was an insignificant*

Lump,

Lump, so as it was together: For 'tis no wonderful thing *not to see any Proof*, where there is no Proof. There is indeed, in those Pages the *Creed-maker* mentions, much Confidence, much Assertion, a great many Questions asked, and a great deal said after his fashion: But for a Proof, I deny there is any one. And if what I have said in another place already, does not convince him of it, I challenge him, with all his *Eyes* and those of the *World* to boot, to find out in those Twelve renown'd Pages, one Proof. Let him set down the Proposition, and his Proof of its being absolutely and indispensibly necessary to be believ'd to make a Man a Christian; and I too will join with him in his Testimonial of himself, that he is *irrefragable*. But I must tell him before-hand, talking a great deal loosely will not do it.

Mr. *Bold* and I say we cannot see any Proof in those Twelve Pages: The way to make us *see*, or to convince the World that we are blind, is to single out one Proof out of that Wood of Words there, which you seem to take for Arguments, and set down in a Syllogism, which is the fair trial of a Proof or no Proof. You have indeed a Syllogism in the 23d Page, but that is not in those Twelve Pages you mention. Besides, I have shew'd in another place, what that proves; to which I refer you.

In Answer to the *Creed-maker's* Question, about his other Fundamentals found in the Epistles; *Why did the Apostles write these Doctrines? Was it not, that those they writ to, might give their Assent to them?* Mr. *Bold*, p. 22. replies; "But then it may be asked again, Were not those Persons Christians, to whom the Apostles writ these Doctrines, and whom they requir'd to assent to them?" *Yes, verily*: And if so, What was it that made them Christians before their Assent to these Doctrines was requir'd? If it were any thing besides their believing *Jesus* to be the *Messiah*, it ought to be instanced in, and made out."

But to this Mr. *Edwards* Answers not.

The next thing in Controversy between Mr. *Bold* and the *Creed-maker*, (for I follow Mr. *B*—d's Order) is about a Matter of Fact, viz. Whether the *Creed-maker* has prov'd, "That *Jesus Christ* and his Apostles have taught, That no Man can be a Christian, or shall be sav'd, unless he have an explicit Knowledge of all those things which have an immediate respect to the Occasion, Author, Way, Means and Issue of our Salvation, and which are necessary for the knowing the true Nature and Design of it?" This, Mr. *Bold*, p. 24. tells him "he has not done." To this the *Creed-maker* replies, p. 258.

And yet the Reader may satisfy himself, that this is the very thing that I had been proving just before, and indeed, all along in the foregoing Chapter. Answ. There have been those who have been seven Years proving a thing, which at last they could not do; and I give you seven Years to prove this Proposition which you should there have prov'd, and I must add to your score here, viz.

LII. That *Jesus Christ*, or his Apostles, have taught, that no Man can be a Christian, or can be sav'd, unless he hath an explicit Knowledge of all those things which have an immediate respect to the Occasion, Author, Way, Means and Issue of our Salvation, and which are necessary for our knowing the true Nature and Design of it.

Nor must the poor Excuse, of saying, It was not necessary to add any farther Medium, and proceed to another Syllogism, because you had secur'd that Proposition before: go for Payment. If you had secur'd it, as you say, it had been quite as easy, and much more for your Credit, to have produc'd the Proof whereby you had secur'd it, than to say you had done it; and thereupon to reproach Mr. *Bold* with *Heedlessness*; and to tell the World, that he cares not what he saith. The Rule of fair Dispute, is indispensibly to prove, where any thing is denied. To evade this, is shuffling; and he that, instead of it, answers with ill Language, in my Country, is call'd a *Foul-mouth'd Wrangler*.

To the *Creed-maker's* Exception to my Demand, about the actual Belief of all his Fundamentals in his new Creed, Mr. *Bold* asks, p. 24. "Whether a Man can believe particular Propositions, and not actually believe them?"

But to this Mr. *Edwards* Answers not.

Mr.

Mr. Bold, p. 25. farther acknowledges the *Creed-maker's* fundamental Propositions to "be in the Bible; and that they are for this purpose there, that they may be believ'd:" And so, he saith, "is every other Proposition which is taught in our Bibles:" But asks, "How will it thence follow, that no Man can be a Christian, till he particularly know, and actually assent to every Proposition in our Bibles?"

But to this Mr. Edwards answers not.

From p. 26. to 30. Mr. Bold shews, That the *Creed-maker's* Reply, concerning my not gathering of Fundamentals out of the Epistles, is nothing to the purpose; and this he demonstratively proves.

And to this Mr. Edwards answers not.

The *Creed-maker* had falsely said, That *I bring no Tidings of an Evangelical Faith*: and thence very readily and charitably infers; *Which gives us to understand, that he verily believes there is no such Christian Faith.* To this Mr. Bold thus softly replies, p. 31. "I think Mr. Edwards is much mistaken, both in his Assertion and Inference:" And to shew that he could not so infer, adds; "If the Author of the *Reasonableness of Christianity, &c.* had not brought any Tidings of such a Faith, I think it could not be thence justly infer'd, that he verily believes there is no such Christian Faith: because his Enquiry and Search was not concerning *Christian Faith*, consider'd *subjectively*, but *objectively*; what the Articles be which must be believ'd to make a Man a Christian; and not, with what sort of Faith these Articles are to be believ'd."

To this the *Creed-maker* answers indeed; but it is something as much worse than nothing, as Falshood is worse than Silence. His words are, p. 258. *It may be question'd, from what he [the Animadverter] hath the confidence to say, p. 31. viz. There is no Enquiry in the Reasonableness of Christianity, concerning Faith subjectively consider'd, but only objectively, &c.* And thus having set down Mr. B—d's Words otherwise than they are; for Mr. Bold does not say *there is no Enquiry*, i. e. no Mention, (for so the *Creed-maker* explains *Enquiries* here: For to convince Mr. Bold, that there is an Enquiry, i. e. Mention of *Subjective Faith*, he alledges, That *Subjective Faith* is spoken of in the 191st and 192d Pages of my Book.) But Mr. Bold says, not that Faith consider'd subjectively, is not spoken of any where in the *Reasonableness of Christianity, &c.* But "that the Author's Enquiry and Search (i. e. the Author's Search, or Design of his Search) was not concerning Christian Faith consider'd subjectively." And thus the *Creed-maker*, imposing on his Reader, by perverting Mr. Bold's Sense, from what was the Intention of my *Enquiry and Search*, to what I had said in it, he goes on, after his scurrilous fashion, to insult, in these words which follow; *I say, it may be guess'd from this, what a Liberty this Writer takes, to assert what he pleases.* Answ. To assert what one pleases, without Truth, and without Certainty, is the worst Character can be given a Writer: and with Falshood to charge it on another, is no mean Slander and Injury to a Man's Neighbour. And yet to these shameful Arts must he be driven, who finding his Strength of managing a Cause to lie only in Fiction and Falshood, has no other but the dull *Bilingsgate* way of covering it, by endeavouring to divert the Reader's Observation and Censure from himself, by a confident repeated Imputation of that to his Adversary, which he himself is so frequent in the Commission of. And of this, the Instances I have given, are a sufficient Proof: In which I have been at the pains to set down the Words on both Sides, and the Pages where they are to be found, for the Reader's full Satisfaction.

The Cause in Debate between us is of great Weight, and concerns every Christian. That any Evidence in the Proposal, or Defence of it, can be sufficient to conquer all Men's Prejudices, is Vanity to imagine. But this, I think, I may justly demand of every Reader, that since there are great and visible Falshoods on one side or the other (for the Accusations of this kind are positive and frequent) he would examine on which side they are: And upon that, I will venture the Cause in any Reader's Judgment, who will be but at the pains of turning to the Pages mark'd out to him; and as for him that will not do that, I care not much what he says.

The Creed-maker's following words, p. 258. have the natural Mark of their Author. They are these: *How can this Animadverter come off with peremptory declaring, that Subjective Faith is not enquir'd into in the Treatise of the Reasonableness of Christianity, &c. when in another place, p. 35. and 36. he avers, That Christian Faith and Christianity, consider'd subjectively, are the same?* Answ. In which words there are two manifest Untruths: The one is, That Mr. Bold peremptorily declares, that Subjective Faith is not enquir'd into, i. e. spoken of, in the Reasonableness of Christianity, &c. Whereas Mr. Bold says in that place, p. 31. "If he [i. e. the Author] had not said one word concerning Faith subjectively consider'd." The Creed-maker's other Untruth, is his saying, That the Animadverter avers, p. 35, 36. that Christian Faith and Christianity, consider'd subjectively, are the same. Whereas 'tis evident, that Mr. Bold, arguing against these words of the Creed-maker, (*The Belief of Jesus being the Messiah was one of the first and leading Acts of Christian Faith*) speaks in that place of an Act of Faith, as these words of his demonstrate: "Now, I apprehend that Christian Faith and Christianity, consider'd subjectively (and an ACT of Christian Faith, I think, cannot be understood in any other sense) are the very same." I must therefore desire him to set down the words, wherein the Animadverter peremptorily declares,

LIII. *That subjective Faith is not enquir'd into, or spoken of, in the Treatise of the Reasonableness of Christianity, &c.*

And next, to produce the words wherein the Animadverter avers,

LIV. *That Christian Faith and Christianity, consider'd subjectively, are the same.*

To the Creed-maker's saying, *That the Author of the Reasonableness of Christianity, &c. brings us no tidings of Evangelical Faith belonging to Christianity*, Mr. Bold replies; That I have done it in all those Pages where I speak of taking and accepting Jesus to be our King and Ruler; and particularly he sets down my words out of p. 301.

But to this Mr. Edwards answers not.

The Creed-maker says, p. 59. of his Socinianism Unmask'd, that the Author of the Reasonableness of Christianity, tells Men again and again, that a Christian Man, or Member of Christ, needs not know or believe any more than that one individual Point. To which Mr. Bold thus replies, p. 33. "If any Man will shew me those words in any part of the Reasonableness, &c. I shall suspect I was not awake all the time I was reading that Book: And I am as certain as one awake can be, that there are several Passages in that Book directly contrary to these words. And there are some Expressions in the Vindication of the Reasonableness, &c. one would think, if Mr. Edwards had observ'd them, they would have prevented that Mistake."

But to this Mr. Edwards answers not.

Mr. Bold, p. 34. takes notice, that the Creed-maker had not put the Query or Objection right; which, he says, *Some, and not without some shew of ground, may be apt to start*: And therefore Mr. Bold puts the Query right, viz. "Why did Jesus Christ and his Apostles require Assent to, and Belief of this one Article alone, viz. That Jesus is the Messiah, to constitute and make a Man a Christian, or true Member of Christ (as it is abundantly evident they did, from the Reasonableness of Christianity) if the Belief of more Articles is absolutely necessary to make and constitute a Man a Christian?"

But to this Mr. Edwards answers not.

And therefore I put the Objection or Query to him again, in Mr. Bold's words, and expect an Answer to it, viz.

LV. *Why did Jesus Christ and his Apostles require Assent to, and Belief of this one Article alone, viz. That Jesus is the Messiah, to make a Man a Christian (as it is abundantly evident they did, from all their Preaching recorded throughout the whole History of the Evangelists and the Acts) if the Belief of more Articles be absolutely necessary to make a Man a Christian?*

The

The *Creed-maker* having made believing *Jesus* to be the *Messiah*, only one of the first and leading Acts of Christian Faith; Mr. *Bold*, p. 35. rightly tells him, That, "Christian Faith must be the Belief of something or other: And if it be the Belief of any thing besides this, That *Jesus* is the *Christ* or *Messias*, that other thing should be specify'd; and it should be made appear, that the Belief that *Jesus* is the *Messiah*, without the Belief of that other Proposition, is not Christian Faith."

But to this Mr. *Edwards* Answers not.

Mr. *B*—d, in the four following Pages, 36—39. has excellently explained the difference between that Faith which constitutes a Man a Christian, and that Faith whereby one that is a Christian, believes the Doctrines taught by our Saviour; and the ground of that difference: and therein has fully overturn'd this Proposition, That believing *Jesus* to be the *Messiah*, is but a Step, or the first Step to Christianity.

But to this Mr. *Edwards* Answers not.

To the *Creed-maker's* supposing that other Matters of Faith were propos'd with this, That *Jesus* is the *Messiah*; Mr. *Bold* replies, That this should be prov'd, viz. That other Articles were propos'd, as requisite to be believ'd to make Men Christians. And p. 40. he gives a Reason why he is of another mind, viz. "Because there is nothing but this recorded, which was insisted on for that purpose."

But to this Mr. *Edwards* Answers not.

Mr. *Bold*, p. 42. shews, that *Rom. X. 9.* which the *Creed-maker* brought against it, confirms the Assertion of the Author of the *Reasonableness*, &c. concerning the Faith that makes a Man a Christian.

But to this Mr. *Edwards* Answers not.

The *Creed-maker* says, p. 78. This is the main Answer to the Objection, (or Query above propos'd) viz. That Christianity was erected by degrees. This, Mr. *Bold*, p. 43. proves to be nothing to the purpose, by this Reason; viz. "Because what makes one Man a Christian, or ever did make any Man a Christian, will at any time, to the End of the World, make another Man a Christian:" And asks, "Will not that make a Christian now, which made the Apostles themselves Christians?"

But to this Mr. *Edwards* answers not.

In Answer to his sixth Chapter, Mr. *Bold*, p. 45. tells him, "It was not my Business to discourse of the Trinity, or any other particular Doctrines propos'd to be believ'd by them who are Christians; and that it is no fair and just Ground to accuse a Man, for rejecting the Doctrines of the Trinity, and that *Jesus* is God, because he does not interpret some particular Texts to the same purpose others do."

But to this Mr. *Edwards* Answers not.

Indeed he takes notice of these words of Mr. *Bold*, in this Paragraph, viz. "Hence Mr. *Edwards* takes occasion to write many Pages about these Terms, [viz. *Messiah* and *Son of God*] But I do not perceive that he pretends to offer any Proof that these were not synonymous Terms amongst the Jews at that time, which is the Point he should have prov'd, if he design'd to invalidate what this Author saith about that matter." To this the *Creed-maker* replies, p. 257. *The Animadverter doth not so much as offer one syllable to disprove what I delivered, and closely urged on that Head.* Answ. What need any Answer to disprove, where there is no Proof brought that reaches the Proposition in question? If there had been any such Proof, the producing of it, in short, had been a more convincing Argument to the Reader, than so much bragging of what has been done. For here are more words spent (for I have not set them all down) than would have serv'd to have express'd the Proof of this Proposition, viz. That the Terms above-mention'd were not synonymous amongst the Jews, if there had been any Proof of it. But having already examin'd what the *Creed-maker* brags he has closely urged, I shall say no more of it here.

To the *Creed-maker's* making me a Socinian, in his Eighth Chapter, for not naming Christ's Satisfaction amongst the Advantages and Benefits of Christ's coming into the World; Mr. *Bold* replies, "1. That it is no Proof, because I promised not to name every one of them. And the mention of some

"is no denial of others." 2. He replies, That "Satisfaction is not so strictly to be termed an Advantage, as the Effects and Fruits of it are; and that the Doctrine of Satisfaction instructs us in the way how Christ did, by Divine Appointment, obtain those Advantages for us." And this was an Answer that deserv'd some Reply from the *Creed-maker*.

But to this he answers not.

Mr. *Bold* says right, that this is a Doctrine that is of mighty Importance for a Christian to be well acquainted with. And I will add to it, that it is very hard for a Christian who reads the Scripture with Attention, and an unprejudic'd Mind, to deny the *Satisfaction* of Christ: But it being a Term not used by the Holy Ghost in the Scripture, and very variously explain'd by those that do use it, and very much stumbled at by those I was there speaking to, who were such as I there say, "who will not take a Blessing, unless they be instructed what need they had of it, and why it was bestowed upon them;" I left it, with the other disputed Doctrines of Christianity, to be look'd into (to see what it was Christ had taught concerning it) by those who were Christians, and believed Jesus to be the Saviour promised, and sent from God. And to those who yet doubted that he was so, and made this Objection; "What need was there of a Saviour?" I thought it most reasonable to offer such Particulars only as were agreed on by all Christians, and were capable of no Dispute, but must be acknowledg'd by every body to be needful. This, tho the words above-quoted out of the *Reasonableness of Christianity*, &c. p. 529. shew to be my *Design*; yet the *Creed-maker* plainly gives me the Lye, and tells me it was not my *Design*. All the World are *faithless, false, treacherous, hypocritical, Strainers upon their Reason and Conscience, Dissemblers, Journey-men, mercenary Hirelings*, except Mr. *Edwards*: I mean, all the World that opposes him. And must not one think he is mightily beholden to the Excellency and Readiness of his own Nature, who is no sooner engag'd in Controversy, but he immediately finds out in his Adversaries these Arts of Equivocation, Lying and Effrontery in managing of it? Reason and Learning, and acquir'd Improvements, might else have let him gone on with others in the dull and ordinary way of fair arguing; wherein possibly he might have done no great Feats. Must not a rich and fertile Soil within, and a prompt Genius wherein a Man may readily spy the Propensities of base and corrupt Nature, be acknowledg'd to be an excellent Qualification for a Disputant, to help him to the quick discovery and laying open of the Faults of his Opponents; which a Mind otherwise dispos'd would not so much as suspect? Mr. *Bold*, without this, could not have been so soon found out to be a *Journey-man, a Dissembler, an hire'd Mercenary*, and stor'd with all those good Qualities, wherein he hath his full share with me. But why would he then venture upon Mr. *Edwards*, who is so very quick-sighted in these matters, and knows so well what villainous Man is capable of?

I should not here, in this my *Vindication*, have given the Reader so much of Mr. *Bold's* reasoning, which tho clear and strong, yet has more Beauty and Force as it stands in the whole Piece in his Book: nor should I have so often repeated this Remark upon each Passage, viz. *To this Mr. Edwards answers not*; had it not been the shortest and properest Comment could be made on that triumphant Paragraph of his, which begins in the 128th Page of his *Socinian Creed*; wherein, among a great deal of no small strutting, are these words: *By their profound Silence they acknowledg they have nothing to reply*. He that desires to see more of the same noble Strain, may have recourse to that eminent Place. Besides, it was fit the Reader should have this one Taste more of the *Creed-maker's* Genius, who passing by in silence all these clear and apposite Replies of Mr. *Bold*, loudly complains of him, p. 259. *That where he [Mr. Bold] finds something that he dares not object against, he shifts it off*. And again, p. 260. *That he doth not make any offer at Reason; there is not the least shadow of an Argument—As if he were only his'd to say something against me [the Creed-maker] tho not at all to the purpose: And truly, any Man may discern a Mercenary Stroke all along; with a great deal more to the same purpose*. For such Language as this, mix'd with Scurrility, neither fit to be spoken by, nor of a Minister of the Gospel, make up the remainder of his *Postscript*. But to prevent this for the future; I demand

mand of him, That if in either of his Treatises there be any thing against what I have said, in my *Reasonableness of Christianity*, which he thinks not fully answer'd, he will set down the Proposition in direct words, and note the Page of his Book where it is to be found; and I promise him an Answer to it. For as for his Railing, and other Stuff, besides the matter, I shall hereafter no more trouble my self to take notice of it. And so much for Mr. Edwards.

THERE is another Gentleman, and of another sort of Make, Parts, and Breeding, who (as it seems, ashamed of Mr. Edwards's way of handling Controversies in Religion) has had something to say of my *Reasonableness of Christianity*, &c. and so has made it necessary for me to say a word to him, before I let these Papers go out of my Hand. It is the Author of *The Occasional Paper*, Numb. 1. The second, third, and fourth Pages of that Paper, gave me great hopes to meet with a Man who would examine all the Mistakes which come abroad in Print, with that Temper and Indifferency that might set an exact Pattern for Controversy, to those who would approve themselves to be sincere Contenders for Truth and Knowledge, and nothing else, in the Disputes they engag'd in. Making him Allowance for the Mistakes that Self-Indulgence is apt to impose upon Human Frailty, I am apt to believe he thought his Performances had been such: But I crave leave to observe, that good and candid Men are often misled, from a fair unbiass'd pursuit of Truth, by an over-great Zeal for something that they, upon wrong Grounds, take to be so; and that it is not so easy to be a fair and unprejudic'd Champion for Truth, as some who profess it think it to be. To acquaint him with the Occasion of this Remark, I must desire him to read and consider his nineteenth Page; and then to tell me,

1. Whether he knows, that the Doctrine propos'd in the *Reasonableness of Christianity*, &c. was borrow'd, as he says, from Hobbes's *Leviathan*? For I tell him, I borrow'd it only from the Writers of the Four Gospels, and the Acts; and did not know that those words he quoted out of the *Leviathan*, were there, or any thing like them. Nor do I know yet any farther, than as I believe them to be there, from his Quotation.

2. Whether affirming, as he does positively, this, which he could not know to be true, and is in it self perfectly false, were meant to increase or lessen the Credit of the Author of the *Reasonableness of Christianity*, &c. in the Opinion of the World? Or is consonant with his own Rule, p. 3. of putting candid Constructions on what Adversaries say? Or with what follows, in these words; *The more Divine the Cause is, still the greater should be the Caution. The very discoursing about Almighty God, or our holy Religion, should compose our Passions, and inspire us with Candour and Love. It is very indecent to handle such Subjects in a manner that betrays Rancour and Spite. These are Fiends that ought to vanish, and should never mix either with a Search after Truth, or the Defence of Religion.*

3. Whether the Propositions which he has, out of my Book, inserted into his nineteenth Page, and says, are consonant to the words of the *Leviathan*, were those, of all my Book, which were likeliest to give the Reader a true and fair Notion of the Doctrine contain'd in it? If they were not, I must desire him to remember and beware of his Fiends. Not but that he will find those Propositions there to be true. But that neither he nor others may mistake my Book, this is that, in short, which it says:

1. That there is a Faith that makes Men Christians.
2. That this Faith is the believing Jesus of Nazareth to be the Messiah.
3. That the believing Jesus to be the Messiah, includes in it a receiving him for our Lord and King, promis'd and sent from God: And so lays upon all his Subjects an absolute and indispensable necessity of assenting to all that they can attain the Knowledge that he taught; and of a sincere Obedience to all that he commanded.

This, whether it be the Doctrine of the *Leviathan*, I know not. This appears to me out of the New Testament, from whence (as I told him in the Preface) I took it to be the Doctrine of our Saviour and his Apostles; and I would not willingly be mistaken in it. If therefore there be any other Faith besides this, absolutely requisite to make a Man a Christian, I shall here again desire

desire this Gentleman to inform me what it is; *i. e.* to set down all those Propositions which are so indispensibly to be believ'd, (for 'tis of simple Believing, I perceive, the Controversy runs) that no Man can be a *Believer*, *i. e.* a Christian, without an Actual Knowledge of, and an Explicit Assent to them. If he shall do this with that Candor and Fairness he declares to be necessary in such Matters, I shall own my self oblig'd to him: For I am in earnest, and I would not be mistaken in it.

If he shall decline it, I, and the World too, must conclude, that upon a review of my Doctrine, he is convinc'd of the Truth of it, and is satisfy'd that I am in the right. For it is impossible to think that a Man of that Fairness and Candor which he solemnly prefaces his Discourse with, should continue to condemn the Account I have given, of the Faith which I am persuaded makes a Christian; and yet he himself will not tell me (when I earnestly demand it of him, as desirous to be rid of my Error, if it be one) what is that more, which is absolutely requir'd to be believ'd by every one, before he can be a Believer: *i. e.* what is indispensibly necessary to be known, and explicitly believ'd to make a Man a Christian.

Another thing which I must desire this Author to examine by those his own Rules, is, What he says of me, p. 30. where he makes me to have a Prejudice against the Ministry of the Gospel, and their Office, from what I have said, in my *Reasonableness*, &c. p. 530, 531. concerning the *Priests* of the World, in our Saviour's time; which he calls *bitter Reflections*.

If he will tell me what is so *bitter*, in any one of those Passages which he has set down, that is not true, or ought not to be said there, and give me the Reason why he is offended at it; I promise him to make what Reparation he shall think fit, to the Memory of those *Priests* whom he with so much Good-nature patronizes, near Seventeen Hundred Years after they have been out of the World; and is so tenderly concern'd for their Reputation, that he excepts against that, as said against them, which was not. For one of the three places he sets down, was not spoken of *Priests*. But his making my mentioning the Faults of the *Priests* of old, in our Saviour's time, to be an *Exposing the Office of the Ministers of the Gospel* now, and a *Vilifying those who are employ'd in it*; I must desire him to examine, by his own Rules of Love and Candor, and to tell me, whether I have not reason here again to mind him of his *FIENDS*, and to advise him to beware of them? And to shew him why I think I have, I crave leave to ask him these Questions:

1. Whether I do not all along plainly, and in express words, speak of the *Priests* of the World, preceding, and in our Saviour's time? Nor can my Argument bear any other sense.
2. Whether all I have said of them be not true?
3. Whether the representing truly the Carriage of the *Jewish*, and more especially of the *Heathen Priests* in our Saviour's time, as my Argument requir'd, can expose the Office of the Ministers of the Gospel now? or ought to have such an Interpretation put upon it?
4. Whether what he says of the *Air and Language I use reaching farther*, carry any thing else in it but a Declaration, that he thinks some Men's Carriage now, hath some affinity with what I have truly said of the *Priests* of the World before Christianity; and that therefore the Faults of those should have been let alone, or touch'd more gently, for fear some should think these now concern'd in it?

5. Whether, in truth, this be not to accuse them with a Design to draw the Envy of it on me? Whether out of Good-will to them, or to me, or both, let him look. This I am sure, I have spoke of none but the *Priests* before Christianity, both *Jewish* and *Heathen*. And for those of the *Jews*, what our Saviour has pronounc'd of them, justifies my *Reflections* from being *bitter*; and that the Idolatrous *Heathen Priests* were better than they, I believe our Author will not say: And if he were preaching against them, as opposing the Ministers of the Gospel, I suppose he would give as ill a Character of them. But if any one extends my words farther than to those they were spoke of, I ask whether that agrees with his Rules of *Love and Candor*?

I shall impatiently expect from this Author of *The Occasional Paper*, an Answer to these Questions; and hope to find them such as becomes that Temper, and Love of Truth which he professes. I long to meet with the Man, who laying aside Party, and Interest, and Prejudice, appears in Controversy so as to make good the Character of a Champion of Truth for Truth's sake; a Character not so hard to be known whom it belongs to, as to be deserv'd. Whoever is truly such an one, his Opposition to me will be an Obligation. For he that proposes to himself the convincing me of an Error, only for Truth's sake, cannot, I know, mix any *Rancor*, or *Spite*, or *Ill-will*, with it. He will keep himself at a distance from those *Fiends*, and be as ready to hear, as offer Reason. And two so dispos'd, can hardly miss Truth between them, in a fair Enquiry after it; at least, they will not lose Good-breeding, and especially Charity, a Vertue much more necessary than the attaining of the Knowledg of obscure Truths, that are not easy to be found; and probably, therefore, not necessary to be known.

The unbiass'd Design of the Writer, purely to defend and propagate Truth, seems to me to be that alone which legitimates Controversies. I am sure, it plainly distinguishes such from all others, in their Success and Usefulness. If a Man, as a sincere Friend to the Person, and to the Truth, labours to bring another out of Error, there can be nothing more beautiful, nor more beneficial. If Party, Passion, or Vanity, direct his Pen, and have a hand in the Controversy; there can be nothing more unbecoming, more prejudicial, nor more odious. What thoughts I shall have of a Man that shall, as a Christian, go about to inform me what is necessary to be believed to make a Man a Christian, I have declar'd, in the *Preface* to my *Reasonableness of Christianity*, &c. nor do I find my self yet alter'd. He that in Print finds fault with my imperfect Discovery of that wherein the Faith which makes a Man a Christian consists, and will not tell me what more is requir'd, will do well to satisfy the World what they ought to think of him.

F I N I S.

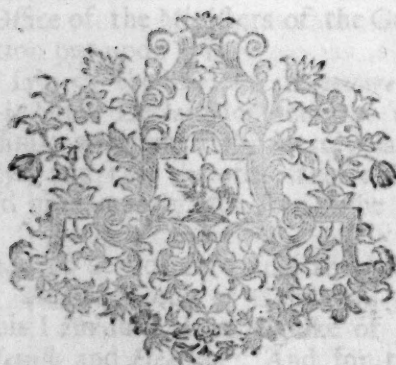


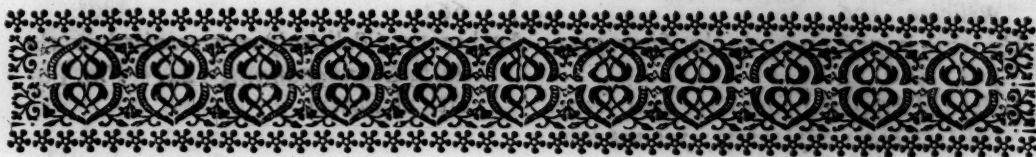
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The English's Definition of the Writer, purely to defend and propagate Truth, seems to me to be that stone which I estimate Controversy. I am sure, it plainly distinguishes such from all others, in their Success and Unsuccess. If a Man, as a sincere Friend to the Truth, and not for his own sake, labours to bring another out of Error, there can be nothing more beautiful, nor more beneficial, than his Party, Passion, or Vanity, direct his Pen, and have a hand in the Controversy; there can be nothing more unbecoming, more prejudicial, nor more odious. What thoughts I find have of a Man that shall, as a Christian, go about to inform me what is necessary to be believed to make a Man a Christian, I have declared, in the Preface to my *Reasonableness of Christianity*, &c. nor do I find my self yet altered. He that in Print finds fault with my imperfect Discovery of that wherein the Faith which makes a Man a Christian consists, and will not tell me what more is required, will do well to satisfy the World what they ought to think of him.

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THE WORLD





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